

Property Owners, Workers, and Public Women: Stories and Geographies of the Late Nineteenth Century Manileña, 1860-1896

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research. It contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any university.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to problematize and reveal the role women played in the development of late nineteenth century Manila's social and economic landscape, while also linking their stories to the larger processes and events that influenced their daily lives. By combining methods from social history research with concepts and techniques from human geography, historical geography, and historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS), this study produces a collective portrait of the Manileña; one that is enhanced through a geographic analysis of their occupations and activities set within Manila's social and physical spaces. The main body of this dissertation is composed of seven chapters categorized into themes that tackle the Manileña's experiences and the spaces she utilized, negotiated, and contested with respect to State power, her livelihoods, and her place in society. The first three chapters underscore the contrasting experiences of privileged and working-class women in relation to the Law. While their knowledge of the Law allowed privileged women to conduct personal businesses, leave wills, and seek legal redress from abusive spouses, the colonial government enacted policies with respect to particular females that they considered threats to elite households, economic productivity, and public health. The second theme of the thesis demonstrates the significant presence of propertied and entrepreneurial women in Manila Province's urban real estate and agricultural land market, as well as in selected businesses such as money lending, water and land-based transport, *panguingue* operations, and small-scale cigar and cigarette manufacturing in the city's districts. Unlike their more privileged counterparts who held a significant ownership of Manila's built environment, disadvantaged local and migrant women marked their presence in the city through their work in well-to-do residences, markets, cigar factories, waterways, streets, and brothels. Despite her significant presence in the city's socioeconomic life, information from newspapers and criminal cases discussed in the last two chapters also reveal how Manila's women suffered under a pervasive patriarchy. This includes the proliferation of ideas, illustrations, and advertisements that objectified women, determined their proper roles, and relegated them to the domestic sphere. Moreover, similar to other urbanized settlements, Manila was a site where women were commonly victims of violent and sexual crimes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents	ii
Maps.....	ix
Illustrations.....	xi
Charts.....	xv
Photographs.....	xvi
Appendices.....	xvii
Abbreviations.....	xviii
Acknowledgments.....	xix
 INTRODUCTION.....	 1
Background to the Study.....	1
Aim of the Thesis.....	3
Significance of the Thesis	4
Periodization and Geographic Scope of Manila.....	7
Chapter Structure.....	9
 CHAPTER 1. Literature, Sources, and Methods in Locating Women in	
Late Nineteenth Century Manila	12
Related Literature.....	12
Women’s History.....	12
New Perspectives on the Colonial City and the “Contact Zone”.....	19
Historical Geography, the City, and GIS.....	22
Towards an Approach and Methods	25
Social	
History.....	25
Human Geography.....	28
Historical Geography and Historical GIS.....	29
Sources.....	32

Archival Documents.....	32
On-Site and Online Library-based Materials.....	33
Producing a Quantitative and Qualitative Database.....	33

CHAPTER 2. The Manila She Encountered: The Wider Processes and

Events that Shaped Late Nineteenth Century Manila.....35

The Philippines' Transition to a Commodity-Based Export Economy with Manila as its Hub.....	35
An Urbanizing Manila and its Agricultural Hinterland	40
Improved Transportation Infrastructure, Economic Dislocation, and Extreme Natural Events as Drivers of Migration to Manila.....	46
A Persistent Patriarchal Culture	51
The Emergence of an Expanding Bureaucracy	55
Manila as a Landscape of Possibility, Patriarchy, and a Pervasive Bureaucracy.....	56

THEME 1. Women, Family, and State Power.....58

CHAPTER 3. Working the System: Women of Privilege Dealing with the

Family and State.....59

Matters of the Body, Heart, and Soul: Marriages, Authorizations, Transactions, and Wills.....	60
The Anatomy of a Notarial Record.....	61
Marriages, Marital Licenses, and Dowries	61
Authorizations by and Granted to Manila Women.....	64
The Manileña as Guardian and Ward of the Family.....	68
Wills, Testaments and the Manilena's Social World.....	70
Protecting One's Interests through Legal Support.....	75
The Patriarchal Imposition of Male Consent/Assistance and Woman-Appropriate Work.....	76
Fighting Patriarchy and its Excesses: Legal Redress against Abusive Husbands	79
Unfaithfulness and Abuse as Grounds for "Divorce".....	80
Compensation and Protection for the Aggrieved.....	81
Working the System in a Patriarchal World.....	84

CHAPTER 4. State Regulations Pertaining to Particular Workingwomen.....	86
Defending the Upper-Class Home: Policies Regulating Servants and Wet Nurses.....	87
The Servant's List: Managing a Perceived Threat from Within.....	88
Punishing the Delinquent <i>Criada</i>	91
Servants as a Source of Revenue.....	92
A Policy Unlikely Implemented: 1897 Regulations on Wet Nurses.....	93
<i>Panguingue</i> : Government Supervision of a Female-Dominated Game of Chance.....	96
Gambling Raids: Warrants Not Required.....	99
Incarceration not Necessary: Gambling as a Minor Infraction	103
The <i>Seccion Higiene</i> and Regulations Regarding Public Women and Sexual Spaces	103
A Nod to Patriarchy.....	104
State and Ruling Class Interests and the Regulations of Threatening Women.....	107
 CHAPTER 5. From Fines to Banishment: How the State Dealt with Misbehaving Women in Public Spaces, Delinquent Servants, Illegal Gamblers, and the <i>Mujeres de Publica</i>.....	 108
Disorderly Women in Public Spaces.....	108
Gambling: A Minor Offense and Revenue Source.....	111
The Spatial and Temporal Nature of Gambling Arrests in the City of Manila and Manila Province.....	114
Distribution of Arrests in Manila and Manila Province.....	115
Different forms of Gambling as a Source of Livelihood.....	118
Temporal and Spatial Tendencies of Male-Dominated vs. Female-Dominated Games.....	120
Run-Away and Dishonest Female Servants.....	121
A Geography of Run-Away Servants.....	124
The Ways by which the State Dealt with Sex Workers and Brothel Owners.....	126
Detailed Case Files and Harsher Punishments, 1862-1879.....	127
From Deportations to Short-Term Incarcerations and Fines, Mid-1880s-1897.....	130
The State as a Pragmatic and Adaptive Disciplinarian of Delinquent Women.....	133

THEME 2. Women and Spaces for Making a Living.....	135
CHAPTER 6: The Manileña as Entrepreneur, Rent-Seeker, and Propertied Woman.....	136
The Manileña as Buyer and Seller of Economic Assets.....	137
<i>Pacto de Retroventa</i>	137
Agricultural Lands, Urban Parcels, and Residences as Guarantee.....	138
Selling Mortgaged Properties.....	140
Some Properties Recovered.....	140
Short-Term and “Borrower-Friendly” Loans.....	141
Collateral Free Loans and Debt Payments.....	142
Borrowing Money without Collateral.....	142
Recognizing, Collecting, and Settling Debts.....	143
Rent Seekers.....	144
The Purchase and Sale of Real Properties.....	145
A Continued Interest in Agricultural Land.....	145
The Different Aspects of Urban Property Transactions.....	146
More of Sellers than Buyers of other Assets.....	148
The Nature and Geography of Female-Owned Businesses in Manila.....	149
A General Spatial Distribution of Female Enterprises.....	150
Economic Activities Favored by Women.....	151
1. Cascos: Water-Based Cargo Transports.....	151
2. Wheeled Transports-for-Hire.....	153
3. Home-Based Panguingue Gaming Places.....	156
4. Small-Scale Cigar Manufacturing.....	158
5. Selling of Textiles.....	159
The Woman’s Double Burden.....	161
Other Women-Run Businesses.....	162
1. Carinderia Owner.....	162
2. Ambulant Vendors.....	163
3. Rice Dealers.....	165
4. Brick, Tile, and Jar Factories.....	167
Female Business Specialization in Selected Manila Districts.....	168

Female Share in Total Businesses per Districts.....	170
The Physical Composition, Type, and Distribution of Women's Properties in Manila.....	171
" Materiales Fuertes" and "Materiales Ligeros"-Dominant Districts.....	173
Shells for Living and Making a Living.....	174
1. Houses and Cottages.....	174
2. Storage Facilities.....	176
3. Blighted Rental Housing.....	177
The Privileged Manilaña as an Active Agent in the City's Economic Life.....	178
 CHAPTER 7. Livelihoods of Women of Humbler Means.....	180
Domestics, Laundresses, Milkmaids, and Seamstresses: Female Maintainers of People's Homes.....	184
The Servant as "Threat from Within".....	184
The Lavandera as "Work Machine".....	188
The Lechera as Provider of Sustenance for Homes.....	192
The Seamstress.....	195
Tenderas, Vendedoras, and Cigarreras.....	198
Descriptions of Workingwomen in the Public Realm.....	198
Details about Manila's Cigarreras and Tenderas from the Civil Registers.....	201
The Mujer de Publica and her Illicit Spaces.....	205
Age and Occupation.....	206
Province of Origin.....	208
The Streets, Brothels, and Other Unusual Spaces of Prostitution.....	209
1. The Streets.....	210
2. Unconventional Sexual Spaces.....	211
3. Brothels: Their Operators, Workers, and Distribution.....	213
Images of the Working-Class Manilaña.....	216
 THEME 3. Women and Society.....	218
 CHAPTER 8. Imagining the Socio-Spatial World of the Manilaña.....	219
The Woman as Home-Bound Nurturing Mother, Supportive Wife, and Good Daughter: Patriarchal Representations from the Un Bello Sexo.....	219

Imagining the Manilaña and her Spaces in Newspaper Illustrations.....	224
Drawings of Women in Everyday Public Spaces	224
Women Enjoying Themselves.....	232
Courtship.....	237
Daily Life within the Home.....	239
Women at Work	246
Women as Victims of the Male Gaze	250
Print Advertisements as Reflections of the Filipino Woman and her Place in Society.....	266
Products and Services for and by Women.....	266
Accepted Behavior among Women.....	275
Racial Stereotyping.....	280
The Male Gaze and other Forms of Misogyny.....	283
Manila Print Media and the Woman's Place, Presence, and Status in Spanish Colonial Society.....	289

CHAPTER 9. On Women as Victim and Perpetrator of Crimes:

“Violence”, its Nature, and their Legal Standing in Nineteenth Century Manila	291
Crimes involving Women and their Geographic Distribution	292
Crime distribution in Manila's Districts	292
Women as Complainants, Defendants, and Witnesses for Different Crimes	299
Women as Victims and Perpetrators of Crimes: Stories from the Asuntos Criminales.....	305
Property Crimes: Theft and Robbery, Estafa, Debt Defaults, and Falsification.....	306
1) Theft Cases.....	306
2) Robberies.....	310
3) Embezzlement, Extortion, Forgery as White Collar Crimes.....	311
4) Eviction and Debt Cases.....	315
Sexual Crimes: Rape, Corruption of Minors, and Abduction.....	317
1) Rape.....	318
2) Corruption of Minors.....	322
3) Abduction.....	323
Crimes against Persons: From Injuries to One's Honor and Body to Death	325
1) Harm to One's Honor, Threats to One's Person.....	325
2) Physical Injuries.....	328

3) Murder and Homicide.....	331
Penalties Imposed for Violent Acts and the Valuation of a Victim's Dignity.....	332
Archival Documents and the Law as Windows into the Lives, Social Spaces, and Status of the Manilaña.....	337
CONCLUSION. From Privileged Woman to Prostitute: The Stories and Spaces of the Late Nineteenth Century Manilaña as an Essential Narrative of a Colonial City	340
Where We Began	340
Where We are Now: The Manilaña as an Active Presence in Manila's Socioeconomic and Physical Landscape.....	341
EPILOGUE. A Way Forward: Change and Continuity in the Manilaña's Condition in the American Period.....	350
GLOSSARY.....	357
APPENDICES.....	364
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	678

MAPS

Map I.1: Study Area using Present-Day Boundaries of Metropolitan Manila and the Settlements of the Greater Manila Area	8
Map I.2: Districts of Ciudad de Manila and Contiguous Towns	9
Map 1.1: Prostitute Residences in Manila	31
Map 1.2: Places of Arrest in Manila	31
Map 2.1: District-Level Map of Manila	42
Map 2.2: Major Provinces of Origin of Manila Migrants	45
Map 2.3: Major Cash Crop-Sending Provinces	46
Map 4.1: District-Level Map of Ciudad de Manila	99
Map 4.2: Pueblo-Level Map of Provincia de Manila	99
Map 5.1: Gambling Arrests in Manila Province, 1883-1897	115
Map 5.2: Gambling Incidents in Manila's Districts, 1883-1897	117
Map 5.3: Distribution of Panguingue Licenses Issued to Women, 1893-1897	118
Map 5.4: Caseras Arrested for Hosting Illegal Gaming Activities, 1883-1897	119
Map 5.5: Districts with Recorded Theft Incidents Involving Household Helpers	124
Map 5.6: Quantitative Distribution of Theft Cases involving Household Helpers	125
Map 6.1: Distribution of Cascos, by Gender	153
Map 6.2: Distribution of Female-Owned Transports-for-Hire	154
Map 6.3: Distribution of Female Operated Panguingue Tables	157
Map 6.4: Distribution of Female-Registered Factories	159
Map 6.5: Distribution of Female Home-Based Cigar Factories	159
Map 6.6: Location of Female-Operated Textile Shops	160
Map 6.7: Distribution of Female and Male Ambulant Vendors	164
Map 6.8: Location of Male and Female-Owned Rice Dealerships in Manila Province	166
Map 6.9: Distribution of Brick and Tile Factories in Towns Adjacent to Manila	167
Map 7.1: Distribution of Servants by District	187
Map 7.2: Distribution of Lavanderas by District	191
Map 7.3: Distribution of Lecheras by District	194
Map 7.4: Distribution of Costureras by District	197
Map 7.5: Distribution of Cigarreras by District	202

Map 7.6: Distribution of Tenderas by District.....	204
Map 7.7: Age Group Distribution of Public Women by Manila District.....	207
Map 7.8: Gender of Brothel Owners in Manila, 1862-1897.....	214
Map 7.9: Number of Sex Workers per Brothel, 1862-1897.....	215

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 2.1:	Comparison of the Syllabi of the Ateneo de Municipal and the Colegio de Sta. Isabel.....	54
Illustration 6.1:	A casco moving along a river.....	152
Illustration 6.2:	A carromata filled with people and cargo.....	155
Illustration 6.3:	People playing panguingue with people looking on.....	156
Illustration 6.4:	An 1886 sketch of a woman manning a carinderia in Quiapo, Manila	163
Illustration 6.5:	An ambulant mango vendor selling her wares.....	165
Illustration 7.1:	D. Juan Atayde's "Abuzo de Confianza"	185
Illustration 7.2:	"Lavanderas"	189
Illustration 7.3:	"La Via Lactea" (The Milky Way).....	193
Illustration 7.4:	Singer Sewing Machine Advertisement	196
Illustration 7.5:	A rich woman is surrounded by female vendors	200
Illustration 7.6:	"La Herbolaria".....	201
Illustration 8.1:	"A Philippine Landscape".....	225
Illustration 8.2:	"Travesia de San Pedrillo, Rio de Pasig, Dibujo Natural"	225
Illustration 8.3:	Travelling along the Pasig River.....	225
Illustration 8.4:	Feast of San Juan Bautista.....	226
Illustration 8.5:	"Un Mestiza en el Paseo" and Una India en el Camino.".....	226
Illustration 8.6:	"Un Mestiza en el Paseo" and Una India en el Camino.".....	226
Illustration 8.7:	Woman walking in the rain.....	227
Illustration 8.8:	"Una Babae"	227
Illustration 8.9:	By the Pasig	227
Illustration 8.10:	"Plegaria a San Vicente Ferrer".....	229
Illustration 8.11:	"Despues de Misa de Gallo".....	229
Illustration 8.12:	"Romerios de Obando".....	230
Illustration 8.13:	"De Romeria".....	230
Illustration 8.14:	A fight between two women	231
Illustration 8.15:	A woman having her ear cleaned	231
Illustration 8.16:	"Los Viernes de Manila".....	232
Illustration 8.17:	A man following a woman whom he thought was a prostitute	232
Illustration 8.18:	"Distracciones".....	233

Illustration 8.19:	“Artistas Caseras”	233
Illustration 8.20:	A woman reading a book	234
Illustration 8.21:	“Manzanilla”	234
Illustration 8.22:	“Crema de Cacao”	234
Illustration 8.23:	Open Air Dancing	235
Illustration 8.24:	Playing timba	235
Illustration 8.25:	Women and men playing panguingue	236
Illustration 8.26:	“La Luneta”	236
Illustration 8.27:	“Cosmorama”	237
Illustration 8.28:	“Idilio Cuadro Costumbres”	238
Illustration 8.29:	“Serenata de Cumintang”	238
Illustration 8.30:	“Una Criatura”	239
Illustration 8.31:	“Interior de un Bahay, Costumbre Filipinas”	240
Illustration 8.32:	“El Mediquillo Ante El Trancazo”	241
Illustration 8.33:	“El Primer Hijo”	241
Illustration 8.34:	A group of women doing embroidery	242
Illustration 8.35:	A girl eavesdropping on a conversation	243
Illustration 8.36:	“Escenas Intimas, Hoy Batal”	243
Illustration 8.37:	Two Spanish women looking over their window at home	244
Illustration 8.38:	“Categorias”	245
Illustration 8.39:	Two women talking from the windows of their homes	245
Illustration 8.40:	Eustaquia Reimundo, a self-supporting orphan from Pasig	247
Illustration 8.41:	A female native water seller in Pasig	247
Illustration 8.42:	A mango vendor	248
Illustration 8.43:	A young girl carrying a water jug	248
Illustration 8.44:	A sketch of a market scene with females as buyers and sellers	248
Illustration 8.45:	A woman selling fruits and vegetables along a waterway	249
Illustration 8.46:	Women washing clothes	249
Illustration 8.47:	A female storekeeper	249
Illustration 8.48:	“La Lechera.”	250
Illustration 8.49:	Female Musicians	250
Illustration 8.50:	A female restaurant cook	251

Illustration 8.51:	“Ideas de Catequista”.....	252
Illustration 8.52:	A man praising a young, attractive woman.....	252
Illustration 8.53:	A woman after ingesting amyl.....	253
Illustration 8.54:	“Efectos Seismicos”.....	254
Illustration 8.55:	“Buena Noticia”.....	255
Illustration 8.56:	“Despues del Baile”.....	256
Illustration 8.57:	A male employer harrasses his servant.....	256
Illustration 8.58:	A man whispers to closely to woman’s ear.....	257
Illustration 8.59:	A couple discusses the wet nurse the husband hired.....	257
Illustration 8.60:	Three men ogling at an unaware woman.....	258
Illustration 8.61:	“De La Ilucion”.....	259
Illustration 8.62:	“Año Nuevo”.....	259
Illustration 8.63:	“Hoy se estudia mucho menos”.....	260
Illustration 8.64:	An upperclass woman addressing her working class counterpart.....	262
Illustration 8.65:	“Tipos Callejeros”.....	262
Illustration 8.66:	“La Chata”.....	263
Illustration 8.67:	Two natives conversing in a squat position.....	263
Illustration 8.68:	“Pasatiempo”.....	264
Illustration 8.69:	“Receta del Pais”.....	264
Illustration 8.70:	“Para Todas Las Castas”.....	265
Illustration 8.71:	“Costumbres Filipinas”.....	265
Illustration 8.72:	The Enrique Gruppe Perfumery.....	267
Illustration 8.73:	Perlas de Barry Cream for wrinkles, freckles and toasted and sun-tanned skin	268
Illustration 8.74:	Burboyne Burbidges Carbolic Acid Soap.....	268
Illustration 8.75:	Albina Sambot Skin-Whitening Soap.....	269
Illustration 8.76:	Filipino Hair Tonic at Botica Inglesia.....	270
Illustration 8.77:	Three-mirror beauty set from a luxury shop.....	270
Illustration 8.78:	La Filipina Textile Shop.....	271
Illustration 8.79:	Luciano Cordoba Millinery.....	272
Illustration 8.80:	A hypophosphyte syrup advertisement.....	272
Illustration 8.81:	The Valdezco Watch-Making Store selling sewing machines.....	273

Illustration 8.82:	Singer Sewing Machine advertisement.....	273
Illustration 8.83:	Frasquita Borri offering her services as a modista or clothes designer.....	274
Illustration 8.84:	Advertisement for piano lessons.....	275
Illustration 8.85:	Advertisement for a woman-owned bakery.....	275
Illustration 8.86:	Singer Sewing Machine Commercial.....	276
Illustration 8.87:	An emotional woman who wants a sewing machine.....	277
Illustration 8.88:	Ullmann Jewelry Store Advertisement.....	278
Illustration 8.89:	La Estrella del Norte Luxury Store advertisement.....	278
Illustration 8.90:	Los Andaluces Wine commercial.....	279
Illustration 8.91:	La Exportadora Cigar commercial with a mestizo as endorser.....	280
Illustration 8.92:	A tobacco advertisement depicting natives conversing while in a squatting position	281
Illustration 8.93:	An El Arnes Feeds advertisement.....	281
Illustration 8.94:	“La Competidora” Cigarettes Advertisement.....	282
Illustration 8.95:	A female vendor in a Los Catalanes advertisement.....	283
Illustration 8.96:	A candy vendor in an El Restaurant de Paris advertisement.....	283
Illustration 8.97:	A scantily-clad woman as part of group of text advertisements.....	284
Illustration 8.98:	A scantily-clad woman as part of a group of text advertisements.....	284
Illustration 8.99:	La Exportadora commercial.....	284
Illustration 8.100:	The hyperboloide body emphasized as a desirable female form.....	285
Illustration 8.101:	The unattractive paraboloide body type.....	286
Illustration 8.102:	La Exportadora cigarette advertisement with unattractive woman.....	286
Illustration 8.103:	A man leers at a woman.....	287
Illustration 8.104:	Pertierra Photography.....	288
Illustration 8.105:	An advertisement for utensils.....	288
Illustration 8.106:	A mestiza smoking cigarettes.....	289

CHARTS

Chart 6.1:	Share of Female Businesses in Binondo, by Type	168
Chart 6.2:	Share of Female Businesses in Tondo, by Type	169
Chart 6.3:	Share of Female Businesses in Dilao, by Type.....	169
Chart 6.4:	Share of Female Businesses in Sampaloc, by Type	170
Chart 6.5:	Share of Female Businesses in Quiapo, by Type.....	170
Chart 6.6:	Distribution of Female-Owned Houses and Cottages	175
Chart 7.1:	Age Distribution of Public Women, 1862-1897.....	207
Chart 7.2:	Listed Occupations of Public Women.....	208
Chart 7.3:	Province of Origin of Public Women	209
Chart 9.1:	Types of Criminal Cases in Manila involving Women by Percentage Share.....	293
Chart 9.2:	Most frequently heard cases involving women, Binondo.....	294
Chart 9.3:	Most frequently heard cases involving women, Intramuros.....	294
Chart 9.4:	Most frequently heard cases involving women, Tondo.....	295
Chart 9.5:	Most frequently heard cases involving women, Quiapo.....	296
Chart 9.6:	Most frequently heard cases involving women, Sta. Cruz.....	296
Chart 9.7:	Distribution of Theft and Robbery Cases by District.....	297
Chart 9.8:	Distribution of Injuries and Maltreatment Cases by District.....	298
Chart 9.9:	Distribution of White Collar Crimes by District.....	298
Chart 9.10:	Criminal cases filed by women.....	301
Chart 9.11:	Criminal cases with female defendants.....	301
Chart 9.12:	Criminal cases where women were called to testify.....	303

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph 7.1:	Interior of the Paco Market in Manila filled with women, early 1900s.....	198
Photograph 7.2:	Women rolling cigars on a factory floor of a cigar factory in Manila, early 1900s	199

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Female-Owned Panguingue Tables in Manila Province, 1894-1896.....	364
Appendix 2. List of Female-Owned Casco Vessels in Manila Province, 1894-1896.....	369
Appendix 3. List of Female-Operated Wheeled Transports in Manila Province, 1894-1896.....	371
Appendix 4. List of Female-Owned Cigar/Cigarette Factories in Manila Province, 1894-1896.....	384
Appendix 5. Listed Cigarreras in Binondo, 1887.....	388
Appendix 6. List of Costureras in Binondo, 1887.....	415
Appendix 7. Lavanderas in Binondo, 1887.....	455
Appendix 8. Listed Cigarreras in Tondo, 1887.....	469
Appendix 9. Listed Costureras in Tondo, 1887.....	547
Appendix 10. Listed Lavanderas in Tondo, 1887.....	551
Appendix 11. Listed Cigarreras in Sampaloc, 1887.....	552
Appendix 12. Listed Costureras in Sampaloc, 1887.....	572
Appendix 13. List of Labanderas and Planchadoras in Sampaloc, 1887.....	581
Appendix 14. List of Women Property Owners and their Structural Assets, c1881.....	592
Appendix 15. Publicly Announced Cases Involving Women as Plaintiff or Defendant, 1860-1896.....	620
Appendix 16. Notarized Transactions involving Women in Manila Province, 1871-1896.....	642
Appendix 17. Case File Details of “Public Women,” 1862-1898.....	665
Appendix 18. List of Currencies that Circulated in Late Nineteenth Century Manila and their Equivalent Values in Mexican Dollars.....	676
Appendix 19. Land Measures used in Nineteenth Century Manila and their Equivalent in Square Meters.....	677

ABBREVIATIONS

CLDS	Church of the Latter Day Saints, Quezon City, Philippines
NAP	National Archives of the Philippines, Manila Philippines
NLP	National Library of the Philippines, Manila, Philippines
UPD	University of the Philippines, Diliman Quezon City (various libraries)
USNACP	United States National Archives at College Park, Maryland, United States of America

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The lack of time and difficult research conditions in the Philippines compelled me to ask for the help of many individuals to scour both archives and libraries for the records that I needed. In this regard, I am thankful to Alex Garcia, Jannica Salbibia, Catherine de Jesus, Jomar Espares, and Jasper Inciong for their support in collecting such data. However, special mention is in order for my friend Alfonso Lumabas whose enthusiasm, discipline, and industry in searching for records regarding women is unparalleled.

Maps have played an important role in narrating the story of the women in this dissertation. I may never be good at making them, but it helped that I was taught by the best. I will forever be indebted to the wonderful teaching skills, patience, and steady guidance of Johnson Damian and Neil Eneri Tingin, both masters of their craft and good friends of mine. Despite my always forgetting the steps after producing each cartographic output, I promise you guys that I will work on my crude mapping skills.

A colleague warned me that one's PhD journey is generally a lonely and isolated process. I beg to differ. I have been fortunate to have had a nurturing space at the Murdoch University Asia Research Centre (ARC). The friendships that I have forged in that institution is proof that places are indeed made by people. My heartfelt thanks goes to the members of the "Afghan Aid Mafia." To Howard Lee for his deadpan sense of humor and kindness; Ligia Gay for her sunny disposition; to Elaine Llarena – whose name I mistook for a Filipino actress – for her company; to my Bangladeshi twin, Kaze Haque, whose stories make him deserving to explore a career in stand-up comedy; to Moon Nguyen for simply being there; to Lian Sinclair for her kindness; Brian Giron for rekindling my love for biking; and Sia Koslowski for being like a mother to all of us. My thanks also go to Gary Rodan, Jacqui Baker, Jane Hutchison, Rikki Kersten, and Diane Rimmer, all of whom made my stay at the ARC peaceful and productive.

The house where I stayed along Hensman Street in South Perth was my home away from home. I will be forever grateful to Dr. Leonie Stickland for allowing me to stay there throughout my stay here in Perth. I would also like to thank Karen Lipio for her friendship, care, and for introducing me to members of the Filipino community in Perth; Luis and Suzette Hualda for taking the time to show me around Perth; Isa Lacuna and Rane J Joshi for their friendship, kindness, and the gift of *Tagalog* and Astrology; and Oliver Trinidad who is proof that true brotherhood goes beyond blood and is never impeded by physical distance.

With respect to my residence's home-like feel, it would not have been possible without the company of my dear friend Jessica Manulong. Your generosity, genuine concern, love for family and others, quirkiness, and zest for life make you the perfect friend and housemate during my PhD journey. You will be sorely missed.

I would also like to thank my family for simply always being there for me. To my Father, whom I have idolized since childhood, thank you for inculcating in me the value of industry, focus, discipline, and courage. I would consider it an achievement if I end up becoming half the man that you are. Although she is now in a better place, I want to thank my Mother for nurturing my love for reading, for introducing me to the wonderful world of history, and for allowing my imagination to run free. You will always be my greatest teacher. This thesis is dedicated to you. *Padabaon ko po kamo.*

I want to express my gratitude to my son Rafael and better half, Anne. Thank you, Rafaboi, for giving me and your Mother so much joy. You are a reminder that there are far more important things in life than one's personal problems and ambitions. To Anne, thank you for providing normalcy, peace, happiness, and beauty in my life and for holding the fort while I was away. You and our son were my main motivations for finishing this dissertation, a work that you have every right to claim as your own.

Finally, I would like to say *Maraming Salamat!* to the countless women whose stories and presence in Spanish Manila I have been privileged to have unearthed. I hope that this thesis honors and gives importance to all of you and the integral part your gender have collectively played in the story of our beloved Manila.

INTRODUCTION. Asserting the Woman's Place and Presence in Late Nineteenth Century Manila

Background to the Study

Past research on Spanish Manila has mainly focused either on its urbanization as a human settlement or on a particular sector of society's experience under colonial rule. Some of these studies were historical geographies that highlight the development of the spaces and settlements of Manila's landscape through the economic and political impositions of colonial governance. Reed¹ traced how the Spaniards devoted much attention to the development of Intramuros and the restriction of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in particular settlements, while allowing native communities near the capital to develop organically. De Viana,² in her landmark work on Binondo, Manila's commercial center, shows how colonial society's powerful groups determined the structural transformation of the religious, residential, and commercial sectors of the said district. Manila's urbanization also led to negative repercussions in the landscape. Xavier Huetz de Lemp³ and Bankoff,⁴ in particular, have produced research that reconstructs a Manila landscape that was struggling with water pollution, the effects of fire on the settlement's spatial development, and the disappearance of forested areas along its periphery.

Other major works on Manila are "histories from below" that document and discuss the experiences of largely ignored subordinate groups, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁵ Wickberg⁶ emphasized the economic dominance of the Chinese and their *mestizo*⁷ progeny in the Manila districts of Binondo and Santa Cruz and their key role in sustaining the city's economic life.⁸ Bankoff's

¹ Robert Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Church and State* (Manila: University of Manila Press, 1967).

² Lorelei DC De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture, 1594-1898* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2001).

³ Xavier Huetz de Lemp, "Waters of Nineteenth Century Manila," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 49, no 4 (2001), pp. 488-517.

⁴ Greg Bankoff, "The Tree as the Enemy of Man: Changing Attitudes to Forests in the Philippines, 1565-1898," *Philippine Studies*, vol. 52, no. 3 (2004), pp. 320-344; Greg Bankoff, "Fire and Quake in the Construction of Old Manila," *Medieval History Journal*, vol. 10, nos. 1 and 2 (2007), pp. 411-427.

⁵ Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives in Historical Writing, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 3; Raphael Samuel, *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London: Routledge Keagan Paul, 1981), p. xv; J. Sharpe, *History from Below*, In *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), p. 27.

⁶ Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965).

⁷ The product of a union between a native Filipino and a foreigner, usually a Chinese.

⁸ For additional material on the contributions of the Chinese to Manila's commercial life, please see O.D. Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997) and Benito Legarda,

groundbreaking work on the nineteenth century Philippines, on the other hand, examined the nature of crime – its protagonists who were commonly working class, and the actions of the State with Manila as the scene for many such unlawful incidents.⁹

While research has been scant, there have also been social histories that focus on women who lived out their lives in middle to late nineteenth century Manila. These studies primarily concentrate on the “proper occupations” they were involved in such as cigar factory workers,¹⁰ seamstresses, laundresses, and other occupations that sustained local households.¹¹ Dery¹² and De Bevoise,¹³ on the other hand, discuss the profile and lives of prostitutes who inhabited the underside of Manila’s urban life.

Among these studies about women in Spanish Manila, the most notable is Camagay’s pioneering research entitled *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*.¹⁴ Descriptive in nature, her concise, albeit important, study on Manila’s employed and business-owning females introduced the possibility of using archival sources mainly found in the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), to shed light on the lives of Filipino women in different occupations during the nineteenth century. She argued that entrepreneurial and working women had a “significant past” in Manila’s urban life and were not necessarily the stereotyped shy and coy Filipinas described by the Spanish religious institutions. Camagay also underscored the need for more detailed studies on Filipino women that portray them as a key “historical determinant”,¹⁵ in the history of Manila, and the nation.

After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines (Madison, Wisconsin: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1999).

⁹ Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines* (Published PhD Dissertation: Murdoch University, 1990).

¹⁰ Ed C. De Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766-1880* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980).

¹¹ Daniel F. Doeppers, "Migration to Manila: Changing Gender Representation, Migration Field, and Urban Structure," In *Population History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, ed. Daniel Doeppers and Peter Xenos, 139-179 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998); Daniel F. Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets: The Social Stratification of Tondo and Sampaloc in the 1890s," In *Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, ed. Daniel F Doeppers and Peter Xenos, 253-263 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998)

¹² Luis C. Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila." *Philippine Studies*, vol. 39, no. 4 (1991), pp. 475-489.

¹³ See Ken de Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse: Epidemic Disease in the Colonial Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1995).

¹⁴ See Maria Luisa T. Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and Center for Women's Studies, 1995).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Aim of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to problematize and reveal the role women played in the development of late nineteenth century Manila's social and economic landscape, while also linking their stories to the larger processes and events that influenced their daily lives. Since people's lives unfold in physical spaces, the study makes visible the experiences of these women. By combining methods from social history research with concepts and techniques from human geography, historical geography, and historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS), this study produces a collective portrait of the Manilaña; one that is enhanced through a geographic analysis of their occupations and activities set within Manila's social and physical spaces. The spaces that I frame and discuss in this thesis are conceived as permanent and interstitial "spaces for living and making a living",¹⁶ namely as sites of social interaction,¹⁷ and contact zones¹⁸ that were utilized, negotiated, and contested by Manila's women in the late 1800s. Hence, the dissertation addresses the following questions:

1. In an urban region undergoing rapid economic, demographic, and spatial transformation, how was late nineteenth century Manila individually and collectively experienced by selected groups of female migrants and locals?
2. How were the stories of women from different social and occupational backgrounds influenced by broader processes, events, and factors?
3. How did the spaces that females defined, owned, occupied, and utilized reflect their lives and work within the city's landscape?
4. What can distributions and patterns of these spaces reveal about the nineteenth century Manilaña¹⁹ and transformations in the life of the city?
5. How did such stories and spaces that were part of women's lives in Spanish Manila reflect their engagement with or resistance against other individuals and groups, but especially the colonial State?

¹⁶Ernesto M. Serote, *Rationalized Planning System: A Source Book* (Quezon City: Bureau of Local Government, Department of the Interior and Local Government, 2008).

¹⁷ Richard W. Wilkie, "'Sense of Place' and Selected Conceptual Approaches to Place." *Journal of the American Institute of Architecture Students*, issue 55 (Spring 2003), pp. 29-31.

¹⁸ See Brenda S. Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁹ The term Manilaña refers to all women, migrants and locals who were physically situated in Manila from 1860-1896.

This dissertation is about the collective and individual stories of the women of Spanish Manila, and their presence and contribution to the city's social and economic spaces. In particular, it gives equal notoriety to the activities of both working-class Manileñas and the privileged women involved in business and rent-seeking activities from the 1860s until the onset of the Philippine Revolution in 1896.

I stress that a qualitative, quantitative, and spatial analysis of archival sources using methods and approaches from social history, historical geography, and Geographic Information Systems can produce a geo-historical collective biography of these women in the final decades of Spanish rule. This study highlights the uniformities of female experiences while also illuminating their particularities.²⁰

This research approach employs James F. Warren's *Macro-Micro* historical framework,²¹ linking the lives and circumstances of the women to the wider historical processes that transformed a nineteenth century Manila undergoing rapid economic, demographic, and spatial change. This approach and method also enables the identification of the city's rules and resources, its opportunities and impediments. These include laws that allowed women to engage in business and dispose of property, legal policies pertaining to prostitution and family life, and job opportunities for female migrants that these women experienced, engaged with, or resisted.

Significance of the Thesis

This historical-geographic research investigates the lives and circumstances of late nineteenth century Manila's female inhabitants while also revealing their impact upon the city's social spaces and physical landscape. Given its aims, this study contributes to the areas of Philippine studies, women's history, urban historical geography, and historical GIS.²²

²⁰ Charles Tilly, "Retrieving European Lives," In *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, ed. Oliver Zunz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 25.

²¹ James Francis Warren, "The Lives of Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San in Singapore: Sources, Method, and the Historian's Representation." In *Researching the Fragments: Histories of Women in the Asian Context*, ed. C. Brewer and A-M Metcalf, 87-102 (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), pp. 101-102; James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karaykui-San: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), pp. vii, xi, 5.

²² Historical geography that uses GIS for data collection, management, and analysis.

The majority of research on the Filipina and her history has focused on her contemporary conditions and concerns.²³ Outside the works of Alzona,²⁴ Mendoza-Guazon,²⁵ Camagay,²⁶ Camacho,²⁷ Dery,²⁸ Doeppers,²⁹ Brewer,³⁰ and Encanto,³¹ there has been little research done on Filipino women regarding their status, conditions, and experiences during the Spanish colonial period.³² The literature becomes even more scant if the focus is limited solely to Manila, a serious omission since women accounted for an equal share of the city's inhabitants and migrants during the nineteenth century.³³ Despite the reality that "cities are made by people",³⁴ there is no comprehensive geographic study about the permanent and interstitial spaces that signify the active role of women in the everyday life of late nineteenth century Manila.

²³ See Amaryllis T. Torres, ed., *The Filipino Woman in Focus* (Bangkok : UNESCO, 1989); Maria Natividad Rocas, *Women's Movements and the Filipina: 1986-2008* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012); Mina Rocas, "Negotiating Modernities: Filipino Women 1970-2000," In *Women in Asia: Tradition, Modernity and Globalisation*, eds. Louise Edwards and Mina Rocas (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2000), pp. 112-138; Mina Rocas, "Rethinking 'the Filipino woman': A century of women's activism in the Philippines, 1905-2006," In *Women's Movements in Asia: Feminisms and transnational activism*, eds. Mina Rocas and Louise Edwards (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 34-52.

²⁴ See Encarnacion Alzona, *The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic, and Political Status, 1565-1934* (Manila: Benipayo Press, 1934).

²⁵ See Ma. Paz Mendoza-Guazon, *The Development and Progress of the Filipino Women, 2nd Edition* (Manila: Kiko Printing Press, 1951).

²⁶ See Maria Luisa T. Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*.

²⁷ Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, "'Woman's Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines.'" In *More Hispanic than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, Inc., 2008), p. 122-162.

²⁸ Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," pp. 475-489.

²⁹ Doeppers, "Migration to Manila", 139-179; Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor, pp. 253-263.

³⁰ Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

³¹ See Georgina R. Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina: A History of Women's Magazines, 1891-2002* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2004).

³² While their works deal with the period after the Spanish colonial period, works of Mina Rocas, *Filipino Elite Women and Public Health in the American Colonial Era, 1906-1940* and Cristina Evangelista Torres' *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* examine the conditions, activities, and status of Filipino women from the more educated and genteel classes during the early decades of American rule. For a more detailed appreciation of their works, see Mina Rocas, "Filipino Elite Women and Public Health in the American Colonial Era, 1906-1940", *Women's History Review*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2017), 477-502 and Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2010). Vina A. Lanzona's *Amazons of the Huk Rebellion: Gender, Sex, and Revolution in the Philippines* that was published by the University of Wisconsin Press in 2009 also provides a female perspective on a historical event in post-War Philippines.

³³ Daniel F. Doeppers and Peter Xenos, "A Demographic Frame for Philippines History," In *Population History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, ed. Daniel Doeppers and Peter Xenos (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998c), p. 9.

³⁴ Manuel Castells as quoted in Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), vii.

Consequently, this dissertation attempts to fill this gap in the history of the most urbanized settlement of the Spanish period.³⁵

This dissertation demonstrates that aspects of Manila's development and everyday life, when studied from the standpoint of its women, has not yet been thoroughly explored using various social science perspectives and methods of analysis. While research on Spanish Manila has commonly described the city as a conventional product of colonial policy and practice, postcolonial researchers have portrayed other similar colonial urban settlements as contact zones, wherein their development was due to the see-saw relations between the colonizer and their subject peoples.³⁶ This was certainly the case in nineteenth century Manila too.

After over two decades, the archival sources Camagay used have yet to be re-visited and examined in ways that could reveal more information about the lives of Manila's women from 1860 to 1896. This oversight occurred despite there having been social histories of women in different places, periods, and contexts that utilized techniques from the social sciences, particularly anthropology. Since Camagay's pioneering work, Filipino geographers have identified new historical sources and analyzed these using GIS methods in order to provide even more nuanced individual and collective stories of the nineteenth century Manileña. These preliminary studies depict the role of women in Manila's businesses, migrant population, labor force, and illegal gaming activities using cartographic techniques.³⁷

Building on these initial works, this research further explores Manila and the nature of the Manileña's contributions to its physical environment and social life. This is also the first study that comprehensively

³⁵ Alden March, *The history and conquest of the Philippines and our other island possessions* (Boston, Massachusetts: George M. Smith and Company, 1899), p. 37; James Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), p. 52.

³⁶ Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment*; Sin Yee Koh, "Post-Colonial Approaches to Migration in Asia Reflections and Projections." *Geography Compass*, vol. 9, no. 8 (2015), pp. 432-444.

³⁷ Marco Lagman, "A Preliminary Study on How GIS-based Know-how can Spatially Represent the Distribution of Nineteenth Century Illegal Gambling in the Province of Manila." *Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies* (2013), pp. 51-60; Marco Lagman and Ma. Simeona Martinez. "Assessing the Characteristics of Late Nineteenth Century Manila-Based Business Establishments." *Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies*, vol. 2 (2014), pp. 66-77; Marco Lagman and Jonathan Villasper. "Women Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Provincia de Manila." *Manila 2015: Selected Papers of the 23rd Annual Manila Studies Conference* (2015), pp. 113-142.

examines Spanish Manila's landscape from the perspective of a large segment of its population, and which gives equal importance, conceptually speaking, to the approaches and methods of social history, human geography, historical geography, and historical Geographic Information Systems.

Periodization and Geographic Scope of Manila

This dissertation studies the lives of women in Manila in the latter decades of Spanish rule, from the 1860s until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1896.³⁸ While the endpoint coincides with the end of normal conditions for Manila, as neighboring provinces became the site of clashes between the Spanish and the *Katipunan*³⁹ forces, the start date of 1860 requires explanation.

Since 1565, Manila had been the economic and socio-political center of the colony and the site of widespread changes. By the 1860s, three decades had elapsed since colonial officials in the Philippines formally allowed entry of foreign trade and investment from Western nations. The economy in that decade had already been transformed from subsistence to one geared towards commodity export and agricultural cash crops, a transition and transformation that resulted in land becoming a coveted resource, as well as increased tenancy and landlessness.⁴⁰

Philippine society by then had become dependent on imported rice and cloth, staple items formerly provided by native farmers and household-level weavers.⁴¹ Consequently, many displaced rural individuals moved to a Manila that served as a redistribution hub for the colony's exports and needed imports. Manila during this period also became the site of rapid population growth and in-migration⁴² that influenced the spatial patterns and transformation of its human settlements.⁴³ With the scope and rate of these changes

³⁸ Given their ability to further emphasize certain points in this thesis, a few accounts of women use sources that date to the early years of American Occupation in Manila, 1899-1900.

³⁹ Also known as the KKK, the Katipunan was the Filipino organization that began a revolution against the Spanish government in the Philippines from 1896 to 1898.

⁴⁰ Owen Lynch, "Land Rights, Land Laws and Usurpation: The Spanish Era, 1565-1898," *The Philippine Law Journal*, vol. 63 (1988), p. 98.

⁴¹ Benito J. Legarda, *After the Galleons*, pp. 146-147.

⁴² Doeppers and Xenos, "A Demographic Frame for Philippines History," pp. 4-5.

⁴³ Xavier Huetz de Lemps. "Materiales ligeros vs. materiales fuertes: the conflict between nipa huts and stone buildings in 19th century Manila." In *International Conference on the Centennial of the 1896. The Philippine revolution and beyond : papers from the International Conference on the Centennial of the 1896 Philippine Revolution*, ed. Elmer A. Ordoñez (Manila: Philippine Centennial Commission, 1998), pp. 160-172.

occurring in the economic, demographic, and physical environment, the 1860s Manila experienced by its varied women was a markedly distinct place.

The term “Manila” traditionally denoted both the walled city of Intramuros and its suburbs (*Intramuros y sus arrabales*). Yet by the mid-nineteenth century, Manila was also known as a province that included localities that are part of present-day Metropolitan Manila⁴⁴ but including the towns of Montalban (now Rodriguez) and San Mateo in Rizal Province.⁴⁵ For this dissertation, the terms *Provincia de Manila*, “Province of Manila”, and “Manila Province” encompasses the local governments that comprise current-day Metropolitan Manila and the aforementioned municipalities of Rodriguez and San Mateo, while “Manila” or *Ciudad de Manila* refers to city districts that constitute the city now (See Maps 1.1 and 1.2 below.).

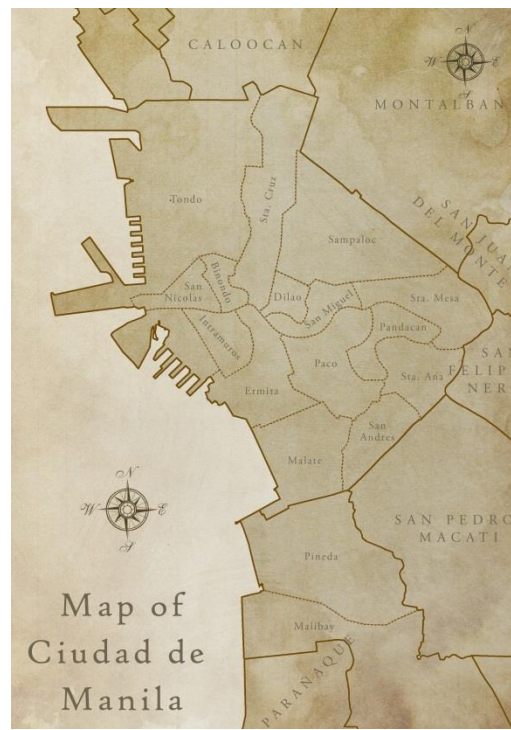


Map I.1. Study Area using Present-Day Boundaries of Metropolitan Manila and the Settlements of the Greater Manila Area.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Xavier Huetz de Lemp, "Shifts in Meaning of "Manila" in the Nineteenth Century." In *Old Ties and New Solidarities: Studies on Philippine Communities*, eds. Charles J-H MacDonald and Guillermo M. Pesigan (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), p. 225.

⁴⁵ United States Military Notes on the Philippines, September 1898 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 102-103.

⁴⁶ Map produced by Neil Eneri Tingin, GIS Practitioner.



Map I.2. Districts of Ciudad de Manila and Contiguous Towns.⁴⁷

Chapter Structure

Besides the introductory chapters and the conclusion, the body of this dissertation is composed of eight chapters, seven of which examine three major themes. Chapter 2 discusses the various processes (i.e., economic, political, social, demographic, and climatic-environmental) that transformed the character of late nineteenth century Manila into the burgeoning colonial city that its women encountered, and which provided them with both opportunities and constraints that influenced their everyday lives.

The next three chapters comprise the first major theme of my research – “Women, Family, and State Power”. Chapter 3 examines how Manileñas from the city’s more privileged backgrounds used their familiarity with Spanish Law to hire lawyers and debt collectors, file for marital separation and alimony cases, engage in business transactions, as well as rent out, purchase, sell, and mortgage properties.

⁴⁷ Map by Neil Eleri Tingin, GIS practioner.

Furthermore, a review of several notarized wills of upperclass women reveal the loved ones and associates that made up their private and public lives and the earthly and spiritual spaces that they valued. However, despite having the legal space to own property and improve their lives, such women's agency was still constrained by patriarchal impositions that compelled young or married women to seek consent from their guardian or spouse in their daily affairs.

Chapter 4 discusses how the colonial State enacted policies that sought to regulate the activities of women it considered as threats to the security and wellbeing of privileged households and the society at-large. These include domestic servants and wet nurses who might steal from their employers and spread unwanted diseases among the latter's children, home-based gaming operators who compromised labor productivity, and sex workers who could potentially spread venereal disease and threaten the morals and social standings of communities. The last chapter about the *Manileña* and the State elaborates on how legal, judicial, and enforcement institutions combined forces with the government's fiscal constraints to penalize systematically females found guilty of sowing disorder in both private residences and public spaces. These offenders included women arrested for various infractions, such as drunken and disorderly behavior, gambling, and absconding from their employers, as well as for the more serious offense of prostitution. This section also provides a geographic, demographic, and temporal analysis of recorded arrests involving drunken and quarreling women, delinquent servants, gamblers, and prostitutes using GIS.

Two chapters comprise the second theme of the thesis, "Women and Spaces for Making a Living". In both chapters, a combination of individual stories of workingwomen sourced from archival documents and newspaper articles, quantitative data (i.e., business permits, property tax lists, and civil registers), and GIS analysis produce a text-based and spatial narrative of the businesses and livelihoods of women of both privileged and humble backgrounds. Chapter 6 focuses on the tendency of upper class women to own particular businesses that afforded them an opportunity to make a living while managing their households. Their significant presence in Manila's urban landscape is detailed as property owner, lessor, slumlord, and as buyers and sellers of both fixed and movable assets.

Chapter 7 reveals the rather limited employment options for migrant and local women from more modest backgrounds. A thorough review of Manila's civil register lists discloses that most working-class females

found employment either in tobacco factories or as servants, nannies, cooks, laundrywomen and seamstresses, who attended to the various needs of privileged residences. Mapping the places of such women in the city's landscape also indicates that several districts in Manila specialized in particular female occupations. Moreover, this chapter also details the mundane and singular spaces that prostitutes and pimps used for sex work, and the location and size of Manila's brothels from the 1860s to the 1890s.

In the final two chapters of this dissertation, I combine information from articles, illustrations, and advertisements in Manila-based periodicals with court case announcements and criminal case files to describe and analyze representations of the social lives and everyday spaces of the *Manileña* during the last decades of Spanish rule. Chapter 8 discusses how the text and visual content of Manila-based women's magazines and satirical newspapers both reflected the particular status, roles, and presence of females in a patriarchal society. Sketches of women in different spaces and activities underscored the ubiquitous presence of women in the urban landscape. Women as the subject of print articles at that time also insisted that females naturally belonged to the domestic sphere, with the consolation of venerating them. As a spouse, women were idealized as typically faithful, modest, and attractive; while also being portrayed as efficient managers of the home, as well as loving mothers of society's future. They were also played up as obedient daughters and doting sisters.

The final chapter veers away from the daily lives of women and tackles her involvement as victim, perpetrator, and witness of criminal activities in particular spaces across the city. An examination of court announcements and criminal cases reveal that females tended to be involved as perpetrators and victims of particular wrongdoings. An analysis of the location of these incidents also indicates that the type of crimes women were involved in varied according to the district where such incidents occurred. While many women were victims of violent crimes, such as rape, abduction, and maltreatment, the penalties imposed on guilty parties were often much less than recommended in the Law. Worse still, mandated sentences for violent crimes against women were more lenient than economic transgressions of the Law, thus reflecting the low regard of the State for their person and dignity.

The following chapter discusses the study's related literature, expounds on the different approaches and methods used in producing the nineteenth century *Manileña's* collective stories and geographies, and explains the sources utilized to frame and write this dissertation, as well as setting out the chapter structure.

CHAPTER 1. Literature, Sources, and Methods in Locating Women in Late Nineteenth Century Manila

Related Literature

Previous works of historians and geographers about women's history and the development of cities and landscapes have guided the framing of this dissertation. This section deals with comparative literatures pertaining to past work on the economic and social condition of women across time, the development of cities from a postcolonial perspective, and the methods of historical GIS.

Women's History

Women's history emerged during the tumultuous period of the 1960s when historians began to veer away from conventional, political history and turn towards other aspects of past societies. Initial works about women in Western societies attempted to give them a voice and make their social conditions and circumstance more visible, particularly for the periods before and during after the industrial revolution. Vann⁴⁸ argued that the collective voice of this silent sector of society can be brought out through judicious use of statistics culled from archival sources. This quantitative approach made it possible to generalize about certain tendencies among the pre-industrial female population.⁴⁹ These included the home-based nature of their occupations,⁵⁰ their marrying age, and the freedoms from male supervision of widows. McDougall⁵¹ and Pope,⁵² on the other hand, focused on identifying the factors behind the marginalization of women.⁵³ Their works narrate how the legitimization of "the cult of domesticity", whereby a "proper

⁴⁸ Richard T. Vann, "Toward a New Lifestyle: Women in Preindustrial Capitalism." In *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, eds. R Bridenthal and C. Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977), p. 194.

⁴⁹ For female demographic patterns in early nineteenth century France, see Louis Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1976).

⁵⁰ On employment opportunities for women in nineteenth century England, see Jane Lewis, "Sexual Divisions: Women's Work in Nineteenth Century England," In *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*, ed. S.J. Kleinberg (Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc., 1988), pp. 148-164.

⁵¹ Mary McDougall, "Working-Class Women during the Industrial Revolution." In *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, eds. R Bridenthal and C. Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 257.

⁵² Barbara Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth Century England and France." In *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, eds. R Bridenthal and C. Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 299.

⁵³ See Sheila Rowbotham, "The Trouble with Patriarchy," In *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 364-369.

woman”⁵⁴ should be homebound⁵⁵ and be under the supervision of her husband, became an accepted condition for women in Britain, America,⁵⁶ and France in the 1800s.⁵⁷

Social historians have also underscored how people’s conditions are the consequence of broader processes and events. One aspect of social organization that historians have devoted considerable attention to is how patriarchal structures that ensured regulated control of women’s roles, their behavior, and socioeconomic position,⁵⁸ and devalued her work and being,⁵⁹ affected the lives and experiences of women in various societies.⁶⁰

In Weeks⁶¹ study of female sexuality in Victorian England, he argued that the emergence of church sanctioned marriage as the only acceptable form of union between man and woman had serious repercussions on the roles of females. The legitimacy of Christian based church marriage led to the unacceptability of sex outside of marriage. To ensure that females did not engage in pre-marital sex, as well as assure the legitimacy of a man’s children, Christian women were confined to the home and its domestic management. But since men now had to work harder and often delay marriage to be able to

⁵⁴ For examples on the marginalization of women, female immoral behavior, as well as sexual freedoms among lower class women in pre-industrial Paris, see Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power, and Solidarity in Eighteenth Century Paris* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993) and Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Disordered Lives: Eighteenth Century Families and their Unruly Relatives* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996).

⁵⁵ See Barbara Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth Century England and France," pp. 296-324. Proper women in nineteenth century Europe, particularly those from privileged backgrounds, were still able to leave their private domestic spaces to do socio-civic work.

⁵⁶ For examples of works on the history of women in the United States, see Khelifa Arezki and Katia Mahmoudi, "American Women of the Colonial Period and of the Nineteenth Century City: in Judith Sargent Murray's *On the Equality of Sexes*, Edith Wharton's *Roman Fever* and Hamlin Garland's *Mrs. Ripley's Trip*," *Multilinguales*, vol. 2 (2013), pp. 171-182; Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," In *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, eds. Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1974), pp. 119-136.

⁵⁷ For an alternative narrative regarding women in Victorian England, see Patricia Branca, "Image and Reality: The Myth of the Idle Victorian Woman," In *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, eds. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1974), pp. 179-191.

⁵⁸ Sheila Rowbotham, "The Trouble with Patriarchy." In *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel. (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1981), pp.364-366.

⁵⁹ J. Lewis, "Sexual Division: Women's Work in Nineteenth Century England." In *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*, ed. S.J. Kleinberg (Oxford: Berg Publishers Inc., 1988), pp. 148-149.

⁶⁰ On patriarchy, see Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁶¹ J. Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1880, Second Edition* (New York: Longman, Inc., 1981), pp. 24-29.

support a family, addressing the sexual needs of males required justifying the practice of abusing domestic servants as well as the use of prostitutes.⁶²

Patriarchal culture was never the sole preserve of the West. Scholars have analyzed how the marginalized position of women in other societies also led to practices that exposed them to abuse and exploitation. For example, in China, accepted cultural institutions reinforced the inferior social status of women and their exploitation. These cultural practices included selling young girls to become child brides, drudge servants, prostitutes, and concubines.⁶³ The selling of young women by their families during times of extreme hardship was also an accepted practice in Japanese society well into the early twentieth century.⁶⁴

In Chinese society, however, the institutionalization of patriarchal values also made women culpable in perpetuating abuses against fellow females. Child brides were often under the mercy of their mothers-in-law who ensured that a young, powerless girl became a subservient daughter-in-law. Moreover, some mothers-in-law would delegate her work responsibilities to a child bride while heaping abuse on the young girl. Such practices, which persisted in rural areas of Southern China and Hong Kong up until the 1960s, were the consequence of extreme poverty, the need to fill labor gaps in families whose men went abroad

⁶² For a better understanding of prostitution and the State and society's reaction to it in Victorian England, see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state*, third reprint (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Judith R. Walkowitz and Daniel J. Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts Of The Field:' Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 1, nos. 3 and 4 (Winter-Spring 1973), pp. 73-106.

⁶³ James L. Watson, "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs." In *Asian and African Slave Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 223-224, 240; Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, "Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System: Submission, Servitude, Escape, and Collusion." In *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, eds. Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), pp. 11-12; James Hayes, "San Po Tsai (Little Daughters-in-Law) and Child Betrothals in the New Territories of Hong Kong from the 1800s to the 1960s." In *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, eds. Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), pp. 50 and 63; Suzanne Miers, "Mui Tsai through the Eyes of the Victim: Janet Lim's Story of Bondage and Escape." In *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape*, eds. Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), p. 108.

⁶⁴ James Francis Warren, "The Lives of Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San in Singapore: Sources, Method, and the Historian's Representation." In *Researching the Fragments: Histories of Women in the Asian Context*, eds. C. Brewer and A-M Metcalf (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), p. 89; James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), pp. 183-184, 191; Sachiko Sone, "Facing Away from Japan: Japanese Prostitutes in Asia before World War." In *Researching the Fragments: Histories of Women in the Asian Context*, eds. C. Brewer and A-M Metcalf (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2000), p. 107.

to seek work, and the ignorance of the girls due to lack of education, and the relative isolation of the region.⁶⁵

Recent research demonstrates European colonization had a detrimental effect on the condition of female subjects, some of whom had a higher status before the colonial onslaught. For the Nahuatl Indians of Mesoamerica, the introduction of Spanish-Catholic patriarchal beliefs and practices resulted in the reduction of their roles and privileges in daily life. The Franciscan friars' promotion of gender roles that confined such women to the home and discouraged participation in economic activities led to their marginalization. Their sinking subservient status led to the loss of their legal identity and placing restrictions on their sexual freedoms. Aside from the loss of recognized Nahuatl institutions where females had a role, the imposition of the colonizer's morality caused the stigmatization of women who refused to adhere to such principles and led to further hardship for female Nahuatlans.⁶⁶

In a society where women held political and religious roles, owned property, and had sexual freedom, Hispanization through state formation, along with Catholicism, became the means to subjugate females. Moreover, women in the pre-colonial Philippines served as the spiritual leader, *babaylan* or *catalonan*, of her community. It was through destroying the institution of the *babaylan* and the inculcation of the Mother Mary as the female ideal for the virtuous, chaste, and passive woman that the Spanish frailocracy⁶⁷ succeeded in imposing their patriarchal values on the Filipino people.⁶⁸

The merging of colonialism with other extrinsic factors, including the inroads of capitalism, natural disasters, population processes, and patriarchal practices, led to conditions unfavorable to colonized Asian women. In the Indian Ocean-based settlements of the Dutch East India Company, women were valued only for their reproductive domestic work (i.e., caregiving, housework, sexual favors) that benefitted

⁶⁵ Hayes, "San Po Tsai," pp. 55, 63, 66-67.

⁶⁶ Rebecca Overmeyer-Velasquez, "Christian Morality in Spain: The Nahuatl Woman in the Franciscan Imaginary." In *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 78-81.

⁶⁷ This term was used by members of the Propaganda Movement and the revolutionary Katipunan in the late 1800s to describe the abuses of the Catholic Holy Orders whom they alleged to be the most powerful group in Philippine society and, thus, dominated all aspects of life during the Spanish period.

⁶⁸ Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), pp. 19, 27-31, 48-56, 91-94.

Company employees within a global-trading system that treated them as slaves with virtually no rights and privileges.⁶⁹ Using “documentary fiction” or “realist literature” as their main sources, Grace et al. (1974) demonstrate how French colonization led Vietnamese peasant women to endure limited economic opportunities and increased exposure to physical and sexual abuse. Due to worsening economic conditions in French Indochina, female domestic service, prostitution, concubinage, and selling girls became survival options for many desperate families.⁷⁰ In the case of the British colonies such as Singapore and Hong Kong, the need to maintain the health of their military personnel and provide an outlet for a large bachelor male Chinese labor force, led to the legalization of brothel prostitution and development of an administrative infrastructure to regulate the health of sex workers.⁷¹

Such women have nonetheless had agency by taking full advantage of rare opportunities and demonstrating resilience in the face of difficult conditions. The migrant stories of the late nineteenth century Spanish Philippines, Hong Kong, and Singapore in the late 1800s, and Indonesia during the 1980s, reveal how women from the countryside and abroad recognized and exploited employment opportunities in major economic centers.⁷² These examples of female action resonate with my own research using annual civil registers in Manila to show that many late nineteenth century migrants in Manila’s districts were females who worked as laundresses, seamstresses, and cigar factory workers.

Chakraborty⁷³ also emphasized how despite their lack of rights in VOC settlements, women fought back against workplace abuses and found ways to make sense of their lives. A few killed their masters, while

⁶⁹ Titas Chakraborty, “The Household Workers of the East India Company Settlements of Pre-Colonial Bengal.” Unpublished presented in the Leiden Slave Conference, 1-3 June 2007.

⁷⁰ See P. Grace, S. Koff, N. Nichols, S. Phillips, M. Prokosch, and Truong, *Vietnamese Women in Society and Revolution: 1. The French Colonial Period* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Vietnam Resource Center, 1974).

⁷¹ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 2,8, 41-50, 70-74; Warren, *Ah-Ku and Karayuki San*, pp. 100-128; Warren, “The Lives of the Ah Ku and Karayuki-San,” p. 89.

⁷² Daniel F. Doeppers, “Migrants in Urban Labor Markets: The Social Stratification of Tondo and Sampaloc in the 1890s.” In *Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, eds. Daniel F. Doeppers and Peter Xenos (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), pp. 255-258; Daniel F. Doeppers, “Migration to Manila: Changing Gender Representation, Migration Field, and Urban Structure.” In *Population History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, eds. Daniel Doeppers and Peter Xenos (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), pp. 140, 153-154; See Kenneth Gaw, *Superior Servants: The Legendary Cantonese Amahs of the Far East* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 77-81; Alison J. Murray, *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 19 and 30.

⁷³ Chakraborty, “The Household Workers of East India Company Settlements,” unpublished work.

others ran away. More importantly, women bequeathed money to individuals unrelated to them. This reveals the lack of rights among women sometimes led to circumstances in which individuals were regarded a kin. Regarding nineteenth century Manila, female acts of resistance included domestic servants absconding from their employers' homes, women playing illegal card games in Manila's wilderness areas in order to avoid the police, and wives filing for separation and damages against abusive husbands.⁷⁴ While not necessarily acts of resistance, Manileñas also left wills that reveal the wealth they accumulated in their lifetimes, their ability to work the colonial-economic system, as well as their attitudes, beliefs, and relations.⁷⁵

Women were also able to exploit opportunities once these became apparent to them. In colonial Batavia in the Netherlands East Indies, the lack of European women, and a policy of discouraging Company men from returning to Europe, resulted in lack of female companionship that local women filled. Thus, Asian women who married VOC personnel played a significant role in Company household and social affairs. The result of such elevated status was that clan affiliations in Batavian VOC society depended on the family lineages of such women, who were also responsible for fostering a flourishing hybrid culture in the settlement.⁷⁶ In a similar manner, archival records about Manila also reveal that women took full advantage of what colonial legal system allowed to operate businesses, own property, and file charges in court.⁷⁷

Other historical studies on the condition of women in various places and periods identify patterns regarding females residing in urbanized areas, particularly those who worked as domestic servants or prostitutes. In eighteenth century Paris, communities that had a higher proportion of females usually had

⁷⁴ Such cases are available in the folios of documents in the National Archives of the Philippines called *Servidumbres Domesticas* (Domestic Servants), *Juegos Prohibidos* (Prohibited Games), and *Adulterio* (Adultery and Divorce Cases).

⁷⁵ These accounts are accessible in an NAP document called *Protocolos* (Notarial Records) *de Manila*. Also, for a very insightful paper on how individual wills can be used to imagine the material and social world of people, please see Jean Gelman Taylor's work entitled, "Inventory and Testimony: Indonesian Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope," which she presented at the Leiden Slavery Conference, 1-3 June 2017.

⁷⁶ See Jean Gelman Taylor. *The Social World of Batavia : European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* . Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. For an example of how women in other cultures were able to exploit opportunities afforded by their colonizers, please see Mary Ann Fay's essay, "Women, Property and Power in Eighteenth Century Cairo," In *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. T. Ballantyne and A. Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 125-142.

⁷⁷ Such information are accessible in NAP documents such as the *Fincas Urbana*, *Contribucion Industrial*, and *Adulterio*.

better living conditions.⁷⁸ In the colonial Philippines, women who migrated to Manila were often compelled to leave their hometowns due to economic hardship.⁷⁹ Domestic work in households was one of the few options available to women in Europe in the nineteenth century,⁸⁰ as was the case in Western colonies in Asia even after independence.⁸¹ In fact, the emergence of domestic service as an occupation reflected the distance in status, wealth, and power between the rich and poor,⁸² as having servants was an indicator of the relative status of employing families.⁸³ Leong-Salobir has emphasized how the subordinate status of household servants also led Western colonizers to denigrate such individuals.⁸⁴

Previous works that dealt with the adverse conditions of women likewise identified patterns in prostitution. Across time and space, the highest rates of prostitution activity occurred in urban centers.⁸⁵ Moreover, researchers have sought to disprove the notion that all prostitutes worked full time. Like other forms of casual labor, some women only worked seasonally as prostitutes out of need.⁸⁶ Walkowitz attempted to remove the stigma attached to such women in English dock towns by asserting that sex work was a rational choice given the few decent paying employment options available to them. In the case of Spanish Manila, police files between the 1860s and 1890s indicate a significant number of those women arrested for soliciting sex were listed as seamstresses, cigar workers, laundresses, and domestics.⁸⁷

The aforementioned historical works demonstrate there is a significant amount of research globally that emphasize a woman's active role in making history, analyzes the causes of her marginal condition, and makes clear her ability to assert herself. However, there has been a lack of comparable studies on the

⁷⁸ Louis Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 244.

⁷⁹ Ken de Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, pp. 69 and 75 ; Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 148.; Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 177.

⁸⁰ Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 86.

⁸¹ Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," p. 256; Alison J. Murray, *No Money, No Honey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 19; Gaw, pp. 87-93.

⁸² Gaw, p. xv; Murray, p. 107.

⁸³ Patricia Branca, "Image and Reality," p. 186.

⁸⁴ Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), p. 60.

⁸⁵ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988). Pp. 189-190; Murray, *No Money, No Honey*, p. 107; De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, pp. 69 and 75; Warren, "The Lives of Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San," p. 89.

⁸⁶ Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes*, pp. 267-268; Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 40.

⁸⁷ See Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state, third reprint* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). The NAP has eight (8) book-bound copies of prostitution cases files labeled as *Prostitucion*.

individual and collective experiences of women in Manila and elsewhere in the Philippines during the Spanish period. Apart from the brief works of Dery⁸⁸ and De Bevoise⁸⁹ on Manila's prostitutes, cigar factory workers,⁹⁰ and urban female migrants, only Camagay's⁹¹ pioneering research has sought to describe aspects of the lives of Manila's working women in the latter years of Spanish rule. Her research, however, constituted a preliminary reconnaissance of the source materials available and, consequently, did not probe deeper into the archival sources and socio-economic processes that caused the shifting conditions that Manileñas experienced. Apart from filling this gap, there is also a need to further develop our understanding of women's lives in Spanish Manila by utilizing the ideas and work of human and historical geographers, as well as historical GIS practitioners.

New Perspectives on the Colonial City, and the "Contact Zone"

In the post-War era, social scientists became concerned about the impact of colonialism on subject peoples. This led researchers to question the validity of Eurocentric histories, and offering in their place alternative histories. In the Philippines, the works of historians like Agoncillo⁹² and de Jesus⁹³ provided Filipinos with interpretations of their past that served as examples of "history from below".⁹⁴ Their publications contain features of postcolonial thought that challenged the accepted knowledge and ideas promoted by erstwhile colonizers.⁹⁵ It has been argued that post-colonialism is truly "transformative" when such research is based upon the study of "forms, places,

⁸⁸ Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," pp. 475-489.

⁸⁹ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, pp. 69-93.

⁹⁰ See Edilberto De Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766-1880* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980).

⁹¹ See Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*.

⁹² See Teodoro Agoncillo, *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956).

⁹³ See De Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766-1880*. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980).

⁹⁴ See Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840 to 1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, c1979) and Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1988) are also examples of histories from below on the Philippines that uses content analysis of historical texts as a methodological approach.

⁹⁵ Koh, "Post-Colonial Approaches to Migration," pp. 433-435.

spaces, and experiences”,⁹⁶ which enables the voice and practices of subordinate groups to be revealed in colonial records and documents.⁹⁷

These ideas about spaces, power, and experiences influenced how postcolonial researchers have approached the study of colonial cities. They questioned the notion that the built environment of colonial cities simply reflected the impositions and values of a foreign culture, and the core-periphery relations that transpired between a dominant metropolitan center and its fringe settlements.⁹⁸ While Post-War scholars of colonial cities⁹⁹ noted that colonial cities reflected the unequal relations between a dominant colonizer and a subordinate population, Yeoh¹⁰⁰ argued that traditional historical geographies were silent on how urban native populations reacted to colonial rule. Colonial processes were not necessarily rigid endeavors that led to only one-sided outcomes. The postcolonial perspectives of Yeoh and others enable us to see colonial cities as contact zones, spaces where disadvantaged peoples used their agency to interact, resist, achieve accommodation with the authorities, and exploit opportunities. While these encounters did not necessarily result in conflicts,¹⁰¹ such encounters and engagements were embedded in the landscape.¹⁰²

Relations between colonizer and colonized, though clearly unequal, also resulted in accommodation and resistance. The former condition enabled colonial peoples, due to needs of the colonizer, to gain access to resources, which included allowing in-migration and other avenues for subject peoples to express themselves.¹⁰³ Resistance, alternatively, occurred when colonial settlements, urban or rural, become sites of conflict, spaces contested by subordinate peoples, whose daily lives were affected by colonial policy

⁹⁶ Brenda Yeoh (2003) in Koh, “Post-Colonial Approaches to Migration,” p. 432.

⁹⁷ See Yeoh, *Contesting Space*; James S. Duncan, “Embodying Colonialism? Domination and Resistance in Nineteenth Century Ceylonese Plantations,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2008), pp. 326-329.

⁹⁸ See, *Contesting Space*, pp. 2-3, 10.

⁹⁹ See Anthony D. King. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1976); Simon and McGee as mentioned by Yeoh in *Contesting Space*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ See Brenda SA Yeoh, “Historical Geographies of the Colonised World,” In *Modern Historical Geographies*, eds. Brian Graham and Catherine Nash (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), pp. 146-192.

¹⁰¹ John Morrissey, “Cultural Geographies of the Contact Zone: Gaels, Galls, and Overlapping Territories in Late Medieval Ireland,” *Social and Cultural Geography*, vol. 6, No. 4 (2005), p. 552.

¹⁰² Yeoh, “Historical Geographies of the Colonized World,” pp. 146-192; Nihal Perera, “Indigenising the Colonial City: Late 19th Century Colombo and its Landscape,” *Urban Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (2002), pp. 1704, 1707-1708; Maurizio Peleggi, “The Social and Material Life of Colonial Hotels: Comfort Zones as Contact Zones in British Colombo and Singapore, 1870-c1930,” *Journal of Social History*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2012), p. 146.

¹⁰³ Perera, “Indigenising the Colonial City,” pp. 1715-1716, 1718; See Resil Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Rule,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, vol. 34 (2006), pp. 11-32.

and practice.¹⁰⁴ Such contestations and resistance are certainly found in accounts of women in Manila working as prostitutes in the late 1800s, who solicited men in the streets, worked in tandem with pimps, and accepted clients in clandestine brothels or their own homes, despite knowing such activities were illegal.¹⁰⁵

Studies concerning Asian colonial cities, such as Singapore and Colombo, provide examples of how subordinate groups left their mark on the urban colonial landscape. The Singapore Chinese community utilized their traditional institutions to engage the British over how the built environment should be developed and managed. This struggle included matters regarding sanitation and waste disposal, the naming of streets, public spaces, and burial grounds.¹⁰⁶ In the capital city of Colombo in Ceylon, assimilation and taking advantage of opportunities made it possible for people of Ceylon to have an impact on the city's space and landscape. Members of the colonized elite co-opted by colonial authorities built houses similar to their colonial masters that reframed aspects of the architecture and edifices of the British. Moreover, the local population also transformed Colombo's landscape through the sheer numbers who migrated there. This rural-urban migration resulted in the development of a far more indigenous setting,¹⁰⁷ a population shift that also occurred in the environs of Spanish Manila.¹⁰⁸

A comprehensive historical interpretation of colonial Manila's urbanization showing how its lower-ranked migrants exploited opportunities and engaged with the colonial state has yet to be written. The argument that colonial cities are a product of active engagement between colonizers and their subject peoples is both a research topic and approach that holds much store with respect to Spanish Manila.

The physical development and social life of a colonial city, however, are not merely the outcomes of interactions between dominant and subordinate individuals living their daily lives. Sewell notes that social life, in general, "may be conceptualized as being composed of countless happenings or encounters in

¹⁰⁴ Grace Carswell, "Multiple Historical Geographies: Responses and Resistance to Colonial Conservation Schemes in East Africa," *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 32 (200), pp. 401-405.

¹⁰⁵ The National Archives of the Philippines has eight book-bound photocopies of case files of arrested prostitutes called the *Prostitucion*.

¹⁰⁶ See Chapters 5 to 8 of Yeoh, *Contesting Space*.

¹⁰⁷ Perera, "Indigenising the Colonial City," pp. 1710-1712, 1715.

¹⁰⁸ See Robert Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines*; Xavier Huetz de Lemps, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," pp. 160, 162, and 165.

which persons or groups of persons engage in social action(s)...constrained and enabled by the constitutive structures of their societies...continually shaped and reshaped by the creativity and stubbornness of their human creators.”¹⁰⁹ Thus, the nature of these incalculable arrangements between individuals in a city that result in the spatial and social development of a society need not always be concerned about conflict with each other.

This thesis explores such places of study by examining the spaces, stories, and transactions of laundresses, prostitutes, household servants, businesspersons, and property owners who belonged to Manila’s different racial groups and social classes. One approach to reveal the stories of Manila’s working class and propertied women draws upon the methods of historians and historical geographers who utilize Geographic Information Systems, in order to locate the lived-in and situated spaces of women.

Historical Geography, the City, and GIS

History and geography are allied disciplines. Events and places, the respective concerns of historians and geographers, are best understood contextually when tackled together. History has always dealt with a long spatial component, as reflected in the historians’ use of maps,¹¹⁰ and the hybridized efforts of these two disciplines yield historical geographies that are best understood as “historically sensitive geographies” or “geographically contextualized histories”.¹¹¹

Research before the 1990s concerned with “geographies of the past”¹¹² normally focused upon human settlements and landscapes, particularly in cities “where social life unfolds”¹¹³ and which reflected its

¹⁰⁹ William H. Sewell, Jr. as quoted in Edward L. Ayers, “Turning toward Space, Place, and Time,” In *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, eds. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. 5

¹¹⁰ Ayers, “Turning towards Space, Place, and Time,” p. 3.

¹¹¹ John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan, *Key Concepts in Historical Geography* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), p. 3.

¹¹² M. Pacione, *Historical Geography: Progress and Prospect* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. ix.

¹¹³ Gregory and Urry as stated in R. A Butlin, *Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Space and Time* (Great Britain: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, Inc., 1993), p. 51.

inhabitants' "spaces for living and making a living".¹¹⁴ This methodological approach is consistent with the human geographer's interest in how societies construct and develop spaces.¹¹⁵

Recent works in historical geography also reveal more varied topics and concerns.¹¹⁶ While this sub-discipline of geography normally deals with economic, cultural, social, and political matters regarding human settlements, cities, rural and agricultural areas, populations, and urbanization,¹¹⁷ contemporary scholarship has more interest with the explicit use of key social concepts, such as gender, race, and class to tackle more traditional topics.¹¹⁸ This new direction has enabled researchers of historical geography to recover aspects of existence of the marginalized sectors.¹¹⁹

Besides utilizing a variety of conceptual and social concepts, historians and historical geographers, in the 1980s, began examining societal landscapes with Geographic Information Systems (GIS); a database, mapping technology, and research platform¹²⁰ that allows large amounts of spatial data and other non-geographic information to be aggregated and analyzed through space and time. Such a quantitative approach resulted from understanding that qualitative sources, particularly the geographic information found in primary source material,¹²¹ could be spatially referenced with accuracy¹²² and rendered legible in map form.¹²³ The first historians to use GIS in their studies dealt with topics like fertility, migration,

¹¹⁴ Serote, *Rationalized Planning System*, p. 23.

¹¹⁵ Paul Cloke, Philip Crang, and Mark Goodwin, *Introducing Human Geographies* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. ix-xv.

¹¹⁶ Morrissey, et al., *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, pp. 1-13

¹¹⁷ Yvonne Whelan, "Making Sense of Urban Settlement," In *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, eds. John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), p. 143.

¹¹⁸ Ulf Strohmayer, "Class, Hegemony, and Resistance", In *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, eds. John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), p. 97.

¹¹⁹ John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan, "Introduction," In *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, eds., John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), pp. 1-2.

¹²⁰ Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes, "Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial Humanities: Deepening Scholarship and Broadening Technologies," In *Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS and Spatial History*, eds. Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), pp. ix-xi.

¹²¹ Anne Kelly Knowles, "Historical Uses of GIS." *Paper delivered at the PASCL symposium, "Future Foundations: Mapping the Past: Building the Philadelphia GeoHistory Network*. December 2, 2005.

¹²² Christopher Lloyd, Ian N. Gregory, G. Shuttlesworth, and Keith D. Lilley, "Exploring change in urban areas using GIS: data sources, linkages and problems," *Annals of GIS*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2012), pp.72, 77-79.

¹²³ Ian N. Gregory and Richard G. Healey, "Historical GIS: structuring, mapping, and analyzing geographies of the past," *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 31, no. 5 (2007), pp. 638-639.

economic growth, and populations, all critical areas of history where quantitative analysis was initially utilized.¹²⁴

GIS enables researchers to visualize and re-represent previously unexplored geographic patterns of specific societal activities and events,¹²⁵ as well as “discern historical patterns and relationships that are otherwise invisible.”¹²⁶ GIS makes it possible for geographical questions to become a central aspect of historical inquiry. In fact, the re-examination of long-held historical interpretations,¹²⁷ and the formulation of new topics of social inquiry are some of the possibilities offered by GIS.¹²⁸

This technology also enables historical researchers to achieve a better grasp of human behavior across space and time. Currently, historical GIS practitioners are concerned with the analysis of “continuants”, or human activities that endure over time (i.e., occupations, buildings) and “occurents”, events that happen and then cease to exist (i.e., arrests, criminal activity, and death).¹²⁹ Besides being a research tool, GIS is also a “visual language” that enables historians to “emplace” his or her subject. It also facilitates the writing of spatial narratives about the past¹³⁰ and fosters a more spatially oriented historical imagination.¹³¹ All of these possibilities provided by GIS facilitate the production of new knowledge and a more nuanced historical scholarship.¹³²

These historical advantages GIS offers, particularly the visual representation of past activities in a spatial context, also provides a means of giving voice to marginalized groups, especially women. Equally important in relation to this thesis is the extent to which HGIS studies have focused on the histories of cities, such as Tokyo, London, and Sydney, creating GIS narratives with databases derived from records

¹²⁴ Gregory and Geddes, “Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial History,” pp. x and xiv.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Taylor in Anne Knowles, “The contested nature of historical GIS.” *International Journal of Geographical Information Science*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2014), p. 206.

¹²⁷ Anne Kelly Knowles and Richard G. Healey, “Geography, Timing, and Technology: A GIS-based Analysis of Pennsylvania’s Iron Industry, 1825-1875,” *The Journal of Economic History* (2006), pp. 609-610, 631.

¹²⁸ Gregory and Healey, “Historical GIS,” p. 644.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Travis in Knowles, “The contested nature of historical GIS,” p. 207.

¹³¹ Baker in Knowles, “The contested nature of historical GIS,” p. 207.

¹³² Gregory and Geddes, “Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial History,” p. x; Gregory and Healey, “Historical GIS,” p. 644.

pertaining to land use, landownership, commercial and economic activities, as well as census records.¹³³ Archival records for nineteenth century Manila contains information for all these abovementioned data categories involving female urban residents, as demonstrated by the databases and HGIS papers produced by selected faculty of the University of the Philippines Department of Geography and the Global Histories Project based at the University of Tokyo.¹³⁴

Towards an Approach and Methods

Social History

The approach and methods utilized for this study of Manila's women in the late nineteenth century will require a combination of perspectives, methodologies, and techniques used by social historians, human geographers, and researchers involved with historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS) studies. Social histories can reveal individual and collective stories; the everyday lives and voices of largely ignored historical actors.¹³⁵ Connecting this plurality of voices and stories¹³⁶ to the wider processes and structures that influenced their societies,¹³⁷ reveals how individuals and groups in a particular society and period were "able to live the big changes".¹³⁸ Moreover, such histories must also demonstrate a subordinate group's

¹³³ Gregory and Healey, "Historical GIS," pp. 640-641; Knowles, "Historical Uses of GIS," unpublished work.

¹³⁴ This Global Histories Project under Prof. Tsukasa Mizushima of the Department of Orient History at University of Tokyo derived its funds from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). At present, databases involving thousands of entries have already been produced using archival documents at the National Archives of the Philippines such as the *Padron General de Vecindario* in selected Manila districts and the *Contribucion Industrial de Manila*.

¹³⁵ Burke, ed., *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, pp. 10-11; Jim Sharpe, "History from Below." In *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), p. 26; Joan W. Scott, "Women's History," In *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), pp. 52-53; Oliver Zunz, ed., *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 3, 5-6.

¹³⁶ See Edilberto De Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines*; James Francis Warren, "The Lives of Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San," pp. 87-102; James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), p. vii.

¹³⁷ Warren, "The Lives of the Ah Ku and Karayuki-San," p. 89; Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, pp. 5 and 18; Sone, "Facing Away from Japan," p. 107; Gaw, *Superior Servants*, pp. 54, 58-59.

¹³⁸ Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, p. 18.

agency and ability to resist the authorities,¹³⁹ uncover their material and inner worlds,¹⁴⁰ and identify patterns and trends in their everyday activities.¹⁴¹

Giving voice to ordinary people and attempting to recover their largely ignored experiences¹⁴² requires the researcher to create a “thick description” of his subjects’ world, emphasizing their personal encounters and events.¹⁴³ Consequently, this dissertation attempts to produce a prosopography, a collective biography,¹⁴⁴ of Manila’s women from different backgrounds; a collective portrait that provides a deeper appreciation of their lives, the social spaces they inhabited, and the larger processes that brought them to Manila, and the life of the city as they experienced it.

Such detailed accounts and reconstructions, in turn, require the ability to draw together material from a wide variety of sources. Borrowing ideas and techniques from other social science fields such as anthropology and human geography, this research utilizes sources such as wills, newspaper articles and advertisements, photographs, and literature, often employed in traditional histories. The analysis of qualitative and quantitative information culled from these sources provide context and meaning about Manila’s women; crucial data found in voluminous state records churned out by a “laborious bureaucracy”¹⁴⁵ that sought to make their citizens and colonial subjects more legible.¹⁴⁶

One cannot always glean information from such historical accounts in a straightforward manner. Thus, I have heeded the advice of Davin, Samuel, and Burke, among others, recognizing it is imperative for a researcher to develop the ability to “read” or deconstruct documents in a particular way.¹⁴⁷ This analytical

¹³⁹ See James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹⁴⁰ Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, pp. 137-145; Jean Gelman Taylor, “Inventory and Testimony: Indonesian Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope,” paper presented during the Leiden Slavery Conference in Leiden, Netherlands, 1-3 June 2017; Sharpe, “History from Below,” p. 30.

¹⁴¹ Burke, ed., *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, pp. 8-11.

¹⁴² Sonya O. Rose, *What is Gender History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 109.

¹⁴³ Warren, *Ah Ku and Kaayuki-San*, p. 98

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁴⁵ Sharpe, “History from Below,” p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ See James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Anna Davin, “Feminism and Labour History.” In *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, Keagan Paul, 1981), p. 178; Raphael Samuel, ed. *People’s History and Socialist Theory* (London:

technique enables the historian to reconstruct aspects of a people's existence - their experiences, worldviews, and motivations, and to recreate the context and setting of their lives,¹⁴⁸ from fragmentary records, often from archives.¹⁴⁹ Such a method becomes even more important since most of the documents I utilize are government records, signifying the State's exercise of power produced for purposes other than what a researcher requires.¹⁵⁰

Consequently, my reading and examination of archival records pertaining to Manila's women is guided by Brewer's assertion that a historian should "read between the lines" of a document.¹⁵¹ Such astute awareness enables the discovery of hidden stories of hitherto silent individuals and groups,¹⁵² and reveals the State and its subjects' values and motivations,¹⁵³ and their participation in daily life.¹⁵⁴

Maximizing the use of a particular source is a skill acquired through practice combined with doses of inquisitiveness and imagination.¹⁵⁵ Given it is only possible to achieve such "reading skills" through practice, this research required me to read as much archival case material as possible about Manila's women in order to develop a broad understanding about their characteristics, motivations, and behavior while living and working in nineteenth century Manila.¹⁵⁶

Routledge Keagan Paul, 1981), p. xiv; Burke, ed., *New Perspectives in Historical Writing, 2nd Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Charles Tilly, "Retrieving European Lives," In *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History*, ed. Oliver Zunz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), pp. 11, 15, 21, 25, 30, 32, 43; Jean Gelman Taylor, "Inventory and Testimony."

¹⁴⁹ Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, *Disordered Lives: Eighteenth Century Families and their Unruly Relatives* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵¹ Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations*, p. xxii.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*; Scott, Joan Wallach. "The Problem of Invisibility." In *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*, ed. S. J. Kleinberg (Oxford: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1998), p. 13.

¹⁵³ William Henry Scott, "History of the Inarticulate," In *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and other Essays in Philippine History*, ed. William Henry Scott (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), pp. 18-27.

¹⁵⁴ P. Hourani, "Spatial Organization and Status of Nineteenth Century Women in Australia, *Australian Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 8, pp. 70-77.

¹⁵⁵ Taylor, "Inventory and Testimony"; Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, pp. vii-viii; Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations*, p. xxiii.

¹⁵⁶ Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power, and Solidarity in Eighteenth Century Paris* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), pp. 5-6.

Human Geography

In general, historical work has relied more on facts-based evidence than on theories. Yet “new interrogations” or “representations” of the past can significantly benefit from the methods and approaches of other disciplines.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the way in which I examine my sources relies significantly upon concepts and approaches borrowed from human geography that blend well with social and women’s history.

These concepts include those regarding space and/or place.¹⁵⁸ Whether unusual or mundane,¹⁵⁹ spaces are outcomes of social actions and relations¹⁶⁰ influenced by wider social and material processes.¹⁶¹ They serve as repositories of identity, social interaction, memory, and meaning.¹⁶² Such sites serve as scenes of people’s everyday routines,¹⁶³ which they use, occupy, and transform as they go about living the meaning of their lives.¹⁶⁴ Spaces are also not value-free as they reflect how society is organized.¹⁶⁵ In this sense, such places are gendered – a society’s members readily understand what sites are designated for men and women.¹⁶⁶ Historians should become more conscious of the fact that, whether actual or represented, landscapes, spaces, and places are texts of sorts that serve as a source of people’s identities and expressions of their social life.¹⁶⁷ Such sites also reveal and problematize power relations in society, particularly in

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. xlv-xlvi.

¹⁵⁸ For this study, space and place are considered synonymous to each other and, thus, interchangeable.

¹⁵⁹ Mary McLeod, “‘Everyday’ and ‘Other’ Spaces,” In *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 184-185.

¹⁶⁰ Edward W. Soja, “Reassertions: Towards to a Spatialized Ontology,” In *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1996), p. 633.

¹⁶¹ Linda McDowell and Doreen Massey, “A Woman’s Place?,” In *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1996), pp. 459-460.

¹⁶² Richard W. Wilkie, “‘Sense of Place’ and Selected Conceptual Approaches to Place,” *Journal of the American Institute of Architecture Students* Issue 55 (Spring 2003), p. 31.

¹⁶³ Soja, “Reassertions: Towards to a Spatialized Ontology,” p. 633; Jane Rendell, “Introduction: Gender, Space,” In *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 101.

¹⁶⁴ Rendell, “Introduction” *Gender, Space*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁵ Shirley Ardener, “The Partition of Space,” In *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 113 and 115.

¹⁶⁶ Ardener, “The Partition of Space,” p. 115; Doreen Massey, “Space, Place, and Gender,” In *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 129; Rendell, “Introduction’: Gender and Space,” p. 103.

¹⁶⁷ James Kneale, “Secondary Worlds: reading novels as geographical research,” In *Cultural Geography in Practice*, eds., Miles Ogborn, Alison Blunt, Pyrs Gruffud, David Pinder, and John May (New York: Routledge, 2014).p. 40; Miles

relation to how the State deals with certain sectors of society.¹⁶⁸ Thus, this dissertation about Manila's women in the late nineteenth century recognizes the interdependence of history and geography and utilizes concepts about space and place as a means for enriching our understanding of historical evidence.

Gender research that investigated the historical roles and status of women, concerns that human geographers have also shared, have influenced this thesis. In addition, human geography's advocates, who also utilize historical sources, foster perspectives that demonstrate the existence of women's history and that they are major participants in and affected by larger processes and events.¹⁶⁹ Research that searches for source material about women, children, families, and relations between males and females is one way to develop women's history. Another avenue of inquiry is to explain the historical basis of patriarchy in a society, including women's entrapment in non-wage reproductive work,¹⁷⁰ their sexual objectification,¹⁷¹ and the segregation of female lives to the home¹⁷² and a few public spaces, such as the park and the department store.¹⁷³

Historical Geography and Historical GIS

My research methods and concepts from social history and human geography come together within the sub-discipline of historical geography. Like social historians, historical geographers also study past individuals and groups and uncover underlying ideologies from past source materials.¹⁷⁴ However, there

Ogborn, Alison Blunt, Pyrs Gruffud, David Pinder, and John May, eds. *Cultural Geography in Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁸ Miles Ogborn, "Knowledge is Power: Using archival research to interpret state formation," In *Cultural Geography in Practice*, eds., Miles Ogborn, Alison Blunt, Pyrs Gruffud, David Pinder, and John May (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 10-12.

¹⁶⁹ Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," In *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 75-76.

¹⁷⁰ Also called "social reproduction," reproductive work refers to non-paid activities of those in a household who are doing current or future paid work. Such work, usually done by women, is commonly unpaid and not recorded in national accounts. Such activities include child and elderly care, housecleaning, and other forms of domestic work. See European Institute for Gender Inequality, "Reproductive Work," <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1352> and Exploring Economics, "Reproductive Labour and Care," <https://www.exploring-economics.org/en/discover/reproductive-labour-and-care/>.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁷² Rendell, "Introduction: Gender, Space," p. 103.

¹⁷³ McLeod, "'Everyday' and 'Other' Spaces," p. 187.

¹⁷⁴ Dennis Hardy, "Historical Geography and Heritage Studies," *Area* vol. 20, No 4 (Dec. 1988), p. 337.

is an added dimension, namely that such interpretations of the past geographically contextualizes people's experiences, subjects their activities to geographical questions,¹⁷⁵ and render the answers in visual form.¹⁷⁶

Historical studies have long had a “strong spatial component”, and one of geography's most visual manifestations – the map, has complemented many histories.¹⁷⁷ While topics in historical geography have traditionally dealt with data-intensive studies, including agrarian change, landscape transformation, and labor migration, many studies have focused on human settlements (i.e., cities) “where social life unfolds”¹⁷⁸ and where one could observe the imprint of people's spaces for living, and making a living.¹⁷⁹ Such collective data about a specific group of people, particularly of a social, economic, and demographic nature can be best located in space and, in turn, communicated, and visualized in map format.¹⁸⁰ The ongoing interest in space and place among geography scholars¹⁸¹ has led to their use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) – software that allows a researcher to store, retrieve, visualize, and analyze data that can be spatially located in order to produce knowledge that further expands the boundaries of historical scholarship.¹⁸² This study also frames the collective biography of Manila's female population in visual form by painstakingly building a coordinate-specific database of information,¹⁸³ on the late nineteenth century Manileña and her activities; one that is visually created and analyzed through the map-making capacities of GIS.

For example, the *Prostitution* bundles in the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) contain case files of women arrested for vagrancy, scandal, or sex work. These reports detail personal information about

¹⁷⁵ John Morrissey, David Nally, Ulf Strohmayer, and Yvonne Whelan, *Key Concepts in Historical Geography* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2014), p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. i.

¹⁷⁷ Edward L. Ayers, “Turning toward Space, Place, and Time,” p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Gregory and Urry as stated in R.A. Butlin, *Historical Geography: Through the Gates of Space and Time* (Great Britain: Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, Inc., 1993), p. 51.

¹⁷⁹ Serote, *Rationalized Planning System*, pp. 24-25.

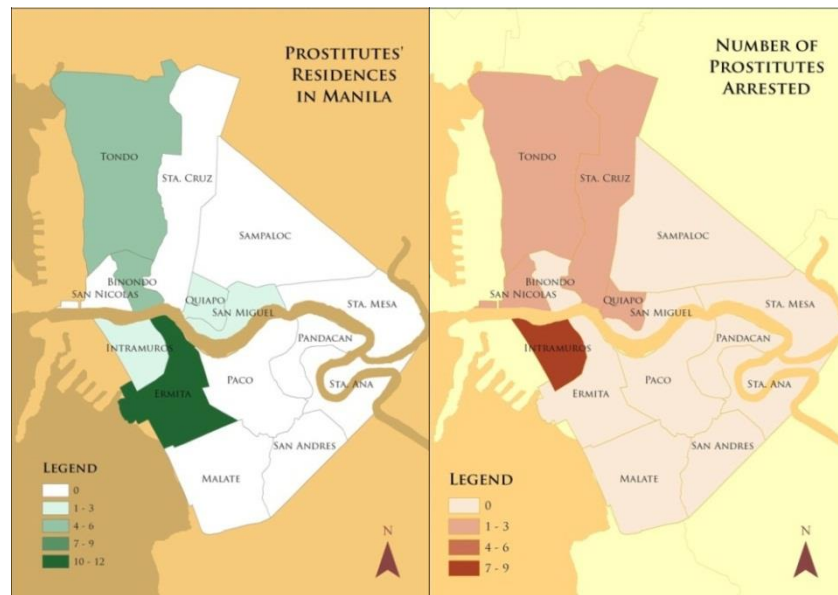
¹⁸⁰ J. L. Robinson, “The Varied “Mental Maps” Our Students Have,” *Canadian Geographic*, vol. 101, no. 5 (1981), p. 52; Christina E. Dando, ““The Map Proves It”: Map Use by the American Woman Suffrage,” *Cartographica*, Volume 45, Number 4 (2010), pp. 221-240.

¹⁸¹ Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes, “Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial Humanities,” pp. x-xi; David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010), p. ii.

¹⁸² Gregory and Geddes, “Introduction: From Historical GIS to Spatial Humanities,” p. x.

¹⁸³ Gregory and Healey. “Historical GIS,” pp. 638-639.

these women and girls, including their place of residence and place of arrest, in Manila's districts from 1881 to 1886. Normally, the presentation of such personal information would be limited to a graph or table format. GIS, however, allows us the researcher to process the data and display it in map form as shown below (See Maps 1.1 and 1.2).



Maps 1.1 and 1.2: Prostitute Residences and Places of Arrest in Manila.¹⁸⁴

An analysis of Map 2 reveals that not only did the majority of prostitutes arrested for the period 1881-1886 reside in the district of Ermita, but there was also a concentration of sex workers established in the western portion of Manila. The map also shows that the places where accused sex workers resided were close to Intramuros and Binondo, the politico-administrative heart, and, commercial center of, Manila.

Map 3, on the other hand, demonstrates how prostitutes navigated the spaces of their trade. There is a Filipino adage that one does not throw garbage in one's backyard. In the case of the list of identified *mujeres de publica*, almost all prostitutes were arrested near their places of residence. Map 3 also reveals that all arrests outside of Intramuros occurred in settlements north of the Pasig River. Such insights may still be possible to grasp without the use of GIS or a map, but the manner of arriving at such conclusions

¹⁸⁴ Maps produced by Johnson C. Damian, a former Instructor at the University of the Philippines Department of Geography.

would often be a more difficult process when done without cartographic information. Moreover, the insights derived from the maps can result in the identification of new questions and topics for further research.

Sources

This thesis utilizes colonial government records, periodicals, illustrations, photographs, and historical accounts and literature to shed light on the lives and spaces of late nineteenth century working and propertied women of Spanish Manila. The majority of these documents are in digital and microfilm formats in the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) and the National Library of the Philippines (NLP) in Manila. Digitized records of selected documents are also accessible from the Church of the Latter Day Saints (CLDS) website, familysearch.org.¹⁸⁵ Complementing the primary data gathered from these sites are records and photographs from the Bureau of Insular Affairs United States National Archives, College Park, Maryland (USNACP).

Archival Documents

The NAP is the main repository of archival records about women in Spanish Manila. There are around one hundred bundles (*legajos*) of documents concerning the economic, social, and spatial aspects of the Manileñas' lives between 1860 and 1896. They include the following important record series:

1. *Asuntos Criminales* (Criminal Cases);
2. *Juegos Prohibidos Monte y Panguingue* (Prohibited Games);
3. *Prostitucion* (Prostitution Cases);
4. *Servidumbres Domestica* (Domestic Servants);
5. *Adulterio* (Adultery Cases);
6. *Padron General de Vecindario* (Civil Registers);
7. *Fincas Urbana* (Urban Real Property Taxes);
8. *Contribucion Industrial* (Business Taxes);

¹⁸⁵ Given the immense difficulty of accessing various government records due to the imposition restrictions on access in of the National Archives of the Philippines and the Philippine Government during my period of research, I am truly grateful to Mr. Felvir Dieta Ordinario, head of records at the Church of the Latter Day Saints Philippine main office in White Plains, Quezon City, for giving me access to their website's *Adulterios* and *Protocolos* records.

9. *Memorias de Manila* (Socio-Economic Profile of Manila Districts and Towns);
10. *Gaceta de Manila* (Manila Gazette); and
11. *Protocolos* (Notarial Records)

Other archival material pertinent to this study were reviewed at the USNACP. These include the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (Record Group 350) that pertains to prostitution, servants, cigar workers, gambling, divorce, marketplaces, and recreation activities in the Philippines during the initial decades of American Rule.

On-Site and Online Library-based Materials

The National Library of the Philippines and the different libraries of the University of the Philippines in Diliman (UPD) are sites that also hold important primary sources for this dissertation. The NLP houses microfilms of Spanish-language Manila periodicals from 1860 to the early 1890s containing articles, illustrations, and advertisements that offer a deeper insight into how women of various socioeconomic backgrounds were regarded and the roles the wider society expected them to fulfill. These often satirical newspapers and women's magazines include the *Un Bello Sexo*, *La Ilustracion Filipina*, *La Opinion*, *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, *Manila Alegre*, *Manililla*, and *Polichinea*, all of which sought to promote patriarchal views and values that marginalized and objectified women. The libraries of the University of the Philippines-Diliman, on the other hand, hold the majority of late nineteenth and early twentieth century travellers' accounts of Manila and the Philippines that were read for various chapters of this thesis, as well as early American Period Philippine newspaper articles that depicted the condition of colonial women in Manila society. Aside from the website of the Church of Latter Day Saints, *The United States and its Territories, 1870-1925: The Age of Imperialism* Section of the University of Michigan Library Online Database also provided travellers' accounts and historical novels that were used in this dissertation.

Producing a Quantitative and Qualitative Database

All the information gleaned from the above records were incorporated into qualitative and quantitative databases. While producing databases subsequently allowed for ease in accessing, arranging, and analyzing information, generating several thematic databanks required more than a year to make them usable for mapping purposes.

Normally rendered in MS Word or MS Excel formats, the production of the databases required identifying the different categories of information – demographic, locational, visual, and quantitative – that could be gathered and classified from each particular source. The assembly of such data files commenced once that classifications were determined. Clearly, not all sources provided the same information. Consequently, each type of primary source required a different approach. For example, each record-type from the NAP had its own database. The notarial records involving women from the *Protocolos* series ended up having 14 categories, several of which were quantifiable and provided geographic information. *The Servidumbres Domestica*, *Prostitucion*, *Vecindario*, *Fincas Urbana*, and *Contribucion Industrial* likewise yielded information that could be located or subjected to quantitative analysis,¹⁸⁶ thus also allowing their rendering into maps.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, cases from the *Adulterio* and *Asuntos Criminales* were primarily qualitative in nature and thus more effective in terms of providing multiple stories, with texture and nuance, about the experience of women in Manila in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The text and illustrations from the period magazines and satirical newspapers also yielded similar information of a more qualitative value.

¹⁸⁶ Please note that the averages and percentages generated by such quantitative databases are with respect only to the information gathered from these documents. The NAP's records of civil registers, court cases, and court announcements, among others are too voluminous to be collected for the purposes of this dissertation. This researcher makes no claims that the statistics in this thesis completely reflect the realities Manileña in the period under study.

¹⁸⁷ The *Protocolos*, *Servidumbres Domesticas*, and *Prostitucion* documents also provide a rich source of qualitative information that proved integral in providing depth to the collective biography of the Manileña of the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 2. The Manila She Encountered: The Wider Processes and Events that Shaped Late Nineteenth Century Manila

The historian Marcel Pöete argued that cities have characteristics similar to organisms. Like other biological entities, cities are composed of numerous complex parts whose survival and development require access to resources within and outside of its environment. Beyond mere instinct, cities, like organisms, are the outcomes of decisions¹⁸⁸ made by those who have a stake in its future.

Manila was a primate city that has continued to evolve because of processes and events within and beyond its ever-expanding borders. This chapter sets out these political, socioeconomic, and demographic processes, including stochastic events and climactic occurrences, which fashioned late nineteenth century Manila's development and influenced the lives of the Manileña. The city these women lived through had become the redistribution hub of the Philippines' export-oriented cash crop economy, served as a core to an expanding hinterland of neighboring provinces, and a labor market for opportunity-seeking men and women migrating from settlements within the colony and overseas. These experiences of Manila-based women were unearthed mainly because the colony by the late nineteenth century already had a government bureaucracy that systematically gathered information about its people. Unfortunately, this record of women and their activities also reveals a persistent patriarchal culture imposed since the Spanish conquest.

The Philippines' Transition to a Commodity-Based Export Economy with Manila as its Hub

Since its establishment in 1571, Manila had been Spain's designated capital in the Philippines. By the early seventeenth century, Manila had become archipelagic Southeast Asia's first primate city,¹⁸⁹ functioning as a crucial component of the Galleon Trade and the "ecclesiastical center" of the religious orders.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Diana Periton, "Generative History: Marcel Poete and the City as Urban Organism," *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 11, issue 4 (2006), pp. 580-581.

¹⁸⁹ Daniel F. Doeppers, "The Development of Cities before 1900," In *Changing Southeast Asian Cities: Readings on Urbanization*, eds. Y.M. Yeing and C.P. Lo (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 35.

¹⁹⁰ Richard M. Morse, "Colonial Manila. The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis" (Book Review), by Robert R. Reed, *Journal of Historical Geography*; London Vol. 7, Iss. 2, (Apr 1, 1981), p. 188; Doeppers, "The Development of Cities before 1900," p. 35.

Manila, while it served as the political and religious hub of the Philippines, initially had little direct economic relationship with the other towns and provinces of the colony. Its economy largely depended on the extraction of tribute from other settlements, earnings from products supplied by the Chinese and Spanish residents invested in the Galleon Trade and the annual Royal Subsidy supplied by the colonial government from Mexico.¹⁹¹ This mercantilist economy left the natural resources of the Philippines, particularly its lands, largely untapped.¹⁹² With no enticements to produce agricultural products beyond the required tax payments¹⁹³ and daily sustenance, the economies of most Philippine settlements remained at subsistence levels.

A Manila economy partially separated from the affairs of other settlements in the colony was the norm for several centuries of Spanish rule. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, notable changes within the Philippines and Spain laid the foundation for the archipelago's transition from a subsistence economy to one based upon colonial capitalism. This economic shift towards integration to the modern world system led to widespread commercial, demographic, and spatial changes in the city in the nineteenth century. Despite the lack of interest among Spaniards in agriculture or trade in towns away from the capital, modest levels of population growth in nearby settlements led to increased productivity after the 1750s. These developmental trends, due largely to the efforts of Chinese traders and some European businessmen, and the increasing circulation of coins in the provinces, led to more commercial transactions and the cultivation of land for profit.¹⁹⁴ Manila emerged as an urban commercial center where local natives began working in increasing numbers as artisans, small traders, and even government workers, while also attracting an ever-increasing number of overseas Chinese.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands. A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social, and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago and Its Political Dependencies Embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin), pp. 271-274.

¹⁹² Conrado S. Benitez, "The Old Philippines' Industrial Development", In *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898*, eds. Austin Craig and Conrado Benitez (Manila: Philippine Education Company, Inc., 1916), p. 68.

¹⁹³ Foreman, p. 272; Felix I. Rodriguez, "Land and the Philippine Revolution: An Ecologist's Perspective," In *The Philippine Revolution and Beyond: Papers from the International on the Centennial of the 1896 Philippine Revolution*, ed. Elmer A. Ordoñez (Manila: Philippine Centennial Commission, 1998), p. 200; Nicolas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), p. 104.

¹⁹⁴ Onofre D. Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1997), pp. 2, 36-38, 51, 56-57.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

There is no question that the scale of such human agency to spur productivity in the absence of State support is both commendable and impressive. Nevertheless, widespread structural change often requires a shift in thinking and perspective among those in power. The new mindset that led to Manila's transformation in the nineteenth century was anchored in the political and economic reforms promoted by Spain's Bourbon royalty in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Based on the assumptions of economists and political theorists, new basic ideas, including the rejection of superstition, and the emergence of scientific thought, and, most importantly, the significance of developing colonial economies for the mother country's benefit, soon reached the Philippines. Successive governor-generals soon after the British occupation of Manila in 1762, began enacting policies to develop the natural resources of Spain's distant colony, especially the cultivation of agricultural cash crops.¹⁹⁶ Governor General Jose Basco y Vargas' played a critical role in attempting to make the colony more self-sufficient by encouraging the production of cash crops. His pioneering policies and programs included the establishment of the Tobacco Monopoly,¹⁹⁷ the decision to allow all individuals irrespective of race to trade in the provinces, and the establishment of the Royal Philippine Company that promoted the cultivation of cash crops for the world market.¹⁹⁸

In essence, these economic reforms underscored the colonial government's efforts to transform the Philippines from a financial liability¹⁹⁹ into an economically self-reliant colony of the mother country. This drive towards self-sufficiency was also borne out of Spain's realization that costly wars fought against European neighbors made subsidizing its colonial empire increasingly untenable. The recommendation of the Spanish Cortes to end the Galleon Trade, and, along with it, the Philippines' annual Royal Subsidy highlighted this stark reality. Furthermore, the colonial administration in Manila was soon compelled to fund its own operations after Spain's mainland colonies in the Americas had won their independence by 1825.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, pp. 186-187;

¹⁹⁷ See Edilberto C. De Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766-1880* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980).

¹⁹⁸ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 94-99.

¹⁹⁹ Tomas de Comyn, *State of the Philippines in 1810* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), p. 52.

²⁰⁰ David P. Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York: American Book Company, c1905), p. 227.

The final factor in the Philippines' transition to a colonial-capitalist economy, however, was opening the islands to international commerce. This process initially commenced in the last decades of the eighteenth century when the vessels of foreign traders were allowed to dock and exchange goods in Manila.²⁰¹ The city officially opened to all international traders by 1834, but was virtually a free port since 1820.²⁰² Between 1855 and 1872 the ports of Iloilo, Tacloban, Cebu, and Zamboanga in the Visayas and Mindanao regions, as well as that of Legazpi and Sual in Luzon accepted foreign commerce.²⁰³ By 1870, despite all these open ports, 99% of all imports still arrived in the Philippines via the port of Manila.²⁰⁴

According to Sir John Bowring, a British official who toured the Philippines in 1859, everything changed for the Philippines when the colony officially opened to international commerce,²⁰⁵ with Manila serving as the main commercial hub for circulating goods inside and outside the Archipelago.²⁰⁶ Manila-based British and American trading houses encouraged landowning provincial native and *mestizo* elite families, who formed the base of agricultural cash crop cultivators by the 1820s, to produce ever more agricultural export commodities, including sugar, tobacco, abaca, coffee, and indigo.²⁰⁷

The emergence of larger scale commercial agriculture resulted in land becoming a wealth-producing asset.²⁰⁸ Particular provinces were soon known for supplying Manila's trading houses with designated crops. Pampanga, Bulacan, Laguna, Nueva Ecija, Batangas, and Negros became synonymous with sugar.²⁰⁹ The provinces of Albay and Tayabas (Quezon), along with the islands of Negros and Panay were the main

²⁰¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 105; Barrows, p. 218.

²⁰² John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 63-64.

²⁰³ *El archipiélago filipino: colección de datos geográficos, estadísticos, cronológicos y científicos, relativos al mismo, entresacados de anteriores obras ú obtenidos con la propia observación y estudio* (Washington: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1900), p. 61; Vicente Barrantes, *Apuntes interesantes sobre las Islas Filipinas: Que pueden ser utiles para hacer las reformas convenientes y proiductivas para el pais y para nacion* (Madrid: Imprenta de el Pueblo, 1870), p. 20.

²⁰⁴ Doeppers, "The Development of Cities before 1900," p. 39.

²⁰⁵ John Bowring, *The Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1859), p. 299.

²⁰⁶ *El archipiélago Filipino*, p. 61.

²⁰⁷ Corpuz, pp. 105-108, Jean Mallat, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania* (National Historical Institute: Manila, 1983), p.503.

²⁰⁸ Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965), p. 31

²⁰⁹ Barrantes, *Apuntes interesantes sobre las Islas Filipinas*, p. 32; Larkin, *The Pampangans*, p. 41; Foreman, *The Philippines Islands*, pp. 270-71.

producers of abaca.²¹⁰ Batangas, Laguna, and Cavite were the coffee centers of the colony, while lands from Nueva Ecija, in Central Luzon, up to the Cagayan Valley and Ilocos Region in the north produced tobacco for local consumption and export.²¹¹ Nearly all these commodities were transported to Manila before being shipped to various parts of the world. In a sense, these provinces comprised a vast hinterland area whose agricultural outputs were delivered to Manila.

The Philippines' export and import trade based primarily in Manila increased steadily over the decades. In 1810, the value of all goods that entered and left the country was \$10 million USD.²¹² By 1842, eight years after the formal opening of Manila to foreign shipping, the value of trade commodities that the city handled had increased nearly four-fold to \$38 million.²¹³ The value of this trade peaked in 1892 at \$60 million.²¹⁴ This increasing value in international trade was underscored by Legarda's²¹⁵ assertion that by 1870, the colony's subsistence economy had been transformed to one mainly geared to producing agricultural commodities for export. This international trade's value to the colonial state was further highlighted by the fact that after direct taxes (50%), one-fifth of the government's annual revenue came from customs dues on goods by the 1890s, most of which passed through the port of Manila.²¹⁶

Beyond import and export statistics, foreign observations of Manila underscored its crucial position as the commercial center of the Philippine economy. A few years after formally opening to international shipping in 1834, the city was already the site of the colony's richest Indo-Chinese owned warehouses. Aside from foreign trading ships, Manila was also the focal point of a burgeoning inter-island trade.²¹⁷ By the 1880s, the capitol was a metropolis where the ceaseless of movement of ships reflected its bustling commercial and maritime life.²¹⁸ Alden March, an American author who visited Intramuros and its suburbs in the late 1890s, described Manila as the only real commercial area of the country.²¹⁹ Recognizing the

²¹⁰ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 281 and 288.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 289 and 293.

²¹² Unless indicated, all amounts with dollar signs are in US dollars.

²¹³ Mallat, *The Philippines*, pp. 465-66, 491.

²¹⁴ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 297.

²¹⁵ Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 170.

²¹⁶ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 251 and 332.

²¹⁷ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 465.

²¹⁸ Francisco Javier de Moya y Jimenez, *Las islas Filipinas en 1882; estudios históricos, geográficos, estadísticos y descriptivos* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de El Correo, 1883), p. 265.

²¹⁹ March, *The history and conquest of the Philippines*, p. 37.

financial opportunities it provided, many well-to-do sons of Chinese, Chinese *mestizos*, and natives began their careers then, as employees of Manila's foreign commercial firms.²²⁰

An Urbanizing Manila and its Agricultural Hinterland

The crucial necessity for opening Southeast Asian ports that could serve as starting points for cash crop production²²¹ led to the development of primate cities in the region. These were geographically large centers of commerce, administration, and transportation²²² through which foreign powers could control the resources of smaller, peripheral, and cash crop-producing rural settlements.²²³ The Philippines was no exception. By the end of the nineteenth century, the provinces of Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, and Morong (Rizal), Pampanga, and Pangasinan on the Central Luzon Plains, Albay in the Bicol Region, as well as Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur in Northern Luzon were linked to the primate city of Manila through the systematic cultivation of abaca, sugar, indigo, and other agricultural cash crops. Many settlements eventually became wealthy and were soon classified as "progressive" first class provinces.²²⁴

Manila's emergence as a hub for cash crop-producing provinces and the world market hastened its urbanization. In planning and urban studies disciplines, signs of an area's urbanity include a relatively high population density, the predominance of permanent structures, and a working population with occupations divorced from agriculture and forestry.²²⁵ Various industries and services that catered to the needs of Manila's ever-increasing population also reflected the city's urbanization, many of whom were migrants²²⁶ from the same rural hinterlands where its agricultural export commodities originated.

²²⁰ Foreman, p. 289.

²²¹ T.G. McGee, *The Southeast Asian City* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd, 1967), p. 52.

²²² *Ibid.*, *The Southeast Asian City*, pp. 23-24.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²²⁴ Foreman, *The Philippines Islands*, p. 233.

²²⁵ Serote, *Rationalized Planning System*, pp. 43-44.

²²⁶ The different industries, employment opportunities, and the arrival of migrants to Manila are emphasized in the information provided by archival sources at the NAP such as the *Memorias de Manila* of 1892 and the various years of the *Vecindario de Manila*. The former serves as a socio-economic profile of the various districts and towns that make up the *Provincia de Manila*. The latter, on the other hand, is a civil register that indicated the place of baptism of each registered individual, information that can serve as a proxy indicator of migration to Manila.

Thus, nineteenth century Manila became a “central place”, a site of a variety of goods and services combined with specialized functions and activities²²⁷ that served its population and settlements well beyond its boundaries. Many Spanish and foreign firms had their main offices in Manila. In terms of manufacturing and processing, Manila and neighboring towns served as the colony’s main zone.²²⁸ The majority of cigar and cigarette factories after the abolition of the Tobacco monopoly were located in Manila.²²⁹ The city was also home to the colony’s two largest sugar-processing facilities.²³⁰ Manila was also the only settlement where it was feasible to use modern machineries for production activities.²³¹ Its sugar refineries, rice mills, and cement, umbrella, hat, and rope factories, including the colony’s only brewery by the late 1800s employed such contraptions. These finished products, along with the country’s imported goods, found its steadiest market among Manila’s residents.²³²

By the 1890s, towns near Manila had also developed specialized small-scale manufacturing activities. Makati was a hub for stone works, clay brick and tile-making factories, and embroidery works.²³³ Marikina was Manila’s shoemaking center.²³⁴ The southern town of Parañaque produced both sugar and *añil*,²³⁵ industries also found in Navotas, a *pueblo* that also had a distillery.²³⁶

The settlement that most epitomized Manila’s urban character was its economically dominant district, Binondo (See Map 2.1.).²³⁷ By the 1890s, Binondo no longer had any agricultural lands, and its 96,000 residents mainly went about their daily activities within stone structures. A section of the district called Divisoria was a depot for primary foods and dry goods, while Escolta, Manila’s main street, was lined with stores selling the latest items in Europe, pharmacies, commercial firms, bookshops, hotels, and an

²²⁷ John B. Parr, “Central Place Theory: An Evaluation,” *RURDS*, vol. 29, no. 3 (November 2017), p. 153.

²²⁸ *El archipiélago filipino: colección de datos geográficos, estadísticos, cronológicos y científicos, relativos al mismo, entresacados de anteriores obras ú obtenidos con la propia observación y estudio* (Washington: Imprenta del Gobierno, 1900), p. 61.

²²⁹ Foreman, p. 296; *El archipelago Filipino*, p. 289.

²³⁰ *El archipelago Filipino*, p. 290.

²³¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 170.

²³² March, pp. 36-37.

²³³ National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), *Memorias de Manila, 1892*, S60.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, S10B.

²³⁵ An indigo shrub that is a source of a dye.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, S-86.

²³⁷ Bowring, p. 26; De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, p.48; Charles Wilkes, “Manila in 1842.” In *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898*, eds. Austin Craig and Conrado Benitez (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1916), p. 459.

assortment of professional services.²³⁸ Aside from residential and commercial structures, Binondo contained a variety of factories and small businesses that produced sugar, cigars and cigarettes, alcoholic drinks, soap, cooking oil as well as foundries and machine and ironwork establishments. All manner of construction material was also readily available in the district.²³⁹



Map 2.1. District-Level Map of Manila.²⁴⁰

Other Manila districts, particularly those located in the upper part of the city bisected by the Pasig River, began to develop built environments made of stronger and more permanent materials. Even sparsely populated and less developed suburbs east of Intramuros slowly followed suit.²⁴¹

²³⁸ De Viana, p. 50.

²³⁹ NAP, *Memorias de Manila, 1892*, S80-83.

²⁴⁰ Map by Neil Eleri Tingin, GIS practitioner.

²⁴¹ Xavier Huetz de Lempis, "Materiales ligeros vs. materiales Fuertes," p. 166. The emergence of buildings of stronger materials can also be observed in the urban real property tax records provided by several bundles of the NAP's *Fincas Urbana* documents.

Late nineteenth century Manila also had the most modern facilities and services that befitted its primate city status. It was the only Philippine settlement in the late nineteenth century that offered drinking water, electricity, and tramway services to its diverse population. Manila also had modern road infrastructure to support the movement of animal-driven vehicles that clogged its thoroughfares.²⁴² Moreover, the city was also home to all major schools²⁴³ and medical institutions, including the Hospital de San Juan de Dios²⁴⁴ and the College of Pharmacy.²⁴⁵

None of the aforementioned commercial establishments, factories, and services could have existed without a large catchment population. From 1817 to 1892, Manila's inhabitants more than tripled from 83,000 to 292,000,²⁴⁶ a growth rate caused by more than just natural increase. The towns of the Province of Manila were home to almost half a million people by the end of Spanish rule, as the Philippine population nearly doubled between 1850 and 1890.²⁴⁷ This rise in Manila's inhabitants, which coincided with a population boom beginning in the 1870s²⁴⁸ and the colony's complete transition to a cash crop economy, was also due to the arrival of different migrant groups from China, Spain and its former colonies.

Mainland Chinese, mostly males, with the easing of immigration restrictions in the 1850s, began to arrive in the Philippines in large numbers. From only 5,700 in 1847, the Chinese population in the colony rose to 18,000 in 1864. By 1894, the Chinese in the Philippines had increased by more than five-fold to 100,000, and half of these immigrants resided in Manila.²⁴⁹ In the latter part of the nineteenth century, many Spaniards also moved to the Philippines to work as planters or traders.²⁵⁰ The loss of all of its mainland

²⁴² Foreman, *The Philippines Islands*, pp. 400, 402, and 409.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 190; Bowring, *The Philippines Islands*, p. 194,

²⁴⁴ Jose Jimeno Agius. *Poblacion y Comercio de Filipinas* (Madrid: Est. tip. del el correo, 1884), pp. 16-17.

²⁴⁵ *El archipielago*, p. 367.

²⁴⁶ Xavier Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales ligeros vs. materiales fuertes," p. 160.

²⁴⁷ Jean-Pascal Bassino, Marion Dosis, and Jon Komlos, "Biological Well-Being in the Late Nineteenth Century Philippines," *Cliometrica* vol. 12 (2018), p. 37.

²⁴⁸ Legarda, p. 170.

²⁴⁹ Richard T. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 66 and 70.

²⁵⁰ Charles Whitman Briggs, *The Progressing Philippines* (Philadelphia: The Griffith and Rowland Press, 1913), p. 66.

colonies in the Americas by 1825 and constant change of governments in Spain, saw colonial officials and political appointees also travel to Manila to fill government and ecclesiastical positions.²⁵¹

James A. Le Roy, a writer and diplomat, who resided in the Philippines during the early years of American rule,²⁵² noted that Manila was a predominantly Tagalog city that had also become the home of other ethno-linguistic groups like the Kapampangans, Ilocanos, Ilonggos, and even some Visayans.²⁵³ Doeppers' pioneering work on late nineteenth century migration to Manila also confirms the existence of significant migrant populations in Manila during the final decades of Spanish rule. More importantly, his research also reveals the majority of these migrants were from nearby Tagalog provinces and almost half of them were women who mainly worked as cigar factory employees, vendors, shopkeepers, or support staff of households (See Map 2.2.).²⁵⁴ Manila, therefore, had become both an in-migration area and a labor market²⁵⁵ for rural people seeking livelihood opportunities.

A review of the civil register data for the Manila districts of Quiapo and Sampaloc from the middle 1880s to early 1890s, also confirms several migration trends. Almost a third of Quiapo's population during this period was non-Manila natives, while the percentage of migrants to the total population of Sampaloc increased from six to eighteen percent between 1885 and 1892. While those who moved from Manila included Kapampangans and Pangasinenses of Central Luzon, as well as individuals from the Ilocos and Bicol regions of Northern and Southeastern Luzon, majority of those who left their hometowns were from Tagalog-speaking provinces, particularly Bulacan.²⁵⁶

Some of these provinces of migrant origin were the same places that provided cash crops that fuelled the Philippines' Manila-centered export trade. The uplands of Bicol, particularly Albay, produced the majority of abaca exports. The best coffee originated primarily from Batangas, Cavite, and Laguna. Much of the

²⁵¹ Norman G. Owen, *Prosperity without Progress: Manila Hemp and Material Life in the Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 192-193.

²⁵² "James A. Le Roy Papers, 1893-1944 (bulk 1898-1909)", Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Website, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/bhlead/umich-bhl-851677?view=text> date accessed: 5 February 2020.

²⁵³ Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 53.

²⁵⁴ Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 141; Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," pp. 255-258.

²⁵⁵ See Alain Bertaud, "Cities as Labor Markets," Working Paper No. 2, 19 February 2014, Marrion Institute, New York University, <https://marroninstitute.nyu.edu/uploads/content/Cities as Labor Markets.pdf>, date accessed: 28 January 2020.

²⁵⁶ See NAP, *Vecindario de Quiapo* 1887 and 1890 and NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1884-1885 and 1892.

best agricultural lands in Bulacan, Pampanga, and Pangasinan were allotted for sugar production,²⁵⁷ while most of the tobacco produced in the Ilocos Regions ended up



Map 2.2. Major Provinces of Origin of Manila Migrants.²⁵⁸

in Manila's cigar and cigarette factories (See Map 2.3.).²⁵⁹ Consequently, the Spanish government classified these settlements as first class provinces,²⁶⁰ a recognition of these areas' crucial importance in a colonial economy based upon raw materials from the land and forests, as the only real sources of wealth.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Foreman, pp. 270, 281, 289, 307, and 337; Larkin, p. 41.

²⁵⁸ Map by Neil Eneri Tingin, GIS practitioner.

²⁵⁹ See Edilberto C. de Jesus, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines*.

²⁶⁰ Foreman, p. 233.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.



Map 2.3. Major Cash Crop-Sending Provinces.²⁶²

These localities, along with Manila, were also the most population dense Philippine provinces.²⁶³ Albay (257,533), Bataan (49,999), Batangas (255,075), Bulacan (252,149), Cavite (132,064), Laguna (132,504), Manila (262,828), Morong (43,062), Nueva Ecija (123,771), Pampanga (309,066), and Pangasinan (293,291) hosted large populations.²⁶⁴ Yet these provinces were the very same ones that experienced significant out-migration to Manila.

Improved Transportation Infrastructure, Economic Dislocation, and Extreme Natural Events as Drivers of Migration to Manila

The decision of individuals to uproot and move to another place is caused by push and pull factors. Clearly, better economic opportunities draw people to a particular place. Moving to Manila, in large numbers, however, was only feasible once there was accessible means of transportation. For

²⁶² Map by Neil Eneri Tingin, GIS practitioner.

²⁶³ Bassino, Jean-Pascal, Dosis, Marion and Jon Komlos. "Biological Well-Being in the Late Nineteenth Century Philippines." *Cliometrica* vol. 12 (2018), p. 47.

²⁶⁴ Agius, pp. 34-35.

migrants coming from China, Southeast Asia, and Europe in the late nineteenth century, the availability of affordable and reliable steamships made the trip to Manila a real possibility. By the 1850s, there were already fortnightly trips between Hong Kong and Manila via steamship,²⁶⁵ a service that greatly facilitated the movement of southern Chinese men to the Philippines in that period.²⁶⁶ Within less than three decades, steamships from Hong Kong made trips to Manila on a weekly basis, and two shipping lines offered five-day round trips from Manila to Singapore.²⁶⁷ The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 also meant that crossing from Europe to Manila became cheaper and less perilous,²⁶⁸ and this service now made it possible for mail to arrive in Manila from the European continent every 15 days.²⁶⁹

Men and women who left their hometowns in the archipelago for Manila needed only to cover shorter distances compared to their foreign counterparts. But beginning in the late nineteenth century, they too had better access to water and land-based transport and infrastructure. In the final three decades of Spanish rule, a road network connected Manila with all Tagalog-speaking towns, as well as Pampanga, and as far north as the province of Ilocos and south as far as the Bicol Region.²⁷⁰ By 1892, those migrants from northern and central Luzon could even reach Manila by train via the Manila-Dagupan Railway,²⁷¹ a rail line that further enhanced Manila's economic dominance and expanded its hinterland.²⁷²

Local steamers were another possibility for a would-be migrant. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, shipping routes connected Manila to the towns of Bicol, the islands of Panay, Negros, and Cebu, and even Spanish-held areas of Mindanao.²⁷³ Steam ships were ubiquitous, and there were daily round trips from Manila to Cavite and Bulacan. A steamer also made one trip to Manila from Laguna and Pampanga each day.²⁷⁴ The frequency of these journeys from the provinces reflected both the demand for

²⁶⁵ Bowering, p. 302.

²⁶⁶ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, p. 61.

²⁶⁷ De Moya, p. 255 and 258.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 258; Larkin, p. 65

²⁶⁹ Foreman, pp. 298-299.

²⁷⁰ *El archipelago*, p. 321.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-323.

²⁷² Doeppers, "The Development of Cities before 1900," 28-44.

²⁷³ *Guía Oficial de Filipinas, 1892, Parte 3* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Compania, 1892), pp. 11-13; Foreman, p. 299.

²⁷⁴ *El archipelago*, p. 330.

such transport and the interconnectedness of these regions and their migrant populations with Manila.²⁷⁵ Moreover, government-subsidized mail steamers, which also transported people, travelled from Manila to all the islands of the colony every two weeks.²⁷⁶

While the prospect of livelihood opportunities and accessibility of transportation drew people to Manila, economic and ecological constraints and circumstances also pushed many to migrate. For Chinese who left their homelands, factors such as the extreme hardship and uncertainty caused by the decades long Tai Ping Rebellion,²⁷⁷ the lack of free land to feed an ever-increasing increasing population,²⁷⁸ and the disastrous ill-effects of flood, drought, and famine,²⁷⁹ compelled many to leave in the hope of obtaining a better life.

In the Philippines, the opening of the country to foreign commerce benefitted some, but also resulted in deteriorating living conditions for others.²⁸⁰ In the final three decades of Spanish rule, the Philippines had to import rice because an increasing amount of rice and forestlands were converted to produce non-staple crops, export commodities such as sugar, abaca, tobacco, and coffee.²⁸¹ In cash crop-producing provinces, this meant that those dependent on the sale of these commodities were exposed to varying degrees of food insecurity, during times when market prices for their commodities were low and fluctuating,²⁸² the climate adversely affected their farms, or when food reserves ran out.²⁸³ Increasing commoditization of land meant that peasant landlessness and tenancy became common features of the countryside,²⁸⁴ with

²⁷⁵ Doeppers "Migration to Manila," pp. 153-154, 157-158.

²⁷⁶ *El archipelago filipino*, pp. 329-330; Foreman, p. 262.

²⁷⁷ Gaw, *Superior Servants*, pp. 73-75.

²⁷⁸ James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karaykui-San: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), pp. 183-184.

²⁷⁹ Gaw, *Superior Servants*, p. 54.

²⁸⁰ Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines* (Murdoch University: Published PhD Dissertation, 1990), p. 75.

²⁸¹ Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 166.

²⁸² Ken De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 136; Larkin as cited in Bassino, DAVIS, and Komlos, "Biological Well-Being in the Late Nineteenth Century Philippines," p. 52.

²⁸³ James F. Warren, "Typhoons and Droughts: Food Shortages and Famine in the Philippines since the Seventeenth Century," *International Review of Environmental History*, supplementary special issue: Disasters Fast and Slow, vol. 4, no. 2, 2018, pp. 29-30.

²⁸⁴ Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines* (Murdoch University: Published PhD Dissertation, 1990), p. 26; Legarda, p. 186.

families selling their lands or losing them to debt default.²⁸⁵ Rapidly growing populations further exacerbated land loss, placing remaining agricultural lands under strain.²⁸⁶ Compounding rural people's problems was the increased cost of living²⁸⁷ and the destruction of female-dominated household-based local weaving industries due to the arrival of imported British textiles that flooded Philippine markets.²⁸⁸ Hardships brought about by food insecurity, landlessness, and the loss of livelihoods in the countryside, especially in Manila's rural hinterland, were clearly factors that pushed both men and women to seek good fortune in Manila. So harsh were the rural conditions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that there was a downward trend in the health and height of Filipinos men. By the 1890s, the average adult Filipino male had become one of the shortest individuals in the world. Ironically, in a period of booming agricultural exports, the colony's inhabitants steadily became shorter²⁸⁹ as diets became ever more nutritionally deficient.²⁹⁰

As people began losing control over their means of sustenance, increasing integration to world commerce also exposed the colony's inhabitants to cholera²⁹¹ and other afflictions connected with the transformation of agricultural and forested lands for producing cash crops. This included the widespread emergence of *beri-beri*, a condition associated with malnutrition and chronic poverty.²⁹² The opening up of vast malaria-infested forests by lowlanders with no prior immunity to the disease also led to the rapid spread of the illness, which became the leading cause of morbidity and mortality throughout the late nineteenth century.²⁹³

Increased hunger, ill health, and poverty that pushed people in the countryside to seek opportunities in Manila were not the sole causes of their destitution. Their difficult living conditions were exacerbated by climactic and weather events, particularly typhoons, floods, and droughts. On average, 10-20 typhoons visited the Philippines annually, and caused more recurrent damage to communities than any other natural

²⁸⁵ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 146-147.

²⁸⁶ Doeppers and Xenos, "A Demographic Frame for Philippines History," p. 8.

²⁸⁷ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 61.

²⁸⁸ Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 150.

²⁸⁹ Bassino, DAVIS, and Komlos, "Biological Well-Being in the Late Nineteenth Century Philippines," p. 50-54.

²⁹⁰ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 69.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

hazard. Such incidents were major agents that often served as the “tipping point” for peoples repeatedly hit by such dangerous occurrences.²⁹⁴

The last thirty years of the nineteenth century were, in fact, a period when Philippine society experienced a spike in typhoons with accompanying massive inundations. Such incidents caused much death, suffering, and loss of property and food.²⁹⁵ An average person in the Philippines during that time experienced a powerful *baguio*²⁹⁶ every nine years and a massive flood every six years.²⁹⁷ Luzon’s provinces, where most Manila migrants originated from,²⁹⁸ were hit by seven devastating typhoons from 1862 to 1881, or an average of one every three years. The period from 1871 to 1875 was particularly devastating, when three typhoons wreaked havoc on the settlements of Luzon, particularly those in Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, and the Ilocos. An even more powerful cyclone that preceded these storms passed over Luzon in 1867.²⁹⁹ It did not help that intermittent periods of drought that resulted in widespread hunger and famine affected these same settlements hit by such storms.³⁰⁰

Powerful typhoons that brought copious amounts of rain and droughts in the final decades of Spanish rule also resulted from the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO), a meteorological phenomenon within the western Pacific, which oscillates within periods of strong tropical cyclones and high rainfall and periods of drought.³⁰¹ From 1873 to 1894, the Philippines was affected by prolonged wet (*La Niña*) followed by dry (*El Niño*) periods.³⁰² The onset of ENSO normally led to floods that could result in deaths

²⁹⁴ James Francis Warren, “Typhoons and the Inequalities of Philippine Society and History,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, vol. 64, nos. 3-4 (2016), p. 458.

²⁹⁵ Greg Bankoff, “Storms of History: Water, hazard and society in the Philippines 1565-1930.” In *A World of Water: Rain, Rivers and Seas in Southeast Asian Histories*, ed. Peter Boomgaard (Brill, 2007), p. 157.

²⁹⁶ The Filipino term for typhoon.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Doeppers, “Migration to Manila,” pp. 153-158.

²⁹⁹ Bankoff, “Storms of History,” pp. 157-160, 165-169.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169; Warren, “Typhoons and Droughts,” pp. 30-32.

³⁰¹ Linlin Jiao and Qian Taotao, “A New Picture of the Global Impacts of El Nino-Southern Oscillation,” *Scientific Reports* 9, 2019, p. 17543; Irinea L. Corporal-Lodangco, Lance M. Leslie, and Peter J Lamb, “Impacts of ENSO on Philippine Tropical Cyclone Activity,” *American Meteorological Society*, vol. 29, no. 5 (2016), p. 12.

³⁰² Klaus Walter and Michael S. Timlin, “El Nino/Southern Oscillation behaviour since 1871 as diagnosed in an extended multivariate ENSO index (MEI.ext),” *International Journal of Climatology*, vol. 31 (2011), p. 1079.

due to injuries and water-borne diseases³⁰³ and adversely affect rice production.³⁰⁴ The impact that combined ecological and climatological conditions inflicted on the food security, health, and well-being of agricultural communities drove the movement of men and women to urban places, such as Manila where they had a better chance of seeking livelihood opportunities and needed services.

A Persistent Patriarchal Culture

Foreign accounts of Manila in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide a picture of a city where women played an active role in public life and enjoyed much freedom. Many found work as cigar workers,³⁰⁵ weavers,³⁰⁶ as well as enterprising vendors and business owners.³⁰⁷ Unmarried girls were said to be of the “easy-going type” who were “free to take their pleasures without fear of reproach.”³⁰⁸ There were some, in fact, who cohabited with their partners without getting married.³⁰⁹ Moreover, women who married kept all their assets prior to their marital union.³¹⁰

All such descriptions convey the impression that the status and condition of women during the Spanish period was similar to their pre-Hispanic counterparts who owned and acquired property, were active in business,³¹¹ divorced and remarried, and even served as religious leaders.³¹²

³⁰³ World Health Organization, “El Nino and Health – Update, Global Overview April 2016,” website: https://www.who.int/hac/crises/el-nino/flyer_26april2016.pdf. Date accessed: 25 January 2020.

³⁰⁴ Martha G. Roberts, David Dawe, Walter P. Falcon, Rosamond L. Naylor, “El Nino- Southern Oscillation Impacts on Rice Production in Luzon, the Philippines,” *Journal of Applied Meteorology and Climatology*, vol. 48, no. 8 (2009), p. 1723; Malte F. Stuecker, Michelle Tigchelaar, and Michael B. Kantar, “Climate Variability Impacts on Rice Production in the Philippines,” *PLoS One*, vol. 13, no. 8 (August 9, 2018), pp. 1-17.

³⁰⁵ Wilkes, “Manila in 1842,” p. 475; Ramon Reyes Lala, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Continental Publishing Company, 1898), p. 119.

³⁰⁶ Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), pp. 58-59; Frank G. Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1926), pp. 36-39.

³⁰⁷ James Le Roy and John Earle Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1968), pp. 27 and 30.

³⁰⁸ G.J. Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About: With some account of British Interests in these Waters* (New York: MacMillan Company and Limited, 1899), p. 66.

³⁰⁹ Wilkes, “Manila in 1842,” p. 477; Arthur Judson Brown, *New Era in the Philippines* (London and Edinburgh: Revel H. Fleming Company, c1903), p. 58.

³¹⁰ Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 91.

³¹¹ Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History, Volume 1: The Philippines since Pre-Spanish Times, fourth reprint* (Manila: McCullough Printing Company, 1957), p. 54.

³¹² John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 18 and 24.

Similar to other groups conquered by the Spaniards, colonization and the subsequent conversion of subject peoples in the Philippines to Christianity led to the sinking status of women. Such conditions were promoted by the assignment and perpetuation of roles for females that reduced their presence in public life and placed them in a subservient position vis-à-vis males.³¹³ Catholic doctrine, early and modern European states, and Hispanic culture, promoted a patriarchal worldview wherein men controlled resources and were deemed superior to women, where males were heads of families and played a central role in public life, and where the subservient woman's proper role was considered that of a home bound wife, whose honor had to be protected.³¹⁴

Patriarchy was thus naturalized and maintained in the Philippines by religious and political institutions through social practices and relations, laws, economic systems, and beliefs that seeped down through aspects of social life.³¹⁵ Similar to the female Nahuans in Mexico, who lost their pre-Contact freedoms that allowed them to play an active part in economic affairs and control their own bodies as sexual beings,³¹⁶ the combined imposition of patriarchal Spanish cultural and Catholic beliefs led to the marginalization of women in the Philippines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spanish missionaries succeeded in destroying the institution and influence of the *babaylan*. They then imposed the Virgin Mary to women as a model of womanhood – “celibate brides of Christ” whose purity was under the “protection of their fathers and brothers” and whose bodies were the “property of their husbands.”³¹⁷ The imposition of Catholic religious standards regarding women through the behavioral promotion of

³¹³ Overmeyer-Velasquez, "Christian Morality in Spain," pp. 78-81; Stephanie J. Smith, *Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatan Women and the Realities of Patriarchy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p. 87.

³¹⁴ Allyson M. Poska, "The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe," *Gender and History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (July 2018), p. 354; Smith, *Gender and the Mexican Revolution*, p. 87; Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Female Labour in Twentieth-Century Colonial Java: European Notions -Indonesian Practices," In *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, ed. Elsbeth Locher-Scholten (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), p. 49; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Forum Introduction: Reconsidering Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe and the Middle East," *Gender and History* vol. 30, no. 2 (July 2018), p. 321; Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals* (New York, Summit Books, 1985), p. 91.

³¹⁵ French, *Beyond Power*, pp. 98-100; See Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*; Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), p. 20; James L. Watson, "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs", In *Asian and African Slave Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 227-228; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1880, second edition* (New York: Longman, Inc., 1981), pp. 29-30.

³¹⁶ Overmeyer-Velasquez, "Christian Morality in Spain," pp. 79-80.

³¹⁷ Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines*, pp. 20 and 92.

the ideal woman, stressed she was meant to be modest, pure, and discrete, one who managed the home as wife and mother, and who only undertook “honorable” occupations.³¹⁸ Aside from social mores and provisions in the laws that were disadvantageous to women,³¹⁹ Spanish religious institutions such as the *beaterio* and schools run by nuns also endorsed the ideal-typic subservient status of females.³²⁰

Another indication of the pervasive patriarchy present in colonial Philippine society was the difference in the number of females educated compared to their male counterparts. This glaring discrepancy is underscored by comparing the syllabi used in the Jesuit-ran boy’s school, *Ateneo de Municipal*, with that of the Sta. Isabel College, the premier school for girls in the 1890s (See Illustration 2.1 below.). While boys studied subjects that prepared them for leadership and professional roles in economic and public life such as agriculture, commerce, commercial law, topography, mechanics, and Spanish composition, female students were taught fewer courses. Moreover, those subjects that were practical sources of livelihood were those that prepared women to be productive within the confines of their households. The education offered to females then did not provide the necessary skills to participate in the public sphere³²¹ and confined her to the private spaces of her home and family.³²²

³¹⁸ Camacho, “Woman’s Worth,” p. 136.

³¹⁹ The *Protocolos* documents of the NAP reveal that married and unmarried women who were not of age needed to have the consent of their spouse or male guardian to undertake transactions. In addition, the Spanish Penal code imposed heavier penalties for adulterous women compared to bigamous males as explained in Chapter 10 of this dissertation.

³²⁰ Camacho, “Woman’s Worth,” pp. 136 and 139.

³²¹ Arezki and Mahmoudi, “American Women of the Colonial Period,” p. 173.

³²² Henri Lefebvre as cited in Melissa Demian, “Making Women in the City: Notes from a Port Moresby Boarding House,” *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* vol. 42, no. 2 (2017), pp. 407 and 409.

The teaching offered to students in Manila was very advanced, as will be seen from the following Syllabus of Education in the Municipal Athenaeum of the Jesuits :—

ALGEBRA.	LATIN COMPOSITION.
ARITHMETIC.	MECHANICS.
AGRICULTURE.	MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC.
COMMERCE.	NATURAL HISTORY.
COMMERCIAL LAW.	PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.
COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY.	PHILOSOPHY.
ENGLISH.	PAINTING.
FRENCH.	RHETORIC AND POETRY.
GEOMETRY.	SPANISH CLASSICS.
GREEK.	SPANISH COMPOSITION.
HISTORY.	TOPOGRAPHY.
LATIN GRAMMAR.	TRIGONOMETRY.

In the highest Girls' School—the Santa Isabel College—the following was the curriculum, viz. :—

ARITHMETIC.	HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES.
DRAWING.	MUSIC.
DRESS-CUTTING.	NEEDLEWORK.
FRENCH.	PHYSICS.
GEOGRAPHY.	READING—PROSE AND VERSE.
GEOMETRY.	SPANISH GRAMMAR.
GEOLOGY.	SACRED HISTORY.
HISTORY OF SPAIN.	

Illustration 2.1. Comparison of the Syllabi of the Ateneo de Municipal and the Colegio de Sta. Isabel.³²³

There is no disputing that women in Manila did have access to work, but the livelihoods available to them were more limited compared to men's employment options. Doeppers stressed that females in nineteenth century Manila did find work, but the kind of jobs available to them were merely a tenth of those of their male counterparts.³²⁴ Even women who owned businesses were primarily involved in economic activities that allowed them to stay at home.³²⁵ This apparent lack of parity in employment and business opportunities underscore the patriarchal conditions women had to endure in Manila. Furthermore, those desperate for work or who wanted more income were left with no choice but to labor as prostitutes,³²⁶ an occupation that only thrived in an environment³²⁷ where men could readily access women's bodies.³²⁸

³²³ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 192.

³²⁴ Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," p. 255.

³²⁵ Lagman and Villasper, "Women Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth Century Provincia de Manila," pp. 113-142.

³²⁶ See Maria Luisa T. Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*; Luis C. Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," pp. 475-489.

³²⁷ Alison J. Murray, *No Money, No Homey: A Study of Street Traders and Prostitutes in Jakarta* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 105.

³²⁸ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, pp. 189 and 192.

The Emergence of an Expanding Bureaucracy

Whether by design or chance, often embedded in numerous documents recorded by bureaucratic institutions³²⁹ that sought to make colonial State's subjects legible³³⁰ are aspects of the lives of a society's nameless majority. In the case of the Philippines, apart from being a period of widespread social, economic, and ecological change, the nineteenth century also marked the growth of government institutions and personnel hired to staff them. The expansion of the colonial bureaucracy was due to a confluence of factors that occurred far beyond the borders of the Philippines. With the loss of its colonies in Continental America during the early decades of the nineteenth century, Spain's remaining island possessions had to absorb surplus government personnel who lost their jobs. This surge in the arrival of displaced military, religious, and government personnel in the Philippines also stemmed from the Spanish government's intent to impose strict control over their remaining colonies. By the nineteenth century, the capacity to impose law and order in the Philippines had shifted away from the Church to the State's judicial and enforcement institutions.³³¹

The steady growth of the colonial bureaucracy throughout the nineteenth century reflected greater State intrusion in the lives of its subjects. Established in 1806 and 1834 were health and vaccination offices,³³² while government-certified vaccinators and midwives began serving the public as early as 1849 and 1887, respectively. A College of Pharmacy soon followed in 1893.³³³ Regarding the regulation and management of land and other natural resources, offices such as the *Inspeccion General de Montes* (Forestry Bureau), the *La Comision Agronomica de Filipinas* (Philippine Agronomy Commission), along with rules and regulations on the work of land appraisers and surveyors, already existed in the 1870s.³³⁴ In the area of government finance and accounting, offices that dealt with central accounting, the administration of taxes and lotteries, as well as customs administration were in existence by 1842 and expanded from 1884 to 1890.³³⁵

³²⁹ Miles Ogborn, "Knowledge is Power," p. 10; Sharpe, "History from Below," p. 29.

³³⁰ See Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 2.

³³¹ Owen, *Prosperity without Progress*, pp. 192-195; Bankoff, *Crime, Society and the State* p. 216-217, 281.

³³² Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 240.

³³³ *El archipelago Filipino*, p. 367.

³³⁴ Miguel Rodriguez Berriz, *Buyer's guide to land and Philippine realengos: General compilation of the real cédulas, laws, ordinances, regulations, instructions, royal decrees* (Manila: M. Perez, 1886), pp. 288, 298-299, 329-336.

³³⁵ *Guía Oficial de Filipinas, 1892, Parte 1* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Compania), pp. 360-363.

Quite noticeable was the arrival of Spanish personnel who filled bureaucratic positions and by the middle of the nineteenth century the number of these “colonists had increased ten-fold”.³³⁶ Most government offices were based in Manila.³³⁷ According to the 1877 Census, the number of government personnel, excluding their families, amounted to 5,552 men, while the colony’s military and paramilitary force had a combined strength of 12,000 men.³³⁸

The above statistics reveal that military and law enforcement units, especially the latter which had the most contact with the people of Manila and other Philippine settlements, accounted for majority of government personnel. Between 1826 and 1852, several regiments were added to the colony’s military force. By 1847, the *Cuerpo de Seguridad Publica* (Office of Public Safety) was already in operation.³³⁹ This institution was the precursor of the six subdivision-strong *Guardia Civil Veterana* tasked to keep peace and order in Manila’s environs, beginning in 1872.³⁴⁰ In the 1880s, the existence of the colonial government’s security forces numbered 27,000 strong, meant that there was one policeman for every 205 inhabitants in the Philippines. The colony, therefore, had almost become a police state by the end of Spanish rule.³⁴¹ All law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, left voluminous records that contain information about Manila’s inhabitants, including its women.

Manila as a Landscape of Possibility, Patriarchy, and a Pervasive Bureaucracy

The Manila that women experienced in the late nineteenth century was the most urbanized place in the Spanish colony. The city served as the entry and exit point of imported goods and cash crop exports from its agricultural hinterland, and Manila was a prosperous and expanding human settlement and colonial capital. Locals, particularly in nearby provinces, were lured there by the opportunities that could be had from a city that had become increasingly wealthy. Yet, people were drawn to Manila not only by the appeal of job possibilities, but also that of a new life. Economic dislocation caused by the colony’s integration to

³³⁶ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 289.

³³⁷ *Guía Oficial de Filipinas, 1892*, p. 221.

³³⁸ Agius, *Poblacion y Comercio de Filipinas*, pp. 16-17, 21.

³³⁹ National Archives of the Philippines, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S6-9.

³⁴⁰ *Guía Oficial de Filipinas, 1892*, p. 326, 333-334.

³⁴¹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 337. The high presence of security forces in the Philippines continued well into the early twentieth century. In a front page article of the April 28, 1923 issue of the Philippines Free Press, it was noted that the City of Manila had one policeman for every 373 inhabitants, a ratio that was proportionally higher than that of New York City’s.

world commerce, as well as hardship and hunger caused by natural hazards proved tipping points for many who made the fateful choice to take their chances in Manila. Many of those who migrated were women, who along with the city's long-standing female population experienced a Manila that was both progressive yet still steeped in patriarchal values and institutions. Fortunately, an expanding colonial State recorded some aspects of their stories and spaces, whose presence permeated in the everyday lives of the Manileña.

THEME 1: Women, Family, and State Power

CHAPTER 3. Working the System: Women of Privilege

Dealing with the Family and State

When a dominant group forcibly imposed its beliefs, values, practices, and institutions over its subject peoples, colonialism commonly had a detrimental effect on the roles and status of groups among the colonized. Such was the case for women who had no control over their socio-economic and cultural roles, access to resources, and control over their sexuality.³⁴²

The recorded experiences of females under Spanish rule reveal how the colonial process adversely affected their daily lives. In the case of the Nahua in present-day Mexico, Spanish colonial ideology led to the loss of their traditional social, economic, and personal spaces.³⁴³ In the Philippines, the Spanish friars' forceful removal of the female *babaylan* or *catalonan* as religious leader in their respective communities aided the spread of Catholicism, while successfully promoting the Virgin Mary as the female ideal.³⁴⁴ Over time, women in Catholic Spanish Philippines developed a belief and practice that virtuous women should have a life that was mainly limited to the privacy of their residences.³⁴⁵

The establishment of a patriarchal social structure in Philippine society relegated women from a status equal to that of men during pre-Hispanic times,³⁴⁶ to one that was subservient. Nonetheless, Filipino women under Spanish rule still had a regarded position and exerted significant influence, particularly when it came to matters affecting the family. However, despite such assertions in Western accounts, studies that utilize archival documents during the final decades of Spanish rule emphasizing the ability of Filipino women to utilize legal avenues to “work the system” in their favor are rather scant.

³⁴² S. Jay Klienbergh, *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1988), p. ix-x. While Klienbergh did not discuss the experiences of women under colonialism *per se*, cites the factors enumerated by Joan Kelly wherein the relative status of women vis-à-vis men could be assessed in any society.

³⁴³ Overmeyer-Velasquez, “Christian in New Spain,” pp. 78, 80-81.

³⁴⁴ Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender*, pp. 46-47.

³⁴⁵ Camacho, “Woman's Worth,” p. 126

³⁴⁶ Zaide. *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, p 54.

By carefully assessing selected archival sources available at the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), such as the *Protocolos de Manila* (notarial records) and *Adulterio* files, this chapter demonstrates how Manileñas from more privileged backgrounds benefitted from their familiarity with the colonial legal system to promote their interests and that of their loved ones.³⁴⁷ Moreover, this chapter also highlights how women mired in less than ideal marriages were able to seek legal redress from their abusive and unfaithful spouses. On the other hand, notwithstanding their use of the rights and privileges that colonial law provided for them, a careful reading of these records still uncovers aspects of the patriarchal system that reinforces the subordinate status of females. This includes the need for a man to assist a woman in transacting a notarial document or consent to his female ward's or wife's personal and business transactions.

Matters of the Body, Heart, and Soul: Marriages, Authorizations, Transactions, and Wills

A Spanish Royal Decree handed down on 31 July 1889, stating that the Civil Code already in force in Spain since 11 May 1888, was to become law in the colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Filipino historian Svetlana Camacho asserts that archival records, such as notarial documents, can serve as sources to retrieve the woman's voice and presence in the past.³⁴⁸ The over 2,200 *Protocolos de Manila* bundles signed by public notaries from the 1860s until the end of the nineteenth century can shed light on the activities and dealings of Manila-based women with other individuals and reflected their familiarity with the practices and procedures of the colonial legal system.³⁴⁹ Therefore, a careful reading of selected notarial documents from different decades could serve as a means to describe and analyze the everyday lives of upper class women, including their status and agency, the patriarchal restrictions imposed on them, as well as their social relations. Such transactions pertained to a woman's marriage, divorce, parental

³⁴⁷ Privileged women, irrespective of their race, were identified from the NAP *Protocolos* records by the honorific title of "Doña" that were assigned to them. Only those from the ruling local elite – the *principalia* – or of European ethnicity could use such formal labels. While Larkin noted that men from the upper class were addressed as "Don" [See John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 35.], the civil register rolls contained in the NAP's *Padron General de Vecindarios* clearly demonstrates that the spouses and offspring of such men also carried honorific titles.

³⁴⁸ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," p. 129.

³⁴⁹ As of this writing, due to the rules being implemented by the NAP regarding access to historical records, the *Protocolos* as well as the *Adulterio* documents used in this chapter can only be accessed electronically by visiting the familysearch.org website in Family Research Center facilities of the Church of the Latter Day Saints (CLDS). I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Felvir Dieta Ordinario for his invaluable assistance in helping me navigate through the CLDS's website.

authority, authorizations, the ownership, use, and disposition of property, guardianship, and the execution of wills.

The Anatomy of a Notarial Record

A *Protocolo* document usually adheres to a standard format. The upper left hand corner would indicate the person or persons involved and the type of notarized document. This would be followed by a short introduction of the party or parties involved which, usually include the following details: a) names; b) age; c) civil status; d) name of parents; e) place of residence; f) place of birth; g) race; h) occupation; and i) the individual's *cedula* or head tax class. Also provided are details of the exact nature of the transaction and its context. The record ends with the notarization of the document and the signatures of those involved and, if needed, the signatures of those who witnessed the notarization of the document.³⁵⁰

Marriages, Marital Licenses, and Dowries

Article 42 of the Spanish Civil Code recognizes both canonical (church) and civil unions.³⁵¹ The recognition of both types of marriage ceremonies is important as most matrimones recorded in years 1889 and 1896, in the sample of Manila-based documents, were unions between native, untitled women and male Chinese immigrants. The men, who were parties to these mixed unions, were non-Catholics, as it would have indicated that they were *chino-cristiano* if members of the Catholic Faith. Such were the cases for San Mateo native Eduarda Torres when she married fellow Binondo resident Tan Puanco,³⁵² and Francisca Santiago of Navotas who became the wife of Lim-Leco from neighboring Malabon,³⁵³ as well as Agueda Minpin y Colasa of Quiapo and Que Tiaoco of Binondo.³⁵⁴

The marriage of Eduarda and her Chinese husband reflected the awareness of both parties with respect to the Law. The bride, at 14 years old, was not yet of age, and her marriage required her parents Simeon Torres and Donata Francisco's consent. Tan Puanco, in lieu of his parents, had two Chinese men, Nicolas Lio-Lonque and Tan Guioc-Yen as his witnesses. Whatever their motivations for getting married, their

³⁵⁰ For a list of all notarial transactions gathered for this dissertation, please refer to Appendix 16.

³⁵¹ *The Civil Code in Force in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: Division of Customs and Insular Affairs, War Department, October 1899), p. 12.

³⁵² National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Case 195.

³⁵³ *Ibid*, Images 74-76.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Images 355-356.

contract stated that their union was in order to “to secure, perpetually and honestly, the love they profess...in order that they cannot be separated, putting it into execution in the greatest form allowable by law...”³⁵⁵

The case of 19-year-old Agueda and Que Tiaoco, who was more than twice her age, also provides interesting insights into such marriages. Both state that love was the basis of their union, but only Agueda was a Catholic. It seemed that the deed of betrothal was valid if, within three years of the signing of the document, Que Tiaoco was baptized and the couple married in the manner prescribed by the Holy Council of Trent,³⁵⁶ short of implying that what they had was a civil marriage.

Documents notarizing marriages can also allow us to glimpse the lives of some late nineteenth century women who were not bound to the confines of the home. Such was the case of Maria Tongco who certified her marriage with Placido San Buenaventura in March 1896. Both had businesses (*industrial*) and were transients of Manila who hailed from the Tagalog-speaking towns of Orani, Bataan and Marilao, Bulacan. Even by present-day standards, Maria at 38, married rather late and was significantly older than the 29-year-old Placido. It was not clear how they met, but age was not an impediment in their developing a relationship only a few months before they decided to settle down. Moreover, if there were any suspicions as to the reasons behind the marital unions of Chinese men with their much younger native spouses, their notarized record made it clear that Maria and Placido married out of mutual respect and love; it was a decision undertaken by equals.³⁵⁷

Article 45 of the Spanish Civil Code in the late nineteenth century forbade any minor from marrying without the consent of the parents or guardians.³⁵⁸ In 1891, for example, the parents of two women consented to their daughters' marriages. In the case list of public notary Narciso Mir, Dña. Vicenta Garnier, *viuda* de Galinde, duly notarized a document allowing her daughter Carmen to get married.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, Case 195.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Images 355-356.

³⁵⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 1525226, Images 797-799.

³⁵⁸ *The Civil Code*, p. 11.

³⁵⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775 Image 499. Unlike young, single, or married women, widows who had documents notarized in the *Protocolos* documents no longer needed the approval of a male family member. Such freedom that *viudas* enjoyed supports Briony McDonagh's assertion that widowhood was a condition that

Down the same list, D. Jose de la Calle, a military doctor, also gave his seventeen-year-old daughter Dña. Adela his blessing to wed D. Laureano Bumel.³⁶⁰

While marriage is a mutual decision between individuals, it is also a contract involving two parties who have recognized obligations to each other. Two kinds of duties identified in the *Protocolos de Manila* involve the issuance of marital licenses by husbands to their wives, as well as certifications that the wife has a right to collect a certain dowry from her spouse.

Marital licenses are general authorizations granted by a man to his spouse. This permit was usually issued when the husband was under duress – for example, when he was incarcerated and not free to move about and conduct his normal activities. Such was the case for Vigan, Ilocos Sur resident D. Gregorio Sy-Quia who, in January 1897 was serving time at the Bilibid Jail in Quiapo. While behind bars, he furnished a document granting his wife Dña. Estefania Angco Pilar the authority to enter into transactions on his behalf.³⁶¹

If the marital license seemed too general in terms of what Dña. Estefania could undertake for her husband, the one granted by D. Gil de Liza de los Santos to his wife Dña. Teresa Dizon y David, clearly stated what matters he allowed his wife to conduct in Concepcion, Tarlac. First, he gave Teresa, who was also a proprietor like him, the right to utilize their assets as she deemed fit. This included the mortgaging of properties, as well as carrying out legal transactions on his behalf. Finally, she could also legally represent their young children while he was in prison.³⁶²

On the surface, the marital license as legal authorization displayed the husband's trust and confidence in his wife's capability of handling business and family affairs in his absence. Yet the need for the authorization to handle affairs on behalf of the head of the family, in fact, reflects the patriarchal system that women in Manila endured. Unfortunately, the legal curtailment of their ability to independently engage in both the private and public spheres was embedded in colonial law. It was explicitly stated from

enabled rather than constrained women. See Briony McDonagh, "Feminist historical geographies: doing and being," *Gender, Place, and Culture*, vol. 25, no. 11 (2017), pp. 1563-1578.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, Image 529.

³⁶¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920936, Images 78-79.

³⁶² Ibid., Images 328-329.

Articles 57 to 60 of the Spanish Civil Code that a wife should obey her husband, and the latter's consent was required if she intended to acquire or dispose of an asset. Moreover, he was the administrator of their conjugal property unless otherwise stated.³⁶³

While it may now be unheard of in Philippine society, the handing out of dowries to wives was a common occurrence in the past, especially among those of some means. Like the marital license, the dowry was a patriarchal practice. The rationale behind the handing of resources by the groom to his wife was so she could maintain the kind of lifestyle that she was accustomed to before marriage. It also implied that the female spouse was not an economic asset.³⁶⁴ Records duly notarized by Vicente Santos in 1889 yield several such transactions. On 21 May 1889, an *Español Peninsular* named D. Francisco Marty granted to his wife, Dña. Manuela Borrás, the amount of P333.78 as her dowry.³⁶⁵ On June of the same year, the 26-year-old Spanish *mestizo* Andres Rojas gave his wife Dña. Tinidad Vizcarra a dowry of practically the same value, P333.68.³⁶⁶

Authorizations by and Granted to Manila Women

Hamilton Wright, author of the turn of century book, *Handbook on the Philippines*, noted that Filipino women had a level of liberty that was on a par with that of her American counterparts and she was capable of managing the affairs of her household or commercial concerns.³⁶⁷ Almost a century later, David Timberman noted that the contemporary Filipino family system holds women in high regard, as they have been the traditional manager of their family's finances and the equal of their husband in almost all matters pertaining to their families.³⁶⁸ Records from the *Protocolos* support these statements about the crucial role of Manila's women in running the family. In some cases, they were even the ones who granted

³⁶³ *The Civil Code*, p. 13.

³⁶⁴ Katherine Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenword Press, 1982), p. 6. Fishburn explains that in seventeenth century American society, women were not seen as liabilities and were considered valuable contributors to their families' survival.

³⁶⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 116-117.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Images 253-254. While the dowry amounts received by Doñas Manuela and Trinidad were nearly the same, the number of cases are too few for one to argue that the value of such dowries adhered to standard practices.

³⁶⁷ Hamilton M. Wright, *Handbook on the Philippines* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1909), p. 95.

³⁶⁸ David G. Timberman, *A Changeless Land: Continuity and Change in Philippine Politics* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991), pp. 16-17.

endorsements for people to do their bidding. They were also, at times, the ones authorized to undertake transactions by the members of their own families.

As early as 1871, a few decades after the opening of the Philippines to world commerce and its rapid economic expansion, women were already furnishing documents of authorization to individuals to handle their business affairs. To ensure that their representatives would be recognized and respected, these women provided them with notarized authorizations to transact on their behalf. For example, Dña. Paulina Rojas, a widowed Spaniard, gave D. Jose Ferrer, an *Español Europeo*, the authority to collect rents for her as well as manage her estate,³⁶⁹ while Benito Lampaz served as a collector and receiver of money on behalf of Valentina de la Cruz, an untitled *viuda* from the *pueblo* of Pasig.³⁷⁰ There was even an instance where a woman assigned a person to conduct a one-time transaction, as in the case of the Dña. Floretina de Amo, a Spanish *mestiza* widow based in Sta. Cruz, Manila – in 1871, she authorized D. Mariano Vertalucci to collect money owed to her by D. Casimiro Gabriel.³⁷¹

There were also those who gave permission to others to handle their affairs as urban property owners, who benefitted handsomely from Manila's urban rental market. In 1889, Dña. Maria Asuncion of Sta. Cruz assigned D. Domingo Mendoza as her property manager. She was no ordinary urban landlord as she gave Mr. Mendoza the authority to handle all concerns pertaining to her two houses-for-rent as well as five *accesorias* or apartments. One can surmise that the everyday inconvenience of dealing with incoming and outgoing tenants, collecting monthly rents, as well as the maintenance of such properties led her to assign such tasks to D. Domingo.³⁷²

Dña. Jacoba Molina of Calle Platerias in Sta. Cruz District came up with a similar arrangement with D. Andres Arevalo to collect rent for a leased property along Dulumbayan, Sta. Cruz. What was of note here was that Dña. Jacoba was dealing with the Manila municipal government whose school for girls was located within her property.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 258-266.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., Image 196.

³⁷¹ Ibid., Images 173-175.

³⁷² NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 250-252.

³⁷³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Aurelio Pelaez, Film No. 7920772, Images 110-112.

The location or sheer physical distance of their assets and source of incomes compelled some women to hire persons from distant localities to manage their concerns. Bulacan and Pampanga Province in the 1870s became more accessible to Manila by taking a long trip using vessels that traversed rivers and waterways.³⁷⁴ Thus, the Binondo-based Chinese *mestiza* Dña. Ciriaca Chambloy considered it more prudent to assign Bacolor, Pampanga local Blas de Leon to collect monies due her in that area.³⁷⁵ The same scenario would have applied to Dña. Marcela Javier of Tondo who hired Santiago Valdez, an *indio* from Bulacan to be her money collector in the province.³⁷⁶

There were also occasions when widows preferred someone else collect their late husband's monthly pension for them. In 1871, Dña. Manuela Ruiz of Intramuros had to attend to a personal matter in Ilocos Norte, a province several days' travel from Manila. Since was not able to get the monthly pension of P1.50 due her, she assigned someone else she could trust, her niece, Dña. Rafaela de los Reyes, to collect her stipend.³⁷⁷ Almost two decades later, on May 1889, Dña. Carmen Pozuelo was tasked by her mother, Dña. Paula Po, to receive the latter's pension as her late husband, D. Salvador Pozuelo, worked as a warehouseman in the state's tobacco monopoly.³⁷⁸

Notarial documents pertaining to pensions highlight the localized colonial government procedures pertaining to the disbursement of retirement funds. Although a Manila resident, Dña. Candida Ynpo's late husband, D. Maximo Lopes was a former government telegraphist based in the province of Batangas. Unfortunately, widows of government employees had to collect their spouses' pension in the place where they once worked. Thus, the long distance between Manila and Batangas justified Mrs. Ynpo's decision to legally assign Batangas-based Jose Arguelles to collect and deliver her monthly stipend.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁴ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 55.

³⁷⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 872-873.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Image 682.

³⁷⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 702. These widows were fortunate to have had the social and monetary resources to sustain themselves, as members of the privileged class. Thus, their situation may not represent the conditions of their more underprivileged counterparts.

³⁷⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 124-125.

³⁷⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 545-547.

Women were thrust into situations whereby, for the sake of their loved ones, they undertook tasks only family members or close relations could assume. A family's female members sometimes had to perform as executor of their loved ones' last wishes. In 1888, Dña. Maria Pilar de Gusman became seriously sick. Fearing that she might die, she hurriedly called upon the services of a notary to write her will. Interestingly, the person whom she trusted to sell her assets and distribute the proceeds from the sale was her aunt, Dña. Martina de Gusman. The latter received assistance from lawyers hired by Maria Pilar to facilitate the execution of her wishes. A year later, Dña. Martina began the process of fulfilling her obligation to her departed niece.³⁸⁰

Instead of his wife, D. Joaquin Morello, who died in 1891, assigned his sister, Dña. Teresa, the duty of distributing his estate to his heirs and settle his personal obligations. Dña. Teresa had to ensure that Mr. Morello's widow and daughters received P24,000, of which P2,800 would be derived from rental income, while over P4,800 had to be collected from three men who owed D. Joaquin money. Teresa also had to guarantee that her sister-in-law paid off the remaining balance owed on their home along Elcano Street. While fulfilling these obligations would take a lot of effort, Dña. Teresa could find comfort in the fact that she would co-own the house with her sister-in-law and nieces.³⁸¹

Several years later in 1896, ravaged by disease and unable to attend to his businesses in Imus, Cavite, D. Juan Castañeda, who had become an "incidental resident" of Manila, maintained his commercial endeavors in the province by authorizing his wife Dña. Andrea Monson. He made it known that he had complete confidence in her abilities to serve as his proxy in fulfilling the following duties: a) set prices and conditions for goods; b) collect rents and products; c) pay taxes and other fees; d) manage his tenants; e) oversee the cultivation of their agricultural lands, and f) enter into contracts.³⁸² Dña. Dolores Hernandez of Manila was also thrust into a similar situation when her husband, 60-year-old businessman Albino Goyenchea became sick with *chronic myelitis*.³⁸³ He created a written document stating that his wife could

³⁸⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos 1504371, Images 59-63.

³⁸¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 364-373.

³⁸² NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920932, Images 774-779.

³⁸³ An inflammation of the spinal cord. It is a condition that could disrupt responses from the brain to the rest of the body.

administer, lease, sell, mortgage, tax, and exchange his properties, as well as hire lawyers to represent her in court, if necessary.³⁸⁴

The Manileña as Guardian and Ward of the Family

While Western accounts commonly mentioned that women in the Philippines³⁸⁵ actively participated in what feminist social historians would define as the public sphere,³⁸⁶ they had lives anchored around the home even before the advent of colonization.³⁸⁷ Given the importance of the home in the Filipino woman's life, they utilized the Law to protect those who were part of their home life. Manila-based notarial records reflect how women served as guardians of their loved ones or were themselves protected by their close relations.

Death in a family was the usual cause for producing legal documents to protect the interests of family members. Often, these would be the children left behind by one of their parents. Such was the case of Dña. Dorotea Anido, a proprietor and mother of four daughters and a son. In 1892, in the aftermath of her husband D. Enrique Wilks' untimely demise in Manchester, England, she had to deal with her late spouse's business partner Allan Boyle. Mr. Boyle wanted to ensure that the family of D. Enrique would obtain their rightful share from the latter's business partnership. Consequently, Mr. Boyle and Dorotea, as administrator on behalf of her children, entered into an agreement of obligation. As the principal representative of her late husband's family, she received the following: a) her husband's share of the business worth P27,000; b) the land of the workshop used by the partnership "Wilks and Boyle" worth P32,000; c) P850 worth of shares that D. Enrique had in the business, and d) a monthly package of P214 for 24 months.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Aurelio Pelaez, Film No. 007920772, Images 267-277.

³⁸⁵ See Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*; Frank G. Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*; Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1912), Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*; LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*; Mallat, *The Philippines*; Wright, *Handbook on the Philippines*.

³⁸⁶ Philippa Levine, ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 10; Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," In *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*, ed. S. J. Kleinberg (Oxford: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1998), pp. 13-14.

³⁸⁷ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," p. 126.

Similar tragic circumstances thrust the Chinese *mestiza* Antonia de la Cruz into the role of guardian after the death of Eleuteria Reyes who left a son behind. Eleuteria's will indicated that Antonia would serve as tutor and guardian of her orphaned son. Since Antonia is married to Patricio Reyes, it is possible she was the sister-in-law of the deceased. As guardian of the unnamed child, she, with the assistance of her husband, acquired a lawyer to ensure the financial interests of her ward.³⁸⁹ Another Chinese *mestiza*, Josefa Cristina of Pandacan, served as legal guardian for her grandson, Simeon Mendoza.³⁹⁰

As the sole surviving parent of a legal minor, there were widows who actively sought to protect their children's interests while they were still alive. On behalf of her 12-year-old son, Dña. Rafaela Cabo of Intramuros undertook the notarization of a document in 1891 that indicated the valuation of a house and lot that was now her son's property along Calle Yris in Quiapo, Manila. In another document a few months later, she even had her notary certify another document stating that repairs costing roughly P2,500 were made on the house.³⁹¹ That same year, Dña. Luisa Fernandes, a Manila-based *pensionista*, took legal steps to ensure the security of her eight-year-old son Manuel in case something happened to her. She assigned Teresa Molina, a nun, and a Sevilla, Spain-based merchant, Ventura Luis, to serve as her child's legal guardians if she passed away.³⁹²

Aside from serving as guardians for family members, there were circumstances when women were the objects of protection. In May 1896, Dalmacio Co Lico Guidote, a 28-year-old married businessperson, entered into an agreement with Eulogio Revilla, a proprietor. In the agreement, Eulogio served as the guardian of the assets that belonged to Dalmacio's sisters. Apparently, Dalmacio's parents had already died. To ensure the resources of his siblings, Dalmacio entrusted Eulogio with P5,000 as well as other assets of his parents including rental receivables.³⁹³ In another case three months later, based on the will of her late husband D. Escolar Cu Chayco, the various businesses inherited by Ildefonsa Carreon and her children were to be managed by her late spouse's trusted employee D. Edilberto Calixto. A notarized

³⁸⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film 007918926, Images 406-407.

³⁹⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Nicolas Avila, Film No. 007916608, Image 50.

³⁹¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 173-175, 328-331.

³⁹² Ibid., Images 444-446.

³⁹³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920932, Image 209.

contract explicitly stated that Mr. Calixto would also handle D. Escolar's estate on behalf of Dña. Ildefonsa and her children.³⁹⁴

It would be wrong to assume that only relatives linked by blood or marriage were the ones subject to guardianship. This sample of notarial documents gathered include a case that demonstrated how a household employee became the charge of a trusted individual. In 1891, Dña. Maria Consuelo took a trip to Europe on short notice. Given that she would be away for some time, she had someone look after her businesses or properties. However, she seemed more concerned about her *criada*, Albay Province native Juana Orbeta. She formally assigned Juana in the care of a merchant named D. Luis Alonso until she returned from her trip.³⁹⁵

Wills, Testaments, and the Manila's Social World

Last wills and testaments not only provide details about individuals and their society. Such documents yield information that allows for the reconstruction of an individual's preferences, home and work life, networks of family, friends, and acquaintances, and even their material culture.³⁹⁶ Moreover, an accumulation of wills also reveals a particular group's social geography and real properties that underscore their impact on the urban landscape.³⁹⁷

A careful reading of wills of both men and women found in the *Protocolos* records enables us to reconstruct aspects of the lives and relations of privileged women in Manila in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Given that Article 63 of the Spanish Civil Code explicitly states that a woman has the right to execute wills without her husband's permission³⁹⁸ implies that such a document and its contents is one of the few formally expressed signs of female agency.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., Image 855.

³⁹⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 114-121.

³⁹⁶ Jean Gelman Taylor, "Inventory and Testimony"; Elizabeth C. Neidenbach, "'Refugee from St. Domingue Living in This City': The Geography of Social Networks in Testaments of Refugee Free Women of Color in New Orleans," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 42, no. 5 (2016), pp. 841 and 846.

³⁹⁷ Neidenbach, "'Refugee from St. Domingue," p. 843.

³⁹⁸ *The Civil Code*, p. 14.

As an inventory of assets and a legal document that indicated which individuals inherited what resources, a careful reading of a will allows us to glimpse into the material life of Manila's privileged class. When the merchant D. Joaquin Martinez Sy T'iong-Tay died in 1892, he left his second wife Dña Ana Cuansi, his daughters Felipa and Faustina, and three sons quite a fortune. He left his heirs with an estate made up of investments worth P304,000 and monies amounting to almost P3,100. This wealth was divided among Dña. Ana and her children, albeit not equally. While her children would each receive an equal value of their father's estate, Mrs. T'iong-Tay would obtain five times the amount each child would get.³⁹⁹ Like D. Joaquin, Cavite native and Manila resident Dña. Camila Santo also left behind five children when she passed away at age 35. However, her children inherited modest resources. Instead of money, Sra. Camila, who was a proprietor, was able to gift her children four pieces of real estate – three properties along Calle Sevilla and a furnished house at Barcelona Street that also contained her personal jewellery. She instructed her executor, D. Vicente Latorre, that her children should receive equal shares to her estate.⁴⁰⁰ Dña. Oliva Chuntuyco, instead of money, left each of her adult-age children a piece of furniture made of hardwood and a religious image.⁴⁰¹

The love affair women have with jewellery has a long history. Some wills of Manileñas in the late nineteenth century not only underscore the female fascination for such accoutrements made of precious stones and metals, but also reveals how the role religion had played in people's lives influenced the skill and technique of jewellery makers. When Lorenza de Mesa died in 1873, she left jewellery that signified her Catholic religiosity. While she had secular valuables such as a pendant in the form of a turtle with a green stone and a flower pin with petals made of diamonds, she was also the proud owner of several expensive rosaries. Two were made solely of gold, another from blue crystal and gold, while yet another was crafted from coral.⁴⁰² Dña. Maria Chuntuico, a fifty-one-year-old unmarried woman, also had necklaces, gold chains, brooches, and pins that all had crosses made of precious stones and pearls as an

³⁹⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir Film No. 007920775, Images 792-798.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., Images 839-842.

⁴⁰¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920932, Images 766-771.

⁴⁰² NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 526-531.

outward sign of her religiosity.⁴⁰³ She also had a rosary made of golden beads and pearls that formed a cross.⁴⁰⁴

A dying person's religiosity was also reflected in their donations to religious institutions engaged in charitable work and services to sick and needy members of society. On March 1872, Intramuros-based Spanish Filipino Dña. Maria Petrona Rinonda's indicated in her will that, aside from two female cousins and an uncle who would be receiving P50 each from her estate, P25 went to the San Juan de Dios Hospital.⁴⁰⁵ Twenty-three years later, Dña. Francisca Hilaria, who reached the venerable age of 85, donated some of her lands to the San Lazaro Hospital and the *Confradia* of St. Vincent de Paul.⁴⁰⁶

The religiosity of Manila's women of privilege seemed to extend well beyond the grave. Some had wills that left instructions and funds to facilitate prayer offerings for their souls and that of their loved ones. While their material possessions reflect their earthly existence, they too prepared for the "other-worldly

⁴⁰³ Religion played an important role in colonial society during the Spanish period. Catholic missionaries facilitated the Philippines' colonization, and the influence of religious orders on the social, economic, and political affairs of the country is a common theme in many historical works [See Marya Svetlana T. "'Woman's Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines'" In *More Hispanic than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, Inc., 2008), pp. 122-162; Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*; Teodoro Agoncillo, *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956); Isagani M. Medina, *Cavite before the Revolution, 1571-1896* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002)]. So pervasive was the influence of the Spanish friars that Filipino propagandists portrayed the religious orders as one of main evils that beset the Philippine colony [See Smita Lahiri, "Rhetorical *Indios*: Propagandists and their Publics in the Spanish Philippines," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 49, no. 2 (2007), pp. 243-275; Isabelo de los Reyes, *Memoria: ang madamdaming alaala ni Isabelo de los Reyes hinggil sa rebolusyong Filipino ng 1896* (Quezon City: Teresita A. Alcantara, 2001)]. In fact, Jose Rizal was executed in 1896 for his criticism of the abusive nature of members of the clergy and their dominance in colonial life in his two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* [See Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* (Manila: Philippine Book, 1952); Jose Rizal, *El filibusterismo (unexpurgated) / Translated from the original in Spanish by Jorge Bocobo* (Manila: R. Martinez and Sons, 1957).]

The Spanish friar was also a very powerful member at the community level. Parishes and not the State, collected and maintained records of all births, deaths, and marriages. Despite orders from the Spanish government to make divorce a legal option by the 1880s, the influence of the Catholic Church on successive governments prevented the implementation of such a provision. Documents from the NAP such as the *Prostitucion* and *Asuntos Criminales* bundles reveal the importance of the parish priest and Church activities in people's daily life. It is, therefore, not surprising that embedded in women's wills are manifestations of Catholic religiosity and the belief in the after life.

⁴⁰⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Image 349-354

⁴⁰⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 202-205

⁴⁰⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Images 141-146.

spaces” that they hoped would be part of their next life.⁴⁰⁷ Dña. Juana Arevalo was a widowed seamstress from Quiapo who had a standard will, save for one detail. She bequeathed P100 to her three grandsons, P30 to a nephew, and P25 each to her nieces Braulia and Trinidad Antonio. However, the niece she favoured the most, Dña. Barbara de Jesus would inherit the house where she resided, but there was a catch – Barbara had to offer a mass for her soul at a cost of P1 every three months for the rest of her life.⁴⁰⁸

In 1889, in her home in Sta. Cruz, Manila, an infirm 51-year-old Chinese *mestiza* named Dña. Maria Chuntuico felt that she would soon pass on to the next life. The details of the will that she drafted and notarized allows us to have a glimpse of the life she led, the relations that mattered most to her, as well as her interests and beliefs. She liked silverware and all manner of jewellery, yet she mentioned her images of saints and the Virgin Mother first before listing her more worldly assets. Unmarried, she was a caring aunt who left her nephews and nieces money, even those who were already married. What was most unusual about her will was she requested one of her married sisters to sell her share of a property that she co-owned and use P120 from its sale to offer two masses in her name, with the rest of the proceeds to be used to establish a business.⁴⁰⁹ The profits from this endeavour would fund the thrice-a-month masses to be offered for her and her deceased parents. Interestingly, she left out of her deceased brother in her list of persons to be prayed for.⁴¹⁰

The prospect of dying often compels people to take stock of their affairs, to ensure that those dear to them were cared for. At times, this required the maker of the will to make a valuation and prioritize those who matter most, including those relations with individuals that were normally kept hidden. Two wills of men from contrasting backgrounds allow us to view some of their secrets and the women who were part of their lives. In April 1896, a fifty-year-old machinist from Binondo, D. Alejo Garcia, passed away. Twenty years before his demise, he left his wife and daughter, for another woman. Before dying, he

⁴⁰⁷ I would like to recognize and thank my academic colleague Prof. Jose Alain A. Austria of the College of Saint Benilde for mentioning this insight to me in one of our many online exchanges.

⁴⁰⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Aurelio Pelaez, Film No.7920772, Images 122-125.

⁴⁰⁹ On the entrepreneurial nature of the Chinese mestiza See Richard T. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Ma Luisa T. Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and Center for Women's Studies, 1995); John Foreman, *The Philippines, 3rd Edition* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1905).

⁴¹⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 349-354.

wanted to make up for his personal failings. His will indicated that his assets included his machine shop in Binondo, his pension, and a parcel of land in Bancusay, Tondo worth P900. He wanted Maximiana Aquino, the woman he left behind, their daughter Natalia, two daughters from another relationship, and a boy to equally share in his estate.⁴¹¹

Gines Gotienz was a Spanish Army veterinarian who passed away in Manila in 1891. In his will, his two sisters, Magdalena and Ysabel, would receive P200, an amount that would double if they remained unmarried. What was rather unusual was that the executor of her will was Dña. Concepcion Catalan, an unmarried woman, as his document indicated that Gines was a bachelor. Unlike the late veterinarian's sisters, Dña. Concepcion was to receive all of Mr. Gotiens's books, his horse and calesa, P2500 in cash, his veterinary clinic along Salcedo Street, and even his personal effects such as his jewellery and clothes. Ms. Catalan had authority to enjoy all his possessions "freely at her will."⁴¹² However, there was no clear proof that Don Gines was the lover of Dña. Concepcion.

The privileged classes' notion of family commonly extended to relations beyond their nuclear family.⁴¹³ One's kin, however, need not be limited solely to blood relatives.⁴¹⁴ As early as 1871, several wills involved female house servants or *criadas* receiving substantial amounts of money and property from their deceased employers. Those rewarded for their service and loyalty served as proof that their long-standing relationships with their *amo* went beyond merely that of employer and employee. In a sense, the households that they were part of were not just places of work but were also sites of memories and relations,⁴¹⁵ spaces that Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan would call "fields of care."⁴¹⁶

Teresa Lo and Catalina Llerena received P100 from their late Spanish employer D. Jose Aguirre for "their years of good service."⁴¹⁷ The following year, Salome Patiño of Sta. Cruz gave her house servant, Leonarda

⁴¹¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Images 900-903.

⁴¹² NAP, *Protocolos* Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 611-616.

⁴¹³ Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop," p. 300.

⁴¹⁴ Titas Chakraborty, "The Household Workers of the East India Company Settlements."

⁴¹⁵ Richard W. Wilkie, "'Sense of Place' and Selected Conceptual Approaches to Place," *Journal of the American Institute of Architecture Students*, Issue 55 (Spring 2003), p. 32.

⁴¹⁶ Tuan, Yi-Fu, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective," In *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), pp. 447-448.

⁴¹⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 27-30.

Soriano, P200 for her “years of faithful service.”⁴¹⁸ While his son, granddaughters, and grandsons inherited the Hotel de Oriente and 11 other properties located in the Binondo and Tondo districts, D. Manuel Perez Marqueti made sure that his servant Agustina Encarnacion would be able to fend for herself after he was gone. In 1891, she received P400 from her former employer’s estate,⁴¹⁹ which was more than enough for her to start a new life. When Dña. Felciana Concepcion passed away in December 1895, she had no children to inherit her 18 land parcels in the *pueblo* of Pasig and the nearby town of Cainta. In fact, one of these land assets, an agricultural land, in Likod ng San Nicolas, Pasig became the property of her *criada* Leoncia Macalinao as a reward for serving her well.

Protecting One’s Interests through Legal Support

As a society develops a capitalist system, resources increasingly fall into the hands of a few who devise ways to protect these.⁴²⁰ By the latter part of the nineteenth century, land had become a very important resource mainly owned by a small group of native and Chinese *mestizo* elite.⁴²¹ Moreover, in archival sources such as the *Terrenos* and *Protocolos* documents, lands and other forms of property was the object of titling, acquisition, disposition, and even conflict.⁴²² In the aforementioned notarial documents, the formal acquisition of the legal services of a lawyer or a group of lawyers was a common transaction undertaken by Manila’s privileged women.

Most of these records, though, do not indicate why these women needed legal support. For instance, in 1898, Dña. Sixta Cruz of Pasig, with the assistance of her husband, hired several lawyers for unspecified reasons.⁴²³ Such a situation applied to the spouses D. Ramon Benitez and Dña. Alejandra Baura of Binondo acquiring the legal services of Mariano Alcantara and Jose Reyes in 1889.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., Image 97.

⁴¹⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Image 905.

⁴²⁰ James A. Tyner, *Violence in Capitalism: Devaluing Life in an Age of Responsibility* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), pp. 55-56

⁴²¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 139; Lynch, “Land Rights, Land Laws, and Land Usurpation,” pp. 87, 90, 98, and 100.

⁴²² It is quite unfortunate that majority of the *Terrenos* and *Protocolos* documents are no longer accessible at the National Archives of the Philippines. A limited number of these sources are available in microfilm format.

⁴²³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Aurelio Pelaez, Film No. 07920772, Images 235-237.

⁴²⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Image 234-236.

The late nineteenth century documents that make known a woman's reason for hiring an attorney reveal the former's familiarity and use of the legal system to protect their property interests. In 1881, Dña. Angela Molina of Pasig hired Mariano Rodriguez to represent the Spanish *mestiza*. Her aunt, Dña. Maria Justa Molina had just died and her will, written in January 1854, included her as one of the legal heirs.⁴²⁵

Some records specify that issues concerning land ownership compelled some women to hire a lawyer. Miguela Ablaza of Barasoain, Bulacan had to travel all the way to Manila to hire Paulino Zamora of Tondo as her legal representative to facilitate the disposition of lands owned by her late husband Francisco Galang.⁴²⁶ In 1889, Florencia Gatlula needed a lawyer for a more serious matter. She and Jose de los Reyes had a land court case against Juan Sumang who had possession of lands called "Pandicos" and "Maysulo" in Quingua, Bulacan.⁴²⁷

Women also acquired the services of lawyers when their legal concerns were geographically distant and not easily dealt with from Manila. The siblings Maria and Germania Navarette and a female relative had legal issues in both Manila and Albay in South Eastern Luzon. They hired a lawyer named Jose Ycasas to represent them in both places. For reasons that were unclear, Mr. Ycasas was replaced by Guillermo Preysler only a year after the former was hired in 1893.⁴²⁸ Dña. Dolores Fortich likewise employed a *procurador* to handle her legal concerns in Cebu,⁴²⁹ while Soledad Estrella also needed legal assistance to facilitate the liquidation of her late husband's possessions in Iloilo where he had worked as a government telegraphist.⁴³⁰

The Patriarchal Imposition of Male Consent/ Assistance and Woman-Appropriate Work

The existence of late nineteenth century notarial documents undertaken by female members of Manila's elite is proof of their ability to employ the colonial legal system to safeguard their personal interests, as well as the future comfort of their loved ones. Such stories from these records give the impression that colonial law and society enabled privileged women, particularly in Manila, to enjoy a relatively high status

⁴²⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 007918926, Images 328-332.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., Images 309-310.

⁴²⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 199-200.

⁴²⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 196-197 and 433-434.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., Images 210-212.

⁴³⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 7920930, Images 212-213.

and freedom. Yet one cannot ignore the sad fact that, although they exercised rights that gave them a degree of personal agency, their ability to undertake activities independently of men were curtailed by that very same legal system.

Spanish colonization promoted the notion that a woman, given her nature, needed the protection and guidance of their fathers and other male authority figures.⁴³¹ This view of female dependence carried over into the nineteenth century as a middle class ideal in Western society.⁴³² All such iterations, notions and practices that limit a woman's roles and capabilities were embedded, legitimized, and normalized in patriarchal societies.⁴³³ While the Spanish Civil Code indicated what a woman was allowed to do, a good number of its provisions explicitly stated what they cannot do, while also setting conditions in relation to their rights. Such social impediments were readily revealed in the *Protocolos* whereby married and single women had to get either the consent or assistance of their spouses or male relatives to undertake notarial transactions.

Articles 57, 60 and 61 of the Spanish Civil Code served as the legal bases to compel a woman to obtain marital consent of her spouse to undertake the acquisition and disposition of any property, value or good. Moreover, it was the duty of the wife to obey her husband, who was her legal representative.⁴³⁴ In fact, Vann noted it was only through widowhood that a woman becomes free from male supervision.⁴³⁵

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that most transactions undertaken by women done with the assistance or consent of a husband or a male relative, were those that pertained to the purchase or sale of real estate. While Manila's women regularly purchased urban and agricultural properties throughout the final decades of the Spanish period, the widespread sale of lands by the Agustínians in Tondo district in 1871 highlights the need of women for the consent and/or assistance of their spouses in facilitating such purchases. Sabina de la Cruz, Policarpia Nolasco, Rosa Soriano, Clemencia Felix, Sabina Carlos, Nicolasa Jacinto,

⁴³¹ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," p. 132.

⁴³² Mary McDougall, "Working Class Women During the Industrial Revolution," p. 257.

⁴³³ Jane Lewis, "Sexual Divisions: Women's Work in Late Nineteenth-Century England," In *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*, ed. S. Jay Klienbergl(Oxford: Berg Publishers, Inc., 1988), pp. 150, 153-154.

⁴³⁴ *The Civil Code*, p. 13.

⁴³⁵ Richard T. Vann, "Towards a New Lifestyle,"p. 195.

and Rufina Seatico all purchased properties located in various Tondo *barrios* owned by the Augustinian Order. These women required the consent of their husbands to transact with the Augustinian representative Fr. Antonio Fermentino. Their husbands who were of Chinese heritage, accompanied two of them, Policarpia Nolasco and Rosa Soriano, during the notarization of the said purchases.⁴³⁶ Paula Paredes,⁴³⁷ Antonia Gotengco,⁴³⁸ and Raymunda Chuidian⁴³⁹ also made similar purchases in Manila that had the approval of their spouses during various years in the late nineteenth century.

While most transactions involving women approved by their legal representatives involved acquisitions, some were concerned with the judicious use of such assets. Juana Zaragoza, with the consent of her husband Eduardo Jackson, had a document notarized declaring the repairs made on her house in Sampaloc, in order to make it “perfectly habitable,” in 1873.⁴⁴⁰ Eight years later, Telesfora Felix, with the marital assistance of Julian Reyes, assigned Francisco Bengco to manage the Tondo-based *mestiza sangley*’s three agricultural lands in Bacolor, Pampanga.⁴⁴¹ Finally, in August 1896, Julia Belmeti Olmationgla, informed Elias Madrid, who rented out two spaces on the ground floor of a building she co-owned with her husband, to vacate the said premises within 30 days.⁴⁴²

Another common transaction involving Manileñas that required a man’s blessing was the lending or taking in of loans. Dña. Concepcion Conti, in 1881, incurred a debt worth P1,475 from the firm *Chuidian, Buenaventura y Ca.* The Binondo-based Mrs. Conti was to pay the loan within two years at an annual interest rate of 10%.⁴⁴³ In the same year, Dña. Ana de Venegas came to the aid of Pablo de los Reyes and Eustaquio Villablanca of Quiapo and Sta. Cruz. The two men lacked capital to finance their business and had to borrow P248 from Ms. Venegas in exchange for a monthly amortization of P20 until the debt and a certain amount of interest was paid. The agreement received the approval of Dña. Ana’s husband, D. Jose Maria Venegas.⁴⁴⁴ Finally, in January 1895, Sinforosa Limcuando and her brother Leon mortgaged a lot

⁴³⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Salanova Film No. 007915218, Images 703-705, 773-775, 791-793, 809-811 and 7915514, Images 42-44, 67-69, 151-153.

⁴³⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Heredia Film No. 007920930, Images 821-822.

⁴³⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Avila Film No. 0077916610, Images 361-362.

⁴³⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Adriano Film No. 7918926, Images 209-211.

⁴⁴⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Avila Film No. 7916610, Images 58-59.

⁴⁴¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Adriano Film No. 007918926, Images 324-327.

⁴⁴² NAP, *Protocolos*, Heredia Film No. 007920932, Images 843-845.

⁴⁴³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Adriano 007918926, Images 42-45.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Images 419-420.

with three structures in Calle Caballeros, Binondo for P4,500 that they were to pay back within a year with a monthly interest of P37.50. The following year, they paid both the principal and interest of the said loan. Clearly, both the taking out and paying off the loan that Sinforosa negotiated with her sibling had the approval of her husband Felix Araullo.⁴⁴⁵

Doeppers, in his historico-demographic study of women's occupations in Manila's late nineteenth century districts, noted that while men had almost 100 listed occupations, job options for women were limited to only 10 kinds.⁴⁴⁶ Since the patriarchal system adversely affected women's livelihood opportunities,⁴⁴⁷ the meagre employment opportunities for them in 1800s Manila was due to their marginalized status. The definite expression of patriarchy in the notarial records of Spanish Manila, however, was not found in the lack of variety of jobs for women, but rather in the use of very ambiguous language that some women listed as their occupation in these documents – *trabajo apropiado por un sexo* or work appropriate for one's sex. The appearance of this term in the *Protocolos* files, implied there were limitations to what type of employment proper women could engage in and that the work and roles assigned to them were different from those of men.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, out of the 44 women involved in notarial transactions that year with a known occupation, 20 of them did work "appropriate for one's sex." *Proprietario* or property owner (14) followed this, while only six businesswomen (*industrial*) were listed.

Fighting Patriarchy and its Excesses: Legal Redress against Abusive Husbands

On 9 September 1899, D. Florentino Torres, a veteran lawyer in Manila, appeared before the Philippine Commission to provide expert information for the Americans on marriage laws in the Philippines. He provided the new colonizers with a detailed picture on what were the appropriate steps taken by a man who wished to marry. He also explained that Spanish Law on marriage applied to all nationalities in the colony. Moreover, he stressed how the Catholic Church blocked the implementation of the Spanish Civil Code in 1889, which legalized civil marriages, and that a "monkish government" tolerated such actions.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Heredia Film No. 007920930, Images 561-570.

⁴⁴⁶ Daniel F. Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 255.

⁴⁴⁷ Lewis, "Sexual Divisions," pp. 148-149; J.W. Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," p. 17.

⁴⁴⁸ Joan W. Scott. "Women's History," In *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 56.

⁴⁴⁹ United States National Archives at College Park, MD. *Bureau of Insular Affairs Record Group 350, Divorce and Marriage*, Document 66 1119-14.

D. Florentino disclosed before the Philippine Commission that not only did the Catholic Church oppose the implementation of the Spanish Civil Code's rules on civil marriages but also on divorce, which was impermissible in Catholic Doctrine. Yet, decades before the arrival of the Spanish Civil Code in 1889, some Manila women already went to court to file for a legal separation from their spouses. There were also those who used legal avenues to seek recompense for their husband's abuses. Beyond legalities, these court cases also provide insights into the coping mechanisms of women in failed marriages, as well as snippets of information about their material life.

Unfaithfulness and Abuse as Grounds for "Divorce"

In 1889, the Spanish Civil Code in the Philippines allowed for the annulment of marriages, separation, and, supposedly, even divorce. In the case of the latter, the law provided the grounds for divorce, the effects of divorce once implemented, as well as measures to protect the wife upon termination of a marriage.

It is stated in Article 105 of the Code that the cause for divorce is legitimate for any of the following conditions: a) the wife had been adulterous; b) the husband had brought public scandal and shame on his wife and family, or c) if one of the parties had committed acts of personal violence and/or inflicted insults on the other. While biased against women as, legally, they were the only ones who could commit adultery, a few Manila-based women used this provision to bring to task their unfaithful and/or abusive husbands.

On 26 August 1876, an untitled native washerwoman from Pasay, Eugenia Dimaulig, filed a case against her husband Gregorio Lisboa, a musician, and Maximina Reyes, a storekeeper in a public market who was married to a butcher, Mateo Santos. Ms. Dimaulig had a witness by the name of Canuto de Jesus, a storekeeper. Eugenia claimed that her husband had sexual relations with Maximina in different houses, and there was even mention of the two meeting at a cockpit, a very public place. In the end, she revealed that she caught the pair in the act in the home she shared with Mr. Lisboa. It is clear here that the scandal caused by her spouse was her grounds for separation.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Adulterios*, Film No. 7912974, Images 336-344. .

Two other undated documents also concerned wives who filed charges against their philandering spouses. Dña. Rosario Manabat reported to the courts that her Chinese husband, Fernando Sy-Quingco, had kept a concubine of Chinese heritage. Unfortunately for Dña. Rosario, her husband's workers at the iron shop claimed not to know anything about the alleged mistress.⁴⁵¹ In the case of cigar worker Pia Pagsubigan of Quiapo, she found something in her daughter's room that made her believe her husband, a painter named Sixto Aguirre, was involved in an extramarital affair. Ms. Pasibugan's complaint led to the imprisonment of her husband and two women. However, there was no known resolution to the case.⁴⁵²

Most of the women in the *Adulterios* files who went to court in an effort to end their marriages were likely to have been victims of physical and/or verbal abuse, violations to a person that in current-day laws qualify as domestic violence. One of the victims of an abusive marital union was Dña. Cecilia Sanchez Pita. The Intramuros resident claimed that, in 1865, she suffered punches, kicks, and starvation from her husband, the Spanish *peninsular* D. Luis Ortiz.⁴⁵³ While Dionisia Aguilar suffered such a beating from Crispin Miguel, a machine operator, that she stayed a long while at the Hospicio de San Jose to recover from her injuries.⁴⁵⁴ In 1899, Dña. Epifania Concepcion had it even worse. Not only was she physically abused by her spouse, a fencing instructor named D. Angel Pena, she was also replaced by another woman, Josefa Morales.⁴⁵⁵

Compensation and Protection for the Aggrieved

The moment a woman filed for separation or annulment in the local courts, the law protected her person and interests pending the resolution of the case. These included her physical distancing from her husband, placing of the children under the care of one of the parents, provision of support for the woman and her children who were still legal minors, and the adoption of measures to safeguard the property of the wife from her husband.⁴⁵⁶ Those who filed cases did not necessarily wait for the court order to separate them from their husbands. The majority went back to their parents' homes, lived for the time being with her relatives and friends, or found safety in a *beaterio*, a religious house whose residents lived a life of prayer

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., Images 368-406.

⁴⁵² Ibid., Images 445-470.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., Images 563-593.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., Images 689-709.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., Images 1009-1026.

⁴⁵⁶ *The Civil Code*, p. 14.

and seclusion.⁴⁵⁷ In the Philippines, such convent-like places also served as a haven for penniless widows and abused women. Ysabel Villongco, a Chinese *mestiza*, decided to move back with her parents after she no longer wanted to have anything to do with her unfaithful Chinese husband, Lim Tiongco.⁴⁵⁸ Dña. Angela Sabinosa did the same when, as a young 20-year-old, she filed charges against her spouse, D. Manuel Leyba, whom she accused of physical and verbal abuse.⁴⁵⁹ A woman who was born in Spain, Dolores Gonzales, decided to stay at a friend's residence while awaiting the results of her case. However, she was accused by her husband of staying in the house of what he claimed was his wife's lover, D. Vicente Palacios. Thus, the court ordered that Dña. Dolores transfer to a *beaterio*.⁴⁶⁰

Cecilia Sanchez Pita, Dionisia Aguilar, and Angela Sabinosa all chose to stay in a religious house. The three women also had one telling similarity – all of them were victims of physical and verbal abuse from their spouses.⁴⁶¹ One can only wonder why they had no family or relatives to turn to and if their lack of social support partly explain why their husbands were physically violent towards them.

Women who wanted to end their marriages were naturally keen to protect their assets and often employed legal provisions of the law to safeguard their resources. Dionisia Aguilar pushed hard to retain ownership of her jewellery,⁴⁶² while Dña. Angela Sabinosa requested the court for an extension of her deadline to file for divorce to get hold of her personal effects.⁴⁶³

Claiming a privileged woman's personal effects and property required a detailed and cumbersome listing of assets. While not a Manila resident, the case of a woman from Daet, Camarines Norte, Dña. Julia Moreno Sanchez, sheds light on the material life and circumstance of these women of privilege. Dña. Julia listed 34 personal assets that she wanted to keep. These included her wooden bed, 10 chemises, 15 skirts, two towels, 11 complete dresses, four pairs of shoes, a variety of bags and purses, as well as rings and pins made of gold and precious stones, among others.⁴⁶⁴ Dña. Luisa Rivas's properties also reflected her

⁴⁵⁷ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," p. 139.

⁴⁵⁸ NAP, *Adulterios*, Film No. 7912974, Images 488-534.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Images 896-906.

⁴⁶⁰ NAP, *Adulterios*, Film No. 7912974, Images 602-668 and 841-845.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Images 563-593, 689-709, and 896-906.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, Images 689-709.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, Images 896- 906.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Images 985-994.

privileged background. She had four bundles of clothing, a table and a lamp made of marble, a sewing machine, a bed, and pictures of one of her grandparents.⁴⁶⁵

Given the assumption that women were financially dependent on their spouses who, under Article 57 of the Spanish Civil Code, were duty-bound to protect them, the courts sought to ensure that a woman and her children received support while their case was ongoing. In a case that she won, the court ordered Ysabel Villongco's philandering husband Lim Tiongco to pay a monthly alimony of P8 while also covering her P200 lawyer's fees.⁴⁶⁶ In addition to her jewellery, Dionisia Aguilar wanted a third of her machine operator husband's monthly income as her means of support.⁴⁶⁷ Dña. Josefa Basterrechea of Quiapo was due to receive a monthly alimony of P15 from her spouse, D. Victor de la Vega, while their case was under deliberation.⁴⁶⁸ Dña. Epifania Concepcion, on the other hand, was set to receive P20 monthly from D. Angel Peña.⁴⁶⁹ However, the woman who received the largest amount of financial support was Cecilia Sanchez Pita. Not only did she receive P25 in alimony; she also demanded her husband, who had beaten her black and blue, D. Luis Ortiz, issue her an apology.⁴⁷⁰

The courts hearing separation cases went as far as confiscating the assets of erring husbands to ensure their wives received proper compensation. In the case of Epifania Concepcion, some of the furniture owned by her husband were taken from his possession for alimony purposes. A Chinese master carpenter named Achat determined the value of the said furniture.⁴⁷¹ In 1881, the court divided the assets of Binondo residents Dña. Josefa Miscolta and D. Mariano Lactapi. These included 12 *rattan* chairs, a wooden table, a sewing machine, a large mirror, a lamp, four pictures and paintings, as well as a *caja de hierro*.⁴⁷² Dña. Rosario Manabat, however, was quite unfortunate. Her Chinese husband apparently sold his iron works shop to another Chinese, and thus, she failed to receive any compensation.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., Images 841-845.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., Images 488-534.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., Images 609-709.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., Images 713-753.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., Images 1009-1026.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., Images 563-593.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., Images 1009-1026.

⁴⁷² Ibid., Images 789-812.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., Images 368-406.

A man who suffered the most for causing shame to his wife, was D. Victor de la Vega, husband of Josefa Basterrechea and the owner of a luxury goods shop, *Las Delicias*. To ensure he would pay the P15 that was due Dña. Josefa every month, the court confiscated for auction more than 30 classes of items from his store, including bottles of champagne, red and white wine, jars and bottles of salt, raisins, stuffed olives, muscat, and fruit juice, and an assortment of canned meats and vegetables.⁴⁷⁴

Working the System in a Patriarchal World

Women in colonial and patriarchal settings, when familiar with the workings of legal and economic institutions, have proven capable of exercising significant control and agency in their lives.⁴⁷⁵ The experiences of privileged women of late nineteenth century Manila support this contention. Familiar with the workings of legal documents, they demonstrated their ability to purchase assets and legally allow others to manage their properties and business affairs, grant official consent to their children's marriages, serve as guardians for family members, execute wills for relatives and next of kin, and represent their spouses when the latter was unable to manage family concerns. When severely wronged by abusive and unfaithful husbands, they utilized the law to seek redress. While confronted by a patriarchal system their entire lives, women from comfortable backgrounds still knew they could write their wills and dispose their possessions without any undue male interference.

Yet despite their ability to take advantage of work the rules of the state, women still had to cope with the patriarchal values of their society. Married women could not transact business without the consent of their husbands. Despite being fully capable of handling the affairs of family properties and businesses, the law still required that their spouses grant them consent to handle such concerns. Moreover, even when they led active lives outside of the home, some of these women still had to endure the imposition of patriarchal labels. Terms such as having "work that was appropriate for one's sex", implied that the privacy

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., Images 713-733.

⁴⁷⁵ Mary Ann Fay, "Women, Property, and Power in Eighteenth Century Cairo," In *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), p. 125.

of the home was their sphere and there were economic activities outside the home that were the exclusive domain of men.

Of course, women from different backgrounds experienced the world differently. The privileged women of Manila used State regulations to their personal and economic advantage, but their less well-off counterparts in the city experienced the rules and regulations of the state quite differently. While the former's lives were empowered by the Law, the colonial state apparatus considered selected females from the working class as potential threats to law and order, and, thus, they were the subjects of strict regulation, control, and even punishment.

Chapter 4. State Regulations Pertaining to Particular Workingwomen

The nineteenth century was a period of growth and subsequent expansion for the Spanish colonial bureaucracy in the Philippines. An increase in the number of available personnel due to the loss of its American colonies and the frequent change of governments in Spain, contributed to the establishment of centralized institutions that furthered state's interests.⁴⁷⁶ Examples of this relentless growth in response to pressing concerns included the creation of several organizations to administer and police the growing number of immigrant Chinese arriving in the Philippines after 1850.⁴⁷⁷ The formation of the *guardia civil* occurred in 1868, the government's crack security force tasked to enforce public order in a colonial society that was experiencing a crime wave.⁴⁷⁸ Truly, the law and order institutions, activities, and groups mentioned in the voluminous documents of the National Archives that date from the latter part of the nineteenth century signify the character of and the impact on the lives and circumstance of Manila's workingwomen.⁴⁷⁹

Modern colonial states acted in ways that sought to impose order within their jurisdiction, which included activities that regulated people's lives. They attained this through institutions and agents that enforced their rules based on what its influential individuals and groups defined as acceptable, undesirable, or dangerous.⁴⁸⁰ Given the nature of the colonial state, it was inevitable that some of its policies and institutions dealt with women and their occupations and economic activities.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁶ Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State in the Nineteenth Century Philippines* (PhD Dissertation: Murdoch University, 1990), pp. 216, 281.

⁴⁷⁷ See Jely A. Galang, *Chinese Laboring Classes, Criminality, and the State in the Philippines, 1831-1898* (PhD Dissertation: Murdoch University, 2019).

⁴⁷⁸ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 36.

⁴⁷⁹ Miles Ogborn, "Knowledge is Power," p. 12.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁸¹ James Scott argues that the State's "classic functions" of making claims (i.e., taxes, forced labor, conscription) and imposing control over its subject population required it to have knowledge of the people and resources within its territories. This meant that States needed only to gather specific and standard information necessary for its institutions to better understand and regulate, for their benefit, individuals and groups within its jurisdiction. Once the State achieves these, it has made its subjects "legible" or understandable and more readily subject to organization, intervention, and manipulation. For a more detailed discussion, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, pp. 1-3.

This chapter discusses how the Spanish government established institutions that implemented regulations pertaining to four groups of Manila women who were deemed by the government to be potential threats to people's homes, public morals, and public health: the house-bound domestic servant and wet nurse, the *panguingue* table business owner, and the sex worker or *mujer de publica*. Unlike in the previous chapter documenting how women of privilege used the Law to further their welfare, this chapter deals with how particular working-class women became the objects of stereotyped views, which, in turn, led to their being profiled, controlled, and regulated by the colonial legal system and bureaucracy.

Defending the Upper-Class Home: Policies Regulating Servants and Wet Nurses

The existence of domestic servants in the nineteenth century was an indicator of the wealth and status of a place.⁴⁸² Aside from being a mark of a family's socioeconomic advancement,⁴⁸³ their existence in society was also a sign of the gap between its rich and poor inhabitants.⁴⁸⁴ By the middle up to the late nineteenth century, Manila was a principal site of economic progress and development. The city functioned as the colony's main hub of international trade and was the Philippines' only real urbanized area.⁴⁸⁵ This period coincided with the appearance of men as well as women who listed their occupations as domestics or *criadas* in government records such as civil registers and police reports.⁴⁸⁶ By 1873, of an estimated 300,000 people residing in Manila and its surrounding towns, 4,500 were registered domestic servants. This meant that for every 67 people in Manila, an individual was doing paid domestic work in a home.⁴⁸⁷

On the surface, a household employing a servant was a straightforward transaction. A family received services of an individual who freed them from laborious work and made their lives more comfortable.⁴⁸⁸ In exchange, a *criada* received an income and a place to stay. This latter benefit, however, could become a contentious matter. Unlike other employer-employee relationships, a domestic helper was often a stranger. The servant came from a different background to that of the family that she worked for, but still shared

⁴⁸² Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 138.

⁴⁸³ Branca, "Image and Reality," p. 186.

⁴⁸⁴ Gaw, *Superior Servants*, p. xv.

⁴⁸⁵ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 125.

⁴⁸⁶ The National Archives of the Philippines' records such as the Padron General de Vecindario, Juegos Prohibidos, Asuntos Criminales, Prostitucion, and Servidumbres Domestica all contain the names of women who were listed as house servants or cooks.

⁴⁸⁷ National Archives of the Philippines, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S90-94, S105.

⁴⁸⁸ Loong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia*, p. 62.

the same living space with them. Such physical proximity could lead to “troublesome” situations,⁴⁸⁹ namely incidents of domestic theft, one of the more common cases in the *Asuntos Criminales* records that clearly threatened the safety and property of a home’s residents. It was even argued in an 1853 government document that the privileged position of servants living in their employer’s households could potentially cause “great harm to the class of society that has to make use of them.”⁴⁹⁰

From the standpoint of the colonial government, it had to ensure the safety and well-being of such privileged individuals. By 1848, this social concern and fear led to the implementation of a policy called the “Provisional Regulations for the Policing of Domestic Servants” (PRPDS). The stated regulations meant to ensure that “only honest people” ended up working as domestic servants due to the growing concern that Manila’s police force was not able to regulate the matter properly. Hence, the government of Manila established the Office of Public Safety (OPS) as a separate unit to implement the provisions of the PRPDS.⁴⁹¹ The OPS dealt with all matters pertaining to the regulation of servants until the transfer of such responsibilities to the *Commandancia* of the *Guardia Civil* in the 1870s.⁴⁹²

The Servant’s List: Managing a Perceived Threat from Within

The PRPDS is composed of articles that simplified how the State legally dealt with the elite’s domestic servants. Its sections include: a) the process of registering a servant; b) an employer’s obligations; c) the rights of a servant, and d) the repercussions for both servant and employer who fail to comply with the policy’s rules and regulations. From the intention behind its first article, these regulations were to protect particularly the homes of Westerners. One of its main provisions centers on the maintenance of a listing containing relevant information on servants affiliated with Spanish and European employers, residing in Intramuros and its surrounding communities up to the *pueblo* of San Pedro de Makati. As if an afterthought, it was only in Article 21 that the village heads of the natives, Chinese, Chinese *mestizo* communities were encouraged to establish their own rolls.

⁴⁸⁹ Jacqueline H. Wolf, “‘Mercenary Hirelings’ or a ‘Great Blessing’?: Doctors’ and Mothers’ Conflicted Perceptions of Wet Nurses and the Ramifications for Infant Feeding in Chicago, 1871-1961,” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 97 and 110.

⁴⁹⁰ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S20-30.

⁴⁹¹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S6-9. Unless specified, all succeeding paragraphs is based on this source.

⁴⁹² It should be noted that while it is stated in *Servidumbres Domesticas* SDS-1713, S1-7 that the *guardia civil* became the party responsible for registering and regulating servants, other documents indicate that as early as the 1870s such responsibilities were already being fulfilled by the said institution.

The servant list provided the authorities with enough information to identify and monitor a servant affiliated with a European household. The OPS knew the full name of each servant, who their parents were, their age, place of birth, their employer, and where they currently resided. In a very real sense, this list made these workers, whether male or female, identifiable and the subject of surveillance by the State.⁴⁹³ An example is the case for Romana Almedilla. She registered herself as a domestic servant on 15 May 1879, and provided the local *guardia civil*, the institution assigned to maintain such lists, the information they needed to know. They learned she was the 37-year-old daughter of Canuto Almedilla and Ynocencia Candelaria and belonged to the *gremio* of natives who resided in Quiapo. Both her *gobernadorcillo* and parish priest certified she was a member of their community.⁴⁹⁴ Two weeks later, the *Commandancia* of the *guardia civil* also registered 31-year-old Vicenta Corral on its roll of *criadas*. She was also a native woman and resident of Quiapo who had complied with her tribute payments for that year.⁴⁹⁵

The maintenance of the servant record relied on the cooperation of both servant and master, and non-compliance resulted in stiff penalties for both parties. An employer had to ensure that his domestic registered within 24 hours after he/she commenced work. Once registered, a servant received a government-issued notebook. If the *criada* decided to leave her employer, the latter had to surrender the notebook, which was under safekeeping at the OPS. An employer who hired an unregistered servant or who failed to register within the stipulated period faced a fine of P12. While the amount may seem small, other *amos* appealed for a reprieve from this measure. Two widows, Dña. Mercedes Gallo and Da. Joaquina Garcia requested that they settle their fines through staggered payments because they did not have enough funds. They could pay their fines by providing P4 every 10th of the month for three consecutive months.⁴⁹⁶

If a servant left an employer without permission, the latter had to inform the OPS that servant had gone missing. Irrespective if the servant was in the wrong, the *amo* had to pay a fine of P5. While this may seem like a stiff price for informing the OPS that a *criada* was at large, if that individual caused problems for

⁴⁹³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, p. 9.

⁴⁹⁴ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1707, S456-460B.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid. S465-471B

⁴⁹⁶ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S1004-1005.

another household, the remiss employer could be penalized between P10 to P50.⁴⁹⁷ An *amo* was motivated to report a missing servant especially if that person stole something from the household. In the case of D. Jacinto Calvo of 18 Calle Nueva in Ermita, he immediately returned the notebook of his servant Maria Libulo, who fled his home while bringing along P10 worth of silver.⁴⁹⁸ Dña. Eugenia de Leon, on the other hand, lost even more assets. She reported her domestic Gertrudes Sanz fled her house in Number 5 Calle Yris, Sampaloc without warning on 13 February 1892. Ms. de Leon stated her maidservant ran away with two of her rings encrusted with precious stones valued at P75.⁴⁹⁹

The authorities judiciously used the P5 fine paid by an employer whose domestic left without permission. In many cases, the colonial government and its agents went to great pains to track down a *criada* who was at-large. The search for Petra Villa Lagat, a 16-year-old from Dingras, Ylocos Norte, who stole clothes and a gold rosary valued at P35 from her employers D. Alejandro Blanchard and Dña. Pilar Teresa Franco, best illustrates how the State used its resources to catch such an offender. On 29 September 1897, Mr. Blanchard, a Frenchman who lived in Escolta with his Spanish wife, surrendered Petra Lagat's notebook to the *guardia civil*. He reported on the evening of 27 September 1897 he and his wife realized their domestic had absconded with some of his wife's good clothes, as well as a gold rosary. After getting all the relevant details, the colonial judicial and police authorities began to operate. While the police formed a search party, a local court charged Ms. Lagat *in ausencia*, and she had 72 hours to respond. The authorities then sent to local justices of the neighboring provinces of Bulacan, Morong, Pampanga, and Cavite the details regarding Petra, as she had now become a person of interest. By 9 October 1897, the *guardia civil* had questioned two silversmiths based in Binondo who might have had information regarding the missing rosary, but they found no solid leads.

What is most revealing about this case is it provides a chronology of exactly when other towns in Manila and nearby provinces received word that Ms. Lagat was wanted for theft. After Mr. Blanchard's report of the alleged crime committed by his *criada*, the various councils of the *indios* and *mestizos* of Manila's districts received orders to search for Ms. Lagat in their jurisdictions between 6 and 9 October 1897. The following week, arrest instructions for the elusive servant reached the *pueblos* of Caloocan, Tambobong, and

⁴⁹⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S12.

⁴⁹⁸ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1707, S1134.

⁴⁹⁹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S15.

Navotas, which were all located north of Manila. On 21 October 1897, the police received confirmation from the parish priest of Dingras, Ilocos Norte that Ms. Lagat received baptism in the parish but that her real name was Petra Abanilla. The following day, it was reported that towns in Morong east of Manila and Bulacan Provinces (north of Manila), had also received their orders to find and arrest Petra. Unfortunately for the Blanchards, Ms. Abanilla was never found.⁵⁰⁰

Punishing the Delinquent “Criada”

The regulations implemented by the OPS and, in succeeding decades, the *guardia civil* included rules about how a servant should behave with respect to their masters and government institutions that they dealt with. Failure to meet legal expectations led to monetary penalties and punishments. In Article 12 of the 1848 PRPDS, a domestic caught leaving an employer’s home without permission could spend 8 days in the OPS barracks and suffer 15 strikes of a *rattan* cane. A second offense resulted in the guilty party laboring two months in the government’s public works.⁵⁰¹ While the *Servidumbres Domestica* records do not contain any reports of a house help being subjected to caning for leaving work without prior notice, those caught committing such a transgression were normally incarcerated for eight days. This was the fate suffered by Juana de los Santos in 1889,⁵⁰² Baltazara Apacionado in 1890,⁵⁰³ and Lucina de los Reyes in 1891.⁵⁰⁴ There was also a *criada*, Serapia Bidiones, who spent eight days in jail in 1892 for fleeing her employer Dña. Maria Santos. She, however, denied the allegation and sought to correct this situation, but to no avail.⁵⁰⁵

In the 1890s, domestics had to comply with revised rules. In the Regulation of Domestic Service that became effective on 1 January 1895, there were now separate lists for males and females, cedula or baptismal certificate requirements for registrants, as well as explicit instructions that servants inform the authorities of any change in their domicile. Despite these new impositions, they now only had to pay fines, rather than suffering corporal punishment for their infractions. A servant could be penalized P5 for disrespecting or disobeying her master, leaving her employer’s home before a stipulated time and date,

⁵⁰⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD No. 7, Folder 2, Images AAKEAH04- AAKAHD.T.

⁵⁰¹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S12.

⁵⁰² NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S1139.

⁵⁰³ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S198.

⁵⁰⁴ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S164.

⁵⁰⁵ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1707, S897-898B.

and for not picking their documents at the *Commandancia*. Failure to register with the *guardia civil* within 48 hours of commencing work for an *amo* or leaving her master's home without permission would result in a P10 penalty. Finally, being illegible, or invisible, in the eyes of the authorities was the worst violation a *criada* could commit – namely, a person who did domestic work in a person's home without any identification card or *cedula* faced a P20 fine. Any repeat of these infractions led to a doubling of fines.⁵⁰⁶

Servants as a Source of Revenue

Manila's local government utilized servant rolls, particularly its city council or *Ayuntamiento* in regulating the behavior of house helpers and keeping safe the homes of the ruling class. Moreover, these lists also served to monitor and project the revenue that the government could accrue from taxing this occupational group. As early as 1848, employers were required to reserve a portion of their domestics' monthly salary, which they would submit every three months to the Subdelegation of the Province of Tondo as required tribute payment to the government.⁵⁰⁷ This enabled the servants to escape the drudgery of 40 days of corvee labor required from members of the subject classes between the ages of 16 to 60.

The labor-service-exemption-in-exchange-for money granted to servants, at the rate of 15 *pesetas* per head, was estimated to provide the government of Manila with 61,000 *pesetas* (P12,200) in 1873. Such an amount of money was nothing to scoff at given the government's chronic financial deficits.⁵⁰⁸ In fact, the *Contaduria de la Administracion Local de Filipinas* (Local Accounting Administration of the Philippines or LCAP) recommended that the Manila *Ayuntamiento* retain the exemptions granted to the city's servants since the numbers migrating to the city in search of work as domestics was increasing.⁵⁰⁹ The LCAP also recommended the undertaking of a study to determine the amount of revenue provided by these individuals. One way to attain this information was for native (*indio*), Chinese, and Chinese *mestizo* guilds to provide their own listings and indicate the projected revenue to be earned from each in the local government's annual budget.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁶ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1713, S1-7B.

⁵⁰⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S15.

⁵⁰⁸ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S63-66, 105.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, S63-66.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, S90-94B.

In the end, servants in Manila were not only possible threats to the homes of Manila's ruling elite that needed their labor but also a source of income for a cash-strapped State. They were a necessity for both individual elite households and the colonial government that needed additional revenue.

A Policy Unlikely Implemented: 1897 Regulations on Wet Nurses

In the nineteenth century, wet-nursing or hiring of women to breastfeed babies of other mothers was a common practice in Western countries such as France,⁵¹¹ England,⁵¹² and the United States.⁵¹³ What began as a practice associated with the aristocracy and comfortable classes⁵¹⁴ soon became a custom even among urban working class women working outside the home who could afford the services of someone to provide milk for their children. In fact, in France, wet-nursing became an industry subject to government regulation.⁵¹⁵

Whether caused by a woman's vanity, an adherence to a fad, poor health, or the necessity to earn a living, the hiring of a wet nurse was a potentially difficult matter. Class differences between a well-to-do family and a woman from a lower-class background, who resided in the former's abode, could result in a clash of values and practices. Therefore, for a potential employer, a wet nurse was a "necessary trouble", albeit possibly a source of maternal jealousy.⁵¹⁶

Another cause for concern emanated from the practice of families to hire a wet nurse. As most women who entered this occupation came from poorer backgrounds, there was also a greater risk that their general health was suspect. Worse, such women could even have diseases, a situation that could endanger the health of the children they were nursing.⁵¹⁷ The fear of hiring substandard wet nurses or *nodrizas* was the primary motivation of the colonial government in Manila to establish a section for wet nurses in the

⁵¹¹ See George D. Sussman, "The Wet-Nursing Business in Nineteenth Century France," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1975), pp. 304-328.

⁵¹² See Gina Kolata, "Wet-Nursing Boom in England Explored," *Science, New Series*, Vol. 235, No. 4790 (Feb. 13, 1987), pp. 745-747.

⁵¹³ See Wolf, "Mercenary Hirelings," *Journal of Social History*, pp. 97-120.

⁵¹⁴ Kolata, "Wet-Nursing Boom," pp. 745-747; Wolf, "Mercenary Hirelings," p. 745.

⁵¹⁵ The city of Paris's Bureau of Wet Nurses and its regulatory activities are mentioned throughout George D. Sussman's article "Parisian Infants and Norman Wet Nurses in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Statistical Study," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Spring 1977), 637-653.

⁵¹⁶ Wolf, "Mercenary Hirelings," p. 102.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

Bureau of Public Hygiene (BPH). Given that such laws were generally reactive, the establishment of this unit was a reaction to the practice of hiring *nodrizas* in Manila at that time.⁵¹⁸

Established in Manila on 31 July 1897 by order of the civil governor, the main objective of this section of the BPH was to undertake the “moral and sanitary surveillance of wet nurses.” Its personnel were composed of administrative workers and medical doctors. Similar to their fellow homebound domestics, all wet nurses had to register with this section. For surveillance purposes, each prospective *nodriza* had to provide the following personal information: a) full name; b) age; c) latest address, and d) previous occupation. They were then subjected to a medical examination to ensure they were free of contagious diseases and, thus, healthy enough to nurse the babies of their prospective clients. If a woman passed her examination, she submitted to the BPH’s wet nurses’ section her cedula, the consent of her spouse or, if unmarried, her father or guardian, as well as certificates of good conduct from her municipal leader and parish priest. Only after meeting all these requirements was an applicant issued a wet nurse’s health card, which she had to surrender to the BPH if she decided to withdraw from the occupation.

The *nodriza*’s health and registration card made her legible in the eyes of the the State, particularly the BPH. When taken in by an employer, her card required the signature of the latter. She was then obligated to show her card to the wet nurses’ section within three days of her employment. The card had to be signed every time she left her employer’s home, signifying that a wet nurse commonly lived with the family she was serving. The regulations for wet nurses assumed that many *nodrizas* were from the provinces. If she needed to leave Manila for some reason, she must surrender her card at the section and reclaim upon her return. When her employer or the wet nurse wished to end their arrangement, the latter had to surrender her card to the BPH with her admission and termination dates signed off by the head of the family who hired her.

One of the challenges confronting social historians conducting research on wet-nursing in Western countries is the lack of data,⁵¹⁹ a situation that is also the case in the Philippines. However, there were examples that turn up in various record lists. Cases in 1879 and 1890 in the *Asuntos Criminales* reveal that

⁵¹⁸ National Archives of the Philippines, *Prostitucion 1887-1897*, SDS-12332, S570-578B. This citation also covers the two succeeding paragraphs of this text.

⁵¹⁹ Wolf, “Mercenary Hirelings,” p. 98; Sussman, “The Wet-Nursing Business,” p. 305.

wet-nurses were primary suspects in two domestic theft cases. What is common about these alleged incidents is that both complainants were women who worked outside of their homes, while the wet nurses who fled their residences had male accomplices. In October 1879, an unmarried *mestiza* named Luciana Eugenio filed theft charges against Cornelia Oliveros and her brother Rufino. In her complaint, Ms. Eugenio, who worked as a *maestra* of a production unit at a tobacco factory in Tambobong (present-day Malabon), stated that when she arrived home from work one day, she found her wet-nurse Cornelia was not around. In addition, she noted her closet had been forced open and taken from it were a gold comb, gold rosary, a pair of gold earrings, a gold hair pin, a gold ring with a green stone, and a gold watch. Aside from the jewelry, also missing were a French skirt, two cut skirts, four work blouses, and an embroidered *piña* handkerchief, which had a combined value of 86 *pesos*. Both accused were freed after posting bail. Rufino denied he and his sister stole any items from the house of Ms. Eugenio. He, however, admitted that Cornelia left her employer's home because she could not bear the alleged immorality that was happening in the Eugenio residence. He claimed Luciana was the mistress of a D. Manuel Haycando. Lack of evidence eventually resulted in the siblings' acquittal.⁵²⁰

Eleven years later, a stall owner, a Ms. Molina from Sampaloc District reported a *nodriza* for her two children had suddenly disappeared on Christmas Day, while she was tending to her business at a theater where a Christmas performance was held. Upon returning home, she realized her wet-nurse Ambrosia Alberto, and, her husband Francisco Galvez, who had been staying at Ms. Molina's house for three weeks, were nowhere to be found. Gone also were her three gold rings with precious stones, a gold pin with nine gemstones; a golden *criolla* with three stones, two nails with a pearl each, and a comb with eight pearls. Unfortunately for Ms. Molina and her children, the two suddenly disappeared after their release from jail.⁵²¹

There was no real assurance that the regulations on Manila's *nodrizas*, which included the provision requiring employers to report to the BPH if their wet nurse went missing, were ever properly implemented, as its enactment coincided with the outbreak of hostilities during the Philippine Revolution.

⁵²⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 3, Folder 1, Images 752-1071.

⁵²¹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 23, Folder 1, Images 217-325.

It is more than likely, however, that cases such as those experienced by Ms. Molina and Ms. Eugenio, influenced the introduction of this planned policy on registering and regulating *nodrizas*.

***Panguingue*: Government Supervision of a Female-Dominated Game of Chance**

Western accounts of the Philippines in the nineteenth century and early decades of American Rule took note of the Filipino penchant for gambling. Some described gambling as second nature to the country's inhabitants, a "national custom", particularly in Manila which was filled with cockpits, lotteries, and gambling houses,⁵²² while others would derisively describe it as a "national vice",⁵²³ one of the colony's "greatest plagues" that afflicted Philippine society,⁵²⁴ especially among the native population in Manila.⁵²⁵

Other travel narratives emphasized how the lure of gambling applied to both men and women. In the case of the latter, card games supposedly served as their only means of relaxation.⁵²⁶ The major pastime associated with women, in fact, was the only card game sanctioned by the authorities – *panguingue*. This game, which used six packs of cards and commonly involved five or six players,⁵²⁷ was said to be played by women at a leisurely pace, a "means for whiling away the time".⁵²⁸

The colonial authorities, however, treated gambling as a serious social matter. Despite being a major source of revenue,⁵²⁹ by 1863, the *Ministerio de Ultramar* established regulations for the "repression" of prohibited games. These laws also set the rules for permissible forms of gambling, including *panguingue*. This policy reflected the intention of the Spanish government to prevent any impediments to the labor productivity of its subjects. Hence, artisans and day laborers could gamble only from 12 noon to 2 PM and 6 PM to 10 PM on ordinary working days.⁵³⁰

⁵²² G. J. Younghusband, *The Philippines and Round About: With Some account of British Interests in these Waters* (New York: MacMillan Company and Limited, 1899), pp. 55-56; Emily Bronson Conger, *An Ohio Woman in the Philippines* (Akron, Ohio: Press of Richard H. Leighton, 1904), p. 147.

⁵²³ Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, p. 270.

⁵²⁴ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 148.

⁵²⁵ Marshal Everett, ed., *Exciting Experiences in Our War with Spain and the Filipinos* (Chicago: The Educational Company, 1900), p. 358.

⁵²⁶ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 32.

⁵²⁷ John Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 148.

⁵²⁸ Ralph Kent Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino* (New York: Everywhere Publishing Company, c1912), pp. 194 and 197.

⁵²⁹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 141.

⁵³⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12517, S33.

Despite limited operating hours, many individuals still considered operating a *panguingue* table a profitable endeavor. A statistical analysis of business tax payments in the *Contribucion Industrial* documents indicate women were responsible for 47% of all *panguingue* tax payments listed in Manila in 1896.⁵³¹ The significant number of females who applied for a license to operate a *panguingue* table in either a house or warehouse owned by them also corroborates the attractiveness of *panguingue* tables as a business.⁵³²

A careful reading of various *panguingue* table applications found in the *Juegos Prohibidos* files reveal the institutions that dealt with the application process. A regular application for several tables in a specific space required three steps. First, an applicant wrote to the office of the provincial governor of Manila requesting permission to operate a table while also providing the street and town/district address where the structure that would house the table was located. Once received, the application was referred to the *guardia civil* unit that had jurisdiction over the applicant's area. The local police then made a recommendation to the provincial governor whether to grant or reject the application. Two criteria influenced such recommendations: a) the potential profitability of the operation and b) the ability of the *guardia civil* to monitor the table once it was operational. The governor would then inform the applicant of the decision, which was always based on the local police unit's advice.

Some individuals had the good fortune of getting licenses in 1893. In Intramuros, Petrona Cabrera held *panguingue* games below the stairs of her house, also called a *saguan*, along Solana Street.⁵³³ Juliana de los Santos set up a *panguingue* table as a form of public entertainment for the residents along the Calle Real in Sta. Ana, Manila.⁵³⁴ Fragedes Lacsamana, on the other hand, operated not one but two tables in a *camarin* in *Barrio San Antonio* in Ermita.⁵³⁵

Other permit requests included information about the applicant's intent to make a living out of *panguingue*. Dña. Placida Jose of San Roque Street, Sampaloc, stated that her planned gaming business would be the

⁵³¹ Marco Lagman and Ma. Simeona Martinez, "Assessing the Characteristics of Late Nineteenth Century Manila-Based Business Establishments," *Journal of Asian Network for GIS-based Historical Studies*, vol. 2 (2014), p. 75.

⁵³² Such applications are found in several *Juegos Prohibidos* bundles such as SDS-12519 and 12520.

⁵³³ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12512, S31-S32B.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, S79-80.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, S85-87.

main source of her daily income.⁵³⁶ The previous year in 1892, a Sta. Cruz resident claimed that she was dependent on the meager earnings of her business and a *panguingue* table would be a welcome additional source of income.⁵³⁷ The authorities approved both applications.

Not all female *panguingue* table applicants were as fortunate. The *guardia civil* decided whether the number of tables was simply too large for the operation to be profitable. In 1895, in the *pueblo* of Tambobong, the authorities decided that they wanted to reduce the number of tables they were monitoring. Consequently, they recommended that the office of the governor refuse the renewal application of Martina Reyes for her two current tables.⁵³⁸ Dominga de Jesus hoped to operate two *panguingue* tables in her home in Barrio Sta. Maria in Sta. Ana, but the police turned down her application. The *guardia civil* felt there were already too many tables in her area and that any additional gaming places would be detrimental to the well-being of the community.⁵³⁹ Bitu Tuason of Calle Real, Marikina, had the misfortune of applying for a *panguingue* license in a bad location. Not only were there already far too many tables in her community, but her home was also situated directly opposite a church!⁵⁴⁰

According to Bankoff, the *guardia civil* did not have enough personnel and material, including horses, to cover wider geographic areas around Manila.⁵⁴¹ Marikina and Tambobong towns were situated east and north of Manila, and Sta. Ana was located along the periphery of Manila, bordering the agricultural and sparsely populated *pueblo* of San Pedro de Makati (See Maps 4.1 and 4.2.). As such, the tyranny of distance may have played a role in the decision of security forces to deny a *panguingue* application. Even the Sta. Cruz district seemed to contain certain places that the *guardia civil* deemed inaccessible for their men. The authorities considered the Obando Street, where Gina Enares was applying for a table, as “inconvenient” and difficult to monitor.⁵⁴² Purificacion Evangelista, who may have been illiterate, had her request written on her behalf. Unfortunately, the site of her proposed table, Oroquieta Street was a place beyond the pale that the police had jurisdiction over.⁵⁴³ Sometimes, even the location of the *panguingue* table within a house

⁵³⁶ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12520, S484-485B.

⁵³⁷ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12519, S18-20.

⁵³⁸ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12520, S330-331B.

⁵³⁹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12520, S522-523

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., S536-537.

⁵⁴¹ Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 335.

⁵⁴² NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, 12520, S500-501B.

⁵⁴³ Ibid., S555-556B.

was a problem for the police. For instance, Maria Prospero's wish to host games in her house along Timbugan Street, Sta. Cruz was denied not because of the inaccessibility of the area, but rather because the *guardia civil* found it difficult to monitor the *panguingue* table she intended to set up on the upper floor of her residence.⁵⁴⁴



Maps 4.1 and 4.2. District and *Pueblo*-Level Maps of Manila and Manila Province.⁵⁴⁵

Gambling Raids: Warrants Not Required

Laws reflect not only the interests of the State but also the realities of the social issues and concerns its institutions were attempting. The 1863 gambling prohibition regulations reflected the colonial authorities' concern over illegal gambling operations and how best to facilitate the enforcement of their gambling rules. Moreover, the penalties for committing gambling offenses reveal how the establishment considered the playing of illegal games of chance as a relatively minor offense.

Three articles of the regulations concerned the arrest and meting out of penalties to people involved in illegal gambling. Because gambling could happen anytime and anywhere, police jurisdiction no longer

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., S573-574B.

⁵⁴⁵ Maps by Neil Eneri Tingin, GIS practitioner.

applied to specific apprehending groups or police units. Article 13 stated that to maintain an element of surprise, arresting officials could go outside of their territorial district for as long as necessary to apprehend individuals playing illegal games of chance. To further the arm of the law to undertake surprise raids and arrests, government agents did not need a justification to raid a residence or building as they had blanket authority to initiate such operations.⁵⁴⁶ The search without a warrant recognized the fact that Manila was a site for many gambling houses.⁵⁴⁷ While the arrest of poor people for playing games of chance was quite common, gamblers who hid behind the walls of their homes were likely to evade capture.⁵⁴⁸

Although there is no data for the years immediately following the introduction of the gambling rules, there were recorded raids on homes that took by surprise both players and operators, known as *casero* or *casera*. Despite the rules for the legal operation of a *panguingue* table, some individuals, to their detriment, simply did not comply. On 27 February 1894, at 3PM, a time which *panguingue* games were prohibited, the *guardia civil* raided the home of Modesta Ramirez along Calle Magdalena in San Jose, Manila. Ms. Ramirez had no license to operate her table where five women – Maximina Cruzada, Cirila Nunez, Francisca Francia, Feliza Cruzada, and Tomasa Santiago were caught red-handed playing *panguingue*.⁵⁴⁹ Seven months later the police broke up in Calle Nueva in Binondo, the unlicensed *panguingue* operation of Felipa de los Santos. Arrested along with a male player were Maria Juana, Ceferina Niquinco, and Cirila Artesar.⁵⁵⁰ Without a need for a warrant, the *guardia civil* were able to disrupt large card playing activities in some homes. One of these places was the residence of Simona de los Santos located along Calle Misericordia in Sta. Ana. In 1895, she ran an unlicensed *panguingue* table. Caught red-handed in her home were 12 men and two women who were all able to fit into her apartment, or *accesoria*.⁵⁵¹

Not all apprehended *panguingue caseras* were unlicensed. Some of these women had permits to operate, but the six hours per day limit on *panguingue* ventures led to them to operate outside the prescribed times. On 10 December 1886, at 3 PM, an hour after the 12 to 2 PM curfew for card play, police raided the home of a seamstress named Cristina Bayani in *Barrio* San Roque in Sampaloc. Caught playing cards on the floor

⁵⁴⁶ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12517, S33.

⁵⁴⁷ Younghusband, *The Philippines and Roundabout*, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁴⁸ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 64.

⁵⁴⁹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12511, S182-183.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, S225-226.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, S326-328.

of her living room were six men who were either day laborers or washer men and four women – Ruperta de la Cruz, Catarina de Leon, Ysabel Pascual, and a washerwoman named Maria Asuncion.⁵⁵²

There were incidents when the *guardia civil* took things very seriously with respect to the infringements of the legal playing hours. Just minutes after the 2 PM deadline for card play, police suddenly stormed the home of Macaria de los Santos in *Barrio Mamancat* in the *pueblo* of Pateros on 16 July 1893. Caught with 282 playing cards and 11 centavos and 2 *octavos* on the table were a male and female player.⁵⁵³ The police seemed to focus their raids on sites where *panguingue* games occurred beyond legal hours. This was a lesson learned the hard way for Lucina de la Cruz who had four women busily playing cards in the afternoon at her home in Calle Poblete, Sta. Cruz⁵⁵⁴ and Damasa Francisco, whose home along Plaza de Leon, Manila on 7 August 1894 yielded four men playing *panguingue* beyond allowable hours.⁵⁵⁵

Foreman argued that the natives of the Philippines were fond of gambling,⁵⁵⁶ but it was an activity that transcended all classes. Gambling was so commonplace that an American writer even exaggerated that “everybody without exception gambles in the Philippines,”⁵⁵⁷ and the homes of rich people at times served as gambling houses despite the laws prohibiting such a vice.⁵⁵⁸ One such home was that of Dña. Maria de la Paz of Marikina. Despite having a license to operate, she was caught allowing four men to play *panguingue* in her home on 12 June 1883 at 5PM, one hour before the game could be legally played.⁵⁵⁹ While Dña. Maria had a *panguingue* license, Dña. Carolina Calderon of Calle Alix, Sampaloc did not bother to get one because the game played in her house – the card game *monte* – was illegal. She hosted a *monte* session in her home for six privileged individuals, one of whom was Dña. Cesaria Hernandez. Even though a member of the elite, the items confiscated from her residence were quite basic. Aside from the set of playing cards, other gambling paraphernalia seized from her home included card chips of various values, a table with a white runner, 81 wood chips, and 27 seeds from local fruits.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵² NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12510, S72-78.

⁵⁵³ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12511, S75-78.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, S140-141.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, S227-228.

⁵⁵⁶ Foreman, *The Philippines*, p. 167.

⁵⁵⁷ Arthur D. Hall, *The Philippines* (New York, Street and Smith, 1898), p. 82.

⁵⁵⁸ William B. Freer, *The Philippine experiences of an American teacher; a narrative of work and travel in the Philippine Islands* (New York: C. Scribner and Sons, 1906), p. 382.

⁵⁵⁹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12509, S227-247.

⁵⁶⁰ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12508, S126.

The local population did not limit their gambling activities to houses. Lacking financial resources, some female *panguingue* players took full advantage of outdoor environments and wilderness areas on the margins of Manila⁵⁶¹ to play such games. One of these places was in the town of San Mateo, one of the easternmost localities of Manila Province, whose economy depended on agriculture and animal husbandry.⁵⁶² In the summer of 15 April 1883, four women – Eustaquia Santos, Felipa de la Cruz, Rafaela Trinidad, and Francisca Ayuso – along with a companion thought it would be safe to have a game of *panguingue* in San Mateo's remote setting. However, the *guardia civil* caught them in *Barrio Putol* in San Mateo on the afternoon of that same day.⁵⁶³

The *pueblo* of Pineda (present-day Pasay), despite sharing a border with Manila's southern area, had an agrarian landscape reflected in its betel nut plantations.⁵⁶⁴ It also still had its fair share of wilderness, which the *guardia civil* referred to as *despoblados* in their reports about two cases of illegal gaming, in November 1895. The first arrest occurred in *Barrio San Roque* at five o'clock in the afternoon on the 15th of the said month. Four women along with two men were caught by surprise playing *panguingue*, and the evidence presented against them included 205 cards and the 27 centavos and four *octavos* that they had in their possession.⁵⁶⁵ Eleven days later, the police struck again. They claimed due to their vigilance, they were able to catch five women and a man playing *panguingue* in the wilderness of *Barrio San Rafael*.⁵⁶⁶

Incarceration not Necessary: Gambling as a Minor Infraction

In Article 17 of the anti-gambling regulations of the *Minsiterio de Ultramar*, apprehending officers were required to gather evidence of gambling at the scene of the crime. However, this evidence only served as the bases for the issuance of fines on the guilty parties.⁵⁶⁷ In the case of Liceria Paulino who hosted an illegal *panguingue* session for six women in her home at Number 19 Calle Obando in Binondo on 21 May 1895, no playing cards were mentioned as evidence of their illegal activities. Unfortunately, it was difficult

⁵⁶¹ Arthur Judson Brown, *New Era in the Philippines* (London and Edinburgh: Revel H. Fleming Company, c1903), p. 24; Charles Wilkes, "Manila in 1842," pp. 460, 480.

⁵⁶² National Archives of the Philippines, *Memorias de Manila* 1892, Electronic Folder, tif 84-87.

⁵⁶³ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12509, S87-111.

⁵⁶⁴ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 108; Bowring, *The Philippines*, p. 15.

⁵⁶⁵ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12511, S335-337.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, S343-344.

⁵⁶⁷ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12517, S33C-34.

for them to hide the P14.06 and two octavos in coins found in the area where they were playing.⁵⁶⁸ In the same year, Maita Pagsanghan was playing *panguingue* with two other men in the home of an unlicensed male *casero* in *Barrio* San Isidro in Pineda when the authorities suddenly arrived. The three players only had 20 centavos between them, but they were still playing the game with 408 cards, the equivalent of more than 10 decks.⁵⁶⁹

Fines for violating gambling regulations were generally quite low. The fine for the owner of the structure where illegal gaming occurred was between P4-5, while players paid half that amount, often around P2. In 1895, in *Barrio* San Antonio in Pineda *Pueblo*, Maria Vasquez and her three female companions most likely played outdoors as their case did not mention a *casera*. As such, each paid P2.⁵⁷⁰ Because she was the owner of a home where 11 players were caught playing *panguingue*, Cristina Bayani had to pay P4, while the others forfeited P2 each to the State.⁵⁷¹ One case, however, for reasons that are not clear, involved the doubling of fines for both the homeowner and the players. On 5 February 1894, in a house on Calle Alcala in Sta. Cruz, owned by Guillerma Padua, law enforcement agents confronted five women who were playing *panguingue* in an unlicensed table. Each player paid a P4 fine and Ms. Padua paid double that amount for her transgression.⁵⁷²

The *Seccion Higiene* and Regulations Regarding Public Women and Sexual Spaces

States seek to impose order and collect revenue on the societies under its jurisdiction. Disorder and any form of deviance were a social threat, a danger that needed to be controlled. Some of these disorders and threats came in the form of socially transmitted diseases, such as venereal afflictions from prostitutes that could quickly spread into the populace.⁵⁷³ In societies colonized by the West, prostitutes were the personification of disorder, disease, immorality, and filth.⁵⁷⁴ Therefore, they were usually an object of strict management and control.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁸ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12511, S367-374.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, S278-279.

⁵⁷⁰ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12510, S396-400.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 72-78.

⁵⁷² NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12511, S172-173.

⁵⁷³ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, pp.5, 44, 180.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7; Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, p. 91.

⁵⁷⁵ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 297.

In the Philippines, particularly in Manila, prostitution was a social problem that the colonial government began to control in the mid-1800s by arresting, incarcerating, and, at times, deporting prostitutes, or *mujeres de publica*. Nevertheless, as late as 1897, the colonial government attempted to legalize brothel prostitution while at the same time, preventing the spread of infectious diseases through its Office of Public Hygiene or *Seccion Higiene*,⁵⁷⁶ which was operational by the early 1890s.⁵⁷⁷ The policy pertaining to public women comprised sections concerning the objectives of the Office of Public Hygiene, namely the registration of sex workers and the control of their movement, the rules regarding *casas toleradas* or “tolerated houses”, and the inspection of prostitutes and their places of work. While mainly a legal document, it also reveals much about the social character of Manila’s colonial society and values in that particular period.⁵⁷⁸

A Nod to Patriarchy

The existence of patriarchal views and practices in a society not only places women in a subordinate position but also devalues them. Moreover, only when a society ascribes to patriarchy does the selling of women’s bodies exist.⁵⁷⁹ The 1897 regulations on prostitution does not call a sex worker a prostitute. Instead, it employs the ambiguous term *mujer de publica* or “public woman”. Given that a prostitute was a “street walker”⁵⁸⁰ or one who solicited in the streets, public spaces were not the place of a proper woman. Margherita Hamm, who visited Manila in 1895, emphasized this point:

“Neither Spanish women, nor women of other nationalities, are seen much on the street. Under Spanish etiquette it is bad for a woman to go out walking alone, or with one of her own sex, and it is also bad for them to be escorted by a man excepting their brother, husband, or father. When they go out it is in a vehicle of some sort.”⁵⁸¹

Culturally speaking, the proper woman was someone who stayed at home in Manila, her “natural sphere”. Such domesticity among females was a preferred trait in colonial society in the late 1800s.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁶ See Camagay, *Working Women of Manila*.

⁵⁷⁷ NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897* SDS-12332, S396. The Seccion Higiene was first mentioned in a bribery case dated 1890 involving officers of the said office and a brothel owner named Maxima Macalinao.

⁵⁷⁸ Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵⁸⁰ See Dery, “Prostitution in Colonial Manila,” p. 478.

⁵⁸¹ Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, p. 43.

⁵⁸² Philippa Levine, ed. *Gender and Empire*, pp. 8 and 10.

The initial justification for the establishment of the Office of Public Health (OPH), its functions as well staff composition, also included Articles 7 to 17 of the regulations that focused on the registration and the control of the *mujer de publica*. A woman who wanted to register as a sex worker bore the stigma of being associated with filthiness and moral looseness, a dishonor that would be difficult to discard.⁵⁸³ Because of this stark reality, Article 8 of the regulations indicate that if a woman wanted to register as a prostitute, her family or legal guardian had to be consulted.⁵⁸⁴

The movements of prostitutes were subject to surveillance and control by the *Seccion Higiene*. Any public women from the province who migrated to Manila had to register at the OPH within 48 hours of her arrival. All such women were to receive a booklet held in the safekeeping of her employer. If a prostitute left without expressed permission, the employer had to surrender her booklet to the OPH within 24 hours. A *mujer de publica* who was changing her address had to notify the authorities, and a registered sex worker could not solicit on the streets. Moreover, if she decided to move to another part of the colony, she needed to inform the OPH and experience the embarrassment of having her transfer publicly announced.⁵⁸⁵

These regulations concerning these public women were not value-free nor did they exist in a social vacuum. The rules for these women merely reflected how the State and Philippine society, in general, viewed them as anomalous beings who were best kept out-of-sight, and worse, were deemed dangerous to society. Consequently, the 1897 rules on the *mujer de publica* not only sought to restrict her movements; it also sought to isolate her sexual activities.

Articles 19 to 24 of the 1897 regulations sought to restrict the sex worker's activity in Manila to tolerated houses that had to comply with the design standards as well as the government's land use regulations. These women could only carry out their work in two types of "tolerated houses" – one where they lived and worked with other prostitutes or a place managed by a mistress where the woman visits to make her living. Children were not allowed in such places that were supposed to have clear and well-lit entry and exit points. These tolerated sites also had to lack any form of advertising to make the building look as

⁵⁸³ Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-San*, p. 110.

⁵⁸⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897* SDS-1232, S555B-556B.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, S557-559B.

inconspicuous as possible. Moreover, as the sexual activities and services within these houses were immoral and scandalous, they could only be in sparsely populated areas and streets where there was very little pedestrian traffic.⁵⁸⁶ Therefore, such houses were acceptable only if they were located along the peripheries of Manila.

Finally, the official policy on sex workers reflected a widely held patriarchal double standard by inferring through law that the women were the main source of social pollution, particularly of sexually transmitted diseases.⁵⁸⁷ Twice a week, a medical inspector from the *Seccion Higiene* visited the tolerated houses to check on the health of the prostitutes in collaboration with the brothel's caretaker. During such medical examinations, only the doctor and caretaker were present. If a woman had a contagious disease, the State had her confined for her to recover.⁵⁸⁸ In such cases, sex workers were sent to the Hospital de San Juan de Dios.⁵⁸⁹

These new regulations concerning public women were to take effect on 31 July 1897, yet one corruption case file in the 1887-1897 *Prostitucion* documents highlights the prior existence of the *Seccion Higiene*, the registration of "tolerated houses", as well as the inspection of their facilities, as early as August 1890. The case involved the head of the *Seccion Higiene*, D. Mariano Zavala, and section inspector Pedro Simon. The two allegedly committed the following: a) extorting the owners of registered brothels between P10-15 each; b) demanding money in the guise of loans; c) accepting a bribe; d) utilizing women from these "tolerated houses" for their own ends, and e) soliciting money and even lumber for the establishment of a clinic for the *mujeres de publica*.⁵⁹⁰ From the details of this particular case, it is clear the colonial authorities were already managing prostitution activities and the flesh trade through the *Seccion de Higiene* well before the 1897 regulations. In effect, the enactment of the new policy merely refined and formalized the legal control and regulation of the *mujer de publica*'s activities and work spaces in Manila.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., S559-562.

⁵⁸⁷ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Boston: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1980), p. 3; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897 SDS-1232, S562-563.

⁵⁸⁹ This assertion is based on documents found in the Prostitution 1862-1879 and 1881-1886 bundles of the NAP.

⁵⁹⁰ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, SDS-1232, S395-425B.

State and Ruling Class Interests and the Regulations of Threatening Women

Decades after the Philippines opened to international commerce, its economy rapidly transitioned to a capitalist economy. Manila soon became a commercial center and a place of opportunity. However, while the city's economy was clearly capitalist, it was not immune to interventions from those in power. The colonial government and ruling classes, in particular, felt threatened by particular women. House servants and wet-nurses living within the homes of their employers could result in theft and the spread of contagion on the family's small children. *Panguingue*, while tolerated, reduced workers' productivity, denied the government of revenue if done illegally, and drained the energies of the *guardia civil*. Worse, the *mujer de publica* could have destructive social effects on both public health and social morals.

The government and ruling classes availed of such people's services and even produced revenue from them, but such women and their activities had to be controlled and their potential to cause damage minimized. Thus, the State enacted policies and established institutions that sought to make these perceived female "threats" legible and managed. State laws and bureaucracies focused on the activities and movements of these women that they could control and regulate and which were sources of precious revenue. Registration of servants, *nodrizas*, and sex workers and gaming license applications, and sex workers enabled the State to know enough about these women, locate and monitor them, and apply the force of the Law, if necessary. Therefore, local and migrant women in Manila who wanted to seek work in upper class households, establish gaming houses, or join the sex trade were agents that were not entirely free to enter into such livelihoods as they were subjected to regulations and surveillance and had to deal with the power of the State if they threatened the latter's interests.

Chapter 5. From Fines to Banishment: How the State Dealt with Misbehaving Women in Public Spaces, Delinquent Servants, Illegal Gamblers, and the *Mujeres de Publica*

The middle to late nineteenth century was a time of rapid economic development, in-migration, and urbanization in Manila and its nearby towns.⁵⁹¹ Along with these processes came social concerns such as an increased incidence in crimes involving women, who were twice more likely to be arrested in Manila than in any part of the colony.⁵⁹² These cases were recorded by a judicial system and a “laborious bureaucracy”⁵⁹³ intent upon documenting such activities.

This chapter discusses how the colonial authorities apprehended and punished Manileñas who caused scandal in public places, fled and stole from their masters, defied gambling laws, or participated in the city’s sex trade during the last four decades of Spanish rule. Aside from emphasizing aspects of their lives, the number of cases dealing with their arrest and subsequent punishment enable the identification of trends and patterns regarding these women. Combined with the cartographic possibilities offered by Geographic Information Systems, this chapter highlights spatial patterns and behavior of females that had conflicted with the law. Moreover, a reading of how these women were apprehended and subsequently punished reveals the motivations, concerns, and priorities of the State regarding scandalous actions in public, domestic theft, illegal gambling, and prostitution.

Disorderly Women in Public Spaces

Public spaces are sites where States assert their power. Streets, parks, and squares reflect the State’s efforts to impose order on its citizens. People’s utilization of these public places that defy what the authorities deem proper were considered transgressions⁵⁹⁴ that its agents must suppress.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p.125.

⁵⁹² Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 88, 90, 133-134.

⁵⁹³ Sharpe, “History from Below,” p. 29

⁵⁹⁴ Tim Cresswell. “Place,” In *Introducing Human Geographies, Third Edition*, eds. Paul Cloke, Philip Crang, and Mark Goodwin (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 253.

⁵⁹⁵ Ron J. Johnston, “Territoriality and the State,” In *Geography, History and the Social Sciences*, eds. Georges B. Benko and Ulf Strohmayer (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1995), pp. 214 and 216.

Despite being primarily concerned with the registration, regulation, and discipline of servants, the *Servidumbres Domestica* files also contain cases from 1888 to 1889 involving women of undetermined occupations and backgrounds apprehended for causing public disorder. Their violations included lewd behavior due to inebriation, quarreling, gambling, and scandal in public.

Article 258 of the Spanish Penal Code defined public disorders as acts that “raise a tumult or grossly disturb order.” Those receiving a minor conviction could spend from a month to six months in jail and pay a fine between P75 to P750. The Code, however, did not specify penalties for drunken and disorderly behavior, quarrelling, and scandalous acts in public. Furthermore, while the law prescribed punishments for individuals who used their properties as sites of gambling activities, it was silent with respect to persons caught gambling in public areas.⁵⁹⁶

If the recorded punishments for such transgressions served as a basis for determining their gravity, then acts that disturbed public order were minor infractions. Actual jail terms and monetary fines imposed for these offenses were below legal recommendations. Violators spent three to four days in a carcel but could avoid jail time by paying a P2 fine. From November 1888 to March 1889, the police arrested several women for causing public disorder. On 25 November 1888, in an undisclosed part of Manila, Simeona Yndan spent four days in jail for intoxication (*embriaguez*) but was set free two days later after paying the required fine.⁵⁹⁷ Others were not as fortunate. In January 1889, Maria de los Reyes spent four days behind bars for intoxicated behavior in public after failing to pay the monetary fine.⁵⁹⁸ Two months later, Valentina Sebastian also suffered the same fate after having too much to drink.⁵⁹⁹

Intoxicated women commonly committed scandalous acts with one or more companions. On 17 March 1889, law enforcers accused Brigida de Mesa of drunken behavior. Failing to pay the fine, she spent time in jail together with Juan Cristobal.⁶⁰⁰ Also imprisoned that same month were Hilaria Amaya, Ana Garchea, and Domingo Villanueva. They were guilty of drunken and scandalous behavior as well as for

⁵⁹⁶United States Division of Customs and Insular Affairs (USDCIA), *Translation of the Spanish Penal Code in force in the Philippines* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 30, 61 and 74.

⁵⁹⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica* SDS-1708, S454.

⁵⁹⁸ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica* SDS-1708, S304.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, S387.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, S379.

insolvency.⁶⁰¹ During separate incidents in November 1888, the authorities apprehended Dolores Agapito and Segundo de la Cruz and Teodora Castillo and Gabriel Cardenas for intoxication and scandal.⁶⁰²

Public scandal was often associated with lewd and boorish conduct, and such distasteful actions included quarreling or fighting (*riña*) in public. On 26 May 1888, a native woman, Agustina Araan, was arrested for scandal and fighting. Unable to pay the P2 fine, she stayed jail for four days. It was not clear who was the object of her anger.⁶⁰³ Six months later, in Binondo, Tomasa Pariña and Apolinario Montejo spent two days in prison for having a huge public quarrel.⁶⁰⁴

Playing prohibited games of chance, regardless of location, could lead to short-term imprisonment. In 1888, Castora de Castro, Roberta Villaruel, Filomena Espiritu, Juana Calibu, and five other men learned this lesson the hard way. They endured a day behind bars for failing to pay the 15 *pesetas* or P3 penalty for illegal gambling.⁶⁰⁵ A year later, Binondo's Justice of the Peace sentenced Teresa Magbanua to three days of incarceration along with the Chinese nationals Lim Pongco, Ciriaco Garcia, and Miguel Tenorio for playing prohibited games.⁶⁰⁶ *Panguingue* was one of the few games of chance that the State considered legal unless played during prohibited hours or without a licensed table. Marcela de Jesus, Catalino Garcia, Jacinto Simon, and Melchora Napenas violated these regulations and spent two days in the municipal jail for playing *panguingue* on 7 March 1889. The similar penalties for those arrested meant they had not played in a home of a *casero*, who would have suffered double their penalty.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., SDS-1708, S369.

⁶⁰² Ibid., SDS-1708, S379 & 412.

⁶⁰³ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S313.

⁶⁰⁴ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S449-449B.

⁶⁰⁵ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S275-275B.

⁶⁰⁶ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S357.

⁶⁰⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S355. There are several reasons why a government would impose light jail terms on perpetrators of public disorder. Long periods of incarceration fiscally hurt both the state and the guilty party. Imprisonment entails the use of state funds, deprives society of potentially productive laborers, and inflicts economic suffering on a convict's dependents. Assessing the value of fines not only indicates a violation's minor nature but also signifies such offenses have become commonplace and uncontrollable. Hence, better to levy a monetary penalty on wrongdoers, as it reduced state expenses while making possible the collection of needed revenue, something that the Spanish government in the Philippines sorely needed. For the Spanish authorities, light sentences and fines for minor offenses made fiscal sense, and their pragmatic attitude towards minor and difficult-to-control transgressions, such as public disorder also applied to illegal gambling activities. See Bankoff, pp. 129-130; Songyam Kang, "Fines and Prison," *Economics of Crime*, Hanyang University, Future Learn Website. <https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/economics-of-crime/0/steps/20248>. Accessed: 31 May 2019; and Julia

Gambling: A Minor Offense and Revenue Source

Bankoff, in his landmark work on criminality, the judicial state, and Philippine society in the nineteenth century noted that aside from common violations such as disorderly behavior and lacking proper documentation, colonial law enforcement agents frequently arrested Filipinos for gambling. He argued that the predilection of people to gamble during that period transcended social class and had reached “manic proportions”.⁶⁰⁸ It was allegedly the chief vice of both men and women, with the latter more interested in card games as a form of social relaxation.⁶⁰⁹ Whether vice or pastime, the state found illegal gaming difficult to curb.⁶¹⁰

Nonetheless, the authorities attempted to prevent the proliferation of games of chance. From 1883 to 1897, the *guardia civil veterana*, the state’s crack paramilitary force, and local security units called *cuadrilleros*, raided unsuspecting residences and buildings that hosted such activities in the Province of Manila.⁶¹¹

The Spanish Overseas Ministry’s Regulations for the Repression of Gambling in the Philippines (*Reglamento Para La Represion de Juegos Prohibidos en Filipinas*) took effect in 1863. It contained provisions enabling law enforcement agents to conduct surprise arrests on players in gambling establishments. Moreover, this policy facilitated the speedy resolution of such transgressions. For the police to execute surprise raids, Article 13 of the *reglamento* allowed for law enforcement units to make arrests outside their jurisdiction. While Article 16 justified the undertaking of raids without a warrant, provided there was some proof of wrongdoing. A tip from an informant or *denunciador* was sufficient basis for a raid.⁶¹²

Quilter, “The Hidden Punitiveness of Fines,” *International Journal of Criminal Justice and Social Democracy*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2018), p. 12.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, 121.

⁶⁰⁹ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 32.

⁶¹⁰ Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines during 1848, 1849, and 1850* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967), p. 97.

⁶¹¹ Details of these apprehensions were accessed from a set of bundles at the NAP called the *Juegos Prohibidos*.

⁶¹² NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12517, S33C-33D. There are several cases in the *Juegos Prohibidos* that indicate that a *denunciador* was to receive 25% of both the gambling money confiscated in a successful raids and the cumulative value of the fines assessed on apprehended gamblers.

The authorities were not keen on bringing gamblers to court. Confiscated gambling money and paraphernalia were sufficient proof of guilt and justified fining a player or *casero* an amount not exceeding P50. Fines for second-time offenders doubled, while prison terms awaited recidivists.⁶¹³ On the afternoon of 30 November 1889, the police caught eight men and a woman named Petrona Gusman playing *monte* in a house along San Juan de Letran Street in Intramuros. Taken from the crime scene were a night table, various cards, and coins amounting to P25.23 and six *octavos* (See Appendix 18 for monetary conversions of various currencies vis-a-vis the Mexican dollar.)⁶¹⁴ Similarly, seven years later in *Barrio* Pulang Lupa, Las Piñas, a late morning raid on a house where *monte* was being played yielded 40 cards, two worn hats but no playing money.⁶¹⁵

An apprehension with the largest haul of such evidence occurred in *Barrio* Panadero, Pandacan, Manila on 1 March 1895. Eight arresting officers accosted 10 *indios*, four of whom were female, for playing *monte* during a fiesta. Confiscated from the scene were the following items: a) assorted coins amounting to 4 four *reales* (half a *peso*) and 4 four *cuartos*; b) four decks of cards; c) two tables; d) a small bench (*banquito*); e) eight unpaired slippers; f) 2 hats; g) a basin, five large plates and a stewpot filled with food, and h) a tray with assorted meats.⁶¹⁶

In the 378 gambling arrests listed in the *Juegos Prohibidos* bundles, players were rarely imprisoned, as those caught were usually fined not more than P10. In a 3:00 PM police raid on a residence along Calle Magdalena in San Jose Trozo, Manila on 27 February 1894, the homeowner, Modesta Ramirez, hosted a game of *panguingue* for five women without the necessary permit. The authorities fined Ms. Ramirez P10 while the others paid P5.⁶¹⁷ A year later, *guardia civil* officers forcibly entered Agapita Calaca's house in *Sitio* Camachile in Sta. Ana, Manila. Six players were arrested, including a woman named Basilia Francisco, while 250 playing cards and 20 centavos were confiscated. In exchange for their freedom, Ms. Calaca paid a P4 fine, while her guests forked out P2 each.⁶¹⁸ During the same period, two women playing *panguingue* in Binondo, Liceria Paulino, the *casera*, and Maria Flores, one of six female players, received

⁶¹³Ibid., S33.

⁶¹⁴NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12501, S489-495B.

⁶¹⁵NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12508, S100-102.

⁶¹⁶ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12507, S213-218.

⁶¹⁷ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12511, S182-183.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., S315-320.

lighter penalties. Instead of being penalized P10 and P5, respectively, their punishments were reduced by 80%, to P2 for the operator and P1 for each player.⁶¹⁹

Whether the game was *monte*, supposedly the most popular card game among the native population,⁶²⁰ *panguingue*, or any other form of gambling, financial rewards drove law enforcement agents to catch as many illegal card players as possible. The *Ministerio de Ultramar's* 1863 gambling suppression regulations allowed the state's General Treasury, the police organization's security fund, the *denunciador* or accuser, and the apprehending officers to each receive a 25% share of the gambling proceeds confiscated from raids and the fines paid by guilty parties.⁶²¹ Such a policy supported an assertion that Spanish rule was primarily concerned with "the acquisition of the largest possible revenue."⁶²²

This redistribution system applied to all apprehensions and arrests, and two *Juegos Prohibidos* cases confirm this practice. In April 1883, four men in San Mateo in Eastern Manila had a morning *panguingue* session in their town's outskirts, thinking they would be safe from the prying eyes of the law. They were apprehended despite their efforts to evade the authorities and were fined P4 each. Together with the eight *centavos* taken from them as evidence, the four arresting officers and their informant each received P3.02 as their reward, with the balance of P6.04 going to the state treasury and the police security fund.⁶²³ In the same month, the police confiscated P11.36 from 11 players playing *panguingue* on the kitchen table of Macario Rufino's home in Navotas, north of Manila. Three of those caught were Petra Songcal, Tomasa Flores, and Luisa de los Santos. The anonymous informant and the apprehending officers each received P12.09 from the sum of the fines and gambling money collected, with the balance of P24.18 accruing to the government.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Juegos Prohibidos* SDS-12511, S3677-374. It is not clear why the casera and the players were given reduced penalties.

⁶²⁰ MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila*, pp. 123-124.

⁶²¹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12517, S34B.

⁶²² Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, p. 134.

⁶²³ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12507, S1-5.

The Spatial and Temporal Nature of Gambling Arrests in the City of Manila and Manila Province

Particular archival sources, when organized in significant numbers, yield both quantitative and qualitative data that underscores the shared realities and common experiences held among people.⁶²⁴ Arranging and analyzing such statistical historical information makes possible the interpretation of such sources from different perspectives and facilitates the identification of trends and patterns.⁶²⁵

Such statistics can reveal spatial patterns of people's past realities and collective stories, especially when rendered in map form.⁶²⁶ This methodological approach attained through Geographic Information Systems-generated maps makes possible the visualization of historical circumstances,⁶²⁷ which in turn, allows for both a better understanding of the past and a re-examination of historical interpretations.⁶²⁸ The almost 400 cases of gambling apprehensions and license applications involving Manileñas from the *Juegos Prohibidos* offers both valuable demographic and geographic information that are best displayed in cartographic form.

The data from 378 recorded gambling arrests involving women made by the colonial government's law enforcement agents from 1883 to 1897 provide information on: a) the type of game involved; b) the time, date and place of arrest; c) the number of individuals involved, and d) the evidence gathered against the apprehended parties. Most of this information can be utilized to create a database to produce maps.

⁶²⁴ Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes*, pp. 2, 10, and 31

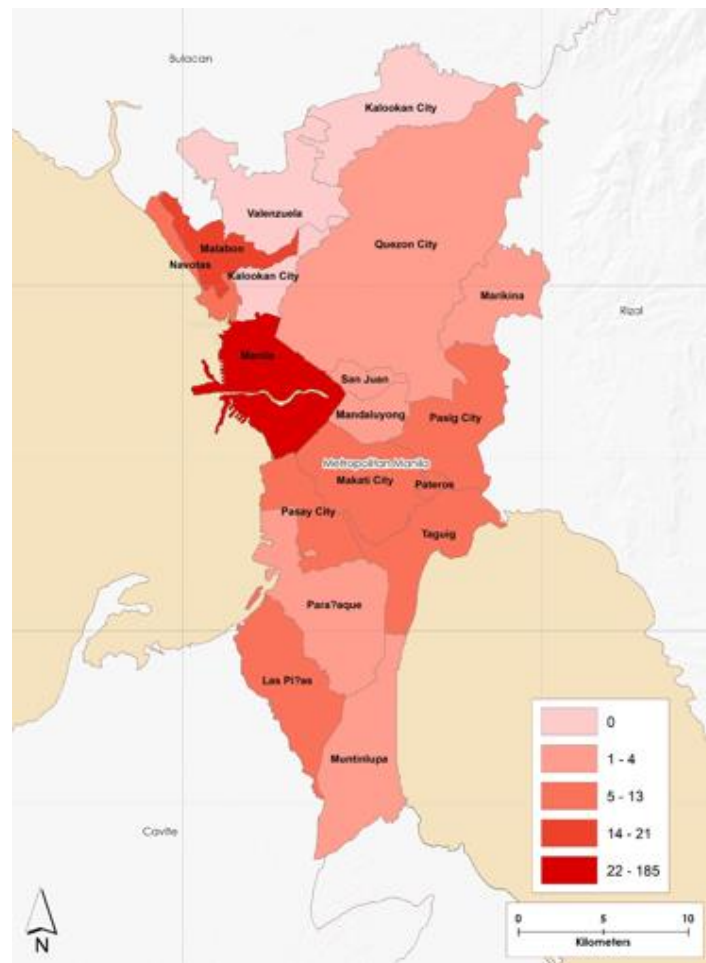
⁶²⁵ Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, pp. 3 and 11.

⁶²⁶ Mashrur Rahman, Kawser Bin Zaman and Roxana Hafiz, "Translating text into space for mapping the past territory of a city: a study on the spatial development of Dhaka during Mughal period," *City, Territory, and Architecture*, vol. 3, no. 7 (2016), p. 2.

⁶²⁷ J.B. Owens, "What Historians Want from GIS," *ArcNews Online* (Summer 2007), Website: <https://www.esri.com/news/arcnews/summer07articles/what-historians-want.html>. Accessed: 31 May 2019.

⁶²⁸ Anne Kelly Knowles, "Emerging Trends in Historical GIS," *Historical Geography*, Vol. 33 (2005), pp. 7-8.

Distribution of Arrests in Manila and Manila Province



Map 5.1. Gambling Arrests in Manila Province, 1883-1897.⁶²⁹

Map 5.1 confirms that majority of successful illegal gaming arrests by the *guardia civil veterana* occurred in Manila, which at that time was the center of commerce⁶³⁰ and the hub of the “only true urban center”⁶³¹ of the Philippines. Proof that economic activity and the availability of money were key factors in the high

⁶²⁹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12501-12517. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian. Two GIS practitioners, Johnson Damian and Neil Eneri Tingin, provided invaluable help in producing the maps in this dissertation. Unless specified, all maps in this thesis were produced with Messrs. Damian’s and Tingin’s assistance. The MS Excel databases that I personally or helped develop from archival sources were first further refined by them in preparation for mapping. I would then proceed to produce the maps, step-by-step, under their supervision, on several occasions.

⁶³⁰ March, *The History and Conquest of the Philippines*, p. 37.

⁶³¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 125.

levels of gambling was the *pueblo* of Malabon, which experienced the most number of gambling raids after Manila. Malabon served as the depot for rice, sugar, and wood products from the towns of Bulacan and the provinces of Pampanga and Nueva Ecija before these were transported to Manila. Proof of Malabon's vibrant local economy was its large storage areas for sugar, 80 establishments with looms, numerous households dedicated to salt-making, distilleries, as well as men and women employed in fisheries, two hundred barges with a combined capacity of 12,000 tons, and 400 *carromatas* or horse-drawn transports that made daily trips to Binondo, Manila.⁶³² It was, therefore, not surprising that its residents had disposable income for gambling. Together with neighboring Navotas, the two commercial towns had a combined population of 41,000⁶³³ and were the site of a significant number of gambling arrests north of Manila.

The other region that experienced a high number of police raids were the contiguous towns of Pasay, Makati, Pateros, Taguig, and Pasig. These settlements had economies that benefitted from their proximity to Manila. Pasay was an outgrowth of Manila's border district of Malate. Together with Makati, the town was a source of betel, animal fodder, and a variety of foodstuffs.⁶³⁴ Pasig, on the other hand, had a significant Spanish population, as well as 350 hectares of agricultural lands that provided sugar, rice, milk, and the raw material for *ylang-ylang*⁶³⁵ essences for the Manila market.⁶³⁶ While small in land area, the *pueblo* of Pateros had Manila and neighboring Pasig as the main market for its famous duck eggs. It also hosted a significant number of Chinese tradesmen and served as the transshipment point for small-scale rice producers from Bulacan and Nueva Ecija.⁶³⁷

When the scale of analysis is limited to Manila, clear trends are evident. As can be seen in Map 5.2 below, settlements north of the Pasig River were the site of more illegal gaming arrests. While Bankoff mentioned Tondo as a district known for gambling, the map generated from the *Juegos Prohibidos* cases show a different story.⁶³⁸ While the populous communities north of the Pasig experienced more gambling arrests, it was

⁶³² National Archives of the Philippines, *Tranvias de Manila*, SDS-5281, S23-27.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁴ NAP, *Memorias de Manila*, 1892, S22 and 26.

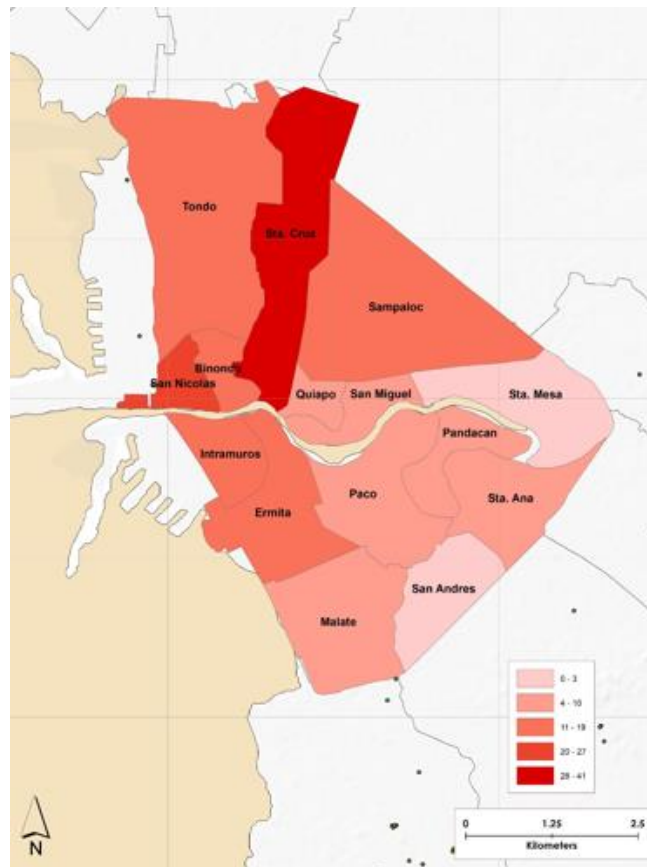
⁶³⁵ A common tree in the Philippines. Its flowers are processed into essential oils.

⁶³⁶ NAP, *Memorias de Manila*, 1892, S73-76.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, S107-109B.

⁶³⁸ It should be noted that the *Juegos Prohibidos* may not yet have been available when Greg Bankoff did research at the National Archives of the Philippines in the late 1980s.

the district east of Tondo and Sta. Cruz, which had a large population of Chinese and Chinese *mestizos*,⁶³⁹ well-built buildings,⁶⁴⁰ and numerous merchants and artisans⁶⁴¹ that had the most number of gambling arrests. South of the Pasig River, only Intramuros, the colony's capital, and Ermita had equal to those recorded in Manila's older and more northern districts. The other communities southeast of Intramuros – Paco, Malate, Pandacan, San Andres, Sta. Ana, and Santa Mesa – were still lightly populated even at the end of the Spanish period.⁶⁴²



Map 5.2. Gambling Incidents in Manila's Districts, 1883-1897.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁹ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 30 and 34.

⁶⁴⁰ Thomas J. Vivian and Ruel P. Smith, *Everything about our New Possessions: Being a Handy Book on Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines* (New York: R. F. Fenno and Co., 1899), p. 25.

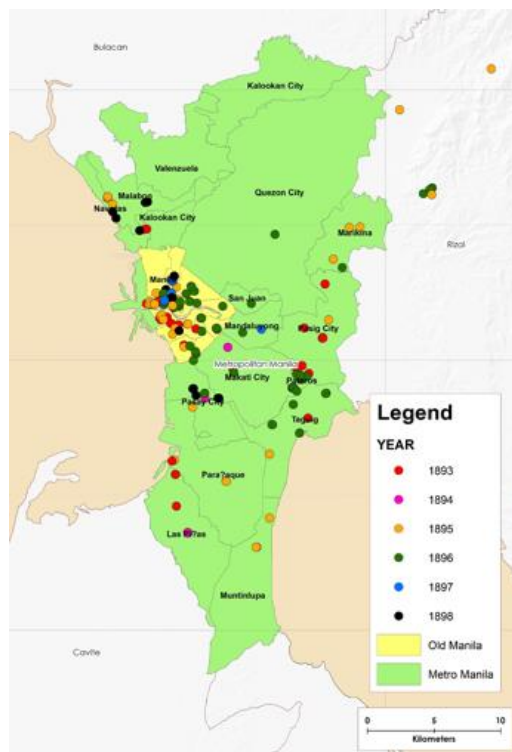
⁶⁴¹ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 21.

⁶⁴² United States Adjutant General's Office, *Military Notes on the Philippines* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), p. 98.

⁶⁴³ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12501-12517. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian.

Different forms of Gambling as a Source of Livelihood

While accounts would describe their gambling habits as a vice, plague, or pastime,⁶⁴⁴ rarely was the Filipino's affinity for games of chance described as a means for making a living. Filipino women, in fact, were not only avid gamblers; they had the business acumen to host these games, both legal and otherwise. From 1893 to 1897, 122 women lodged applications to the provincial government for at least one *panguingue* table. Faustina Flores, a *doña* from the town of Pasig, successfully applied for the privilege of operating a *panguingue* table in her home in 1893.⁶⁴⁵ During the same year, Estefania Diaz of Intramuros was allowed to host *panguingue* games in her apartment or *accesoria*.⁶⁴⁶ There was even one applicant, Leona Teodoro of Lemery Street, Tondo, who was granted four permits in 1895.⁶⁴⁷ They were among the 97 women who were issued licenses by the State (See Map 5.3 below.).



Map 5.3. Distribution of *Panguingue* Licenses Issued to Women, 1893-1897.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁴ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 32; Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 158.

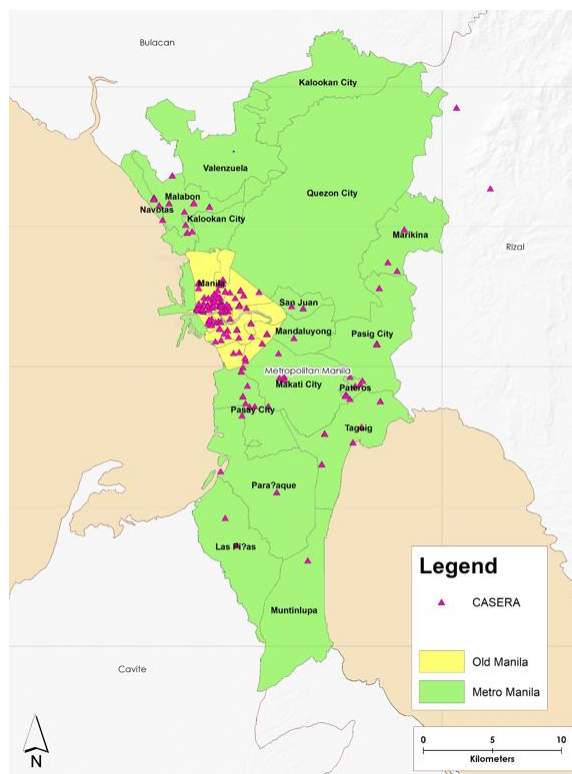
⁶⁴⁵ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12512, S36-38.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, S48-50.

⁶⁴⁷ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12520, S175-176.

⁶⁴⁸ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12501-12517. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian.

While others used their real properties to operate legally, there were 52 women engaged in illicit *panguingue* activities. As can be noted in Map 5.4 below, 32 (61%) of the *caseras* caught by the police were residents of Manila. Of that number, 22 (69%) were apprehended in the contiguous settlements of Binondo, Tondo, Sta. Cruz, and Quiapo, all of which are north of the Pasig River.



Map 5.4. *Caseras* Arrested for Hosting Illegal Gaming Activities, 1883-1897.⁶⁴⁹

Some women even hosted banned games such as *monte*, the Chinese card games *soliong*, *chapdique*, and *cuabo*, even lotteries and raffles. In 1867, in *Sitio Jaboneros* in Binondo, Eduarda Cruz was arrested for allowing a game of *Soliong* to be played by 11 Chinese men in her home. Ms. Cruz, whose husband was a Chinese *mestizo*, was not allowed to operate such a game during certain hours. The evidence confiscated from the crime scene included 32 *cuartos* and several fake coins.⁶⁵⁰ Twenty-three years later, on 10 June 1890, police suddenly turned up at the residence of Antonia Mariano in *Barrio Concepcion*, Sta. Ana at 1:30 in the

⁶⁴⁹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS-12501-12517. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian.

⁶⁵⁰ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS 12514, S13-18.

morning. Two Chinese men were caught playing *cuabo*. Seized from them were 25 *centavos*, two balls, Chinese tea leaves, and a tray. A few years earlier in 1887, a house owned by Eleateria Patag in the same district was the site of a clandestine lottery operation.⁶⁵¹ A similar illicit betting activity called *rifa* (raffle) was uncovered by the *guardia civil* in a house along the corner of Magdalena and San Lazaro Streets in Sta. Cruz, Manila. Caught red-handed were Maria Ochoa, the homeowner, three men and six women. Ms. Ochoa was fined P4 while the others were penalized P2 each.⁶⁵²

Temporal and Spatial Tendencies of Male-Dominated vs. Female-Dominated Games

Of the 378 recorded apprehensions and arrests involving women in the *Juegos Prohibidos*, 164 provide the time of day of the arrest. One hundred and fourteen cases involved more male gamblers than their female counterparts, while only 50 of these incidents were female dominant. What is interesting about these statistics is the tendency for arrests involving more females to occur in the afternoon. Seven out of 10 gambling sessions with more women than male players occurred in the afternoon. This contrasts with predominantly male sessions of which only 54% were disputed between noontime and 6 P.M. Gambling activities that had more men tended to be nocturnal. Almost a fourth of arrests (23%) with more male card players occurred in the late evening to early morning, and this percentage increases to 41% if all halted evening games are included. On the other hand, only 24% of abbreviated sessions that had a female majority as players occurred either in the evening or early morning.

Differences in the gambling game of choice between men and women are also evident. All evening and early morning arrests involved groups made up mostly of men playing *monte*. In contrast, 54% of afternoon arrests that involved more women than men were playing *panguingue*. Only 20% of such arrests had individuals caught red-handed while engrossed in a *monte* session.

Another difference between games that had a female and male majority was the amount of money involved. In afternoon *panguingue* games, women rarely gambled with betting money that reached more than a *peso*. This contrasts with male-dominated, higher stakes *monte* games that went on through the night. This trend in the data supports an observation that *monte* was the game of choice for more serious

⁶⁵¹ NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS 12496, S382-384.

⁶⁵² NAP, *Juegos Prohibidos*, SDS 12529, S174-193.

gamblers,⁶⁵³ “a game for the cool in the evening”.⁶⁵⁴ *Panguingue*, on the other hand, was “an innocent little game...the stakes are usually small; the players rarely lose much”.⁶⁵⁵ To put it simply, women saw card play with some pot money as a pastime where company and enjoyment, not monetary windfall, was the reward.

Since women treated *panguingue* more as a pastime implied there were other matters, such as the affairs of the home that demanded more of their attention. Again, another passage reflected this domestic reality:

“A señora can invite six or seven for a game of *panguingue*. They arrive, seat themselves on the bamboo floor, mix a portion of their favorite cud, the betel nut, and are hard at it after five minutes. After awhile, the *muchacho* of the house comes in with a plate of rice cakes or some baked bananas. The players stop long enough to nibble at the refreshments; then they go on with their playing. When it comes home-going time, they thank their hostess warmly and tell her what a fine time they have had, as indeed they have, and with little expense or trouble.”⁶⁵⁶

Run-Away and Dishonest Female Servants

Camagay asserts that house servants were an integral part of the day-to-day lives of Spanish and European households in Manila. Because of their *criadas* or *domesticas*, members of the European overseas community enjoyed “languid lives”, free from the difficult daily tasks of maintaining and running their households.⁶⁵⁷ Because of the regular demand for domestic help, many migrants coming to Manila ended up working in households as a *kasambahay*. By the late nineteenth century, an estimated 6,000 *indios*, most of whom were household help, resided in Spanish-dominated Intramuros.⁶⁵⁸

The potential dangers posed by so many natives living in close proximity with the ruling classes led to the enactment of policies to protect the elite from the perceived threat of the laboring class.⁶⁵⁹ Nevertheless,

⁶⁵³ See John Roberts White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippines Islands* (New York City: The Century, c1928), p. 164. White narrates that *panguingue* was a “harmless game largely played by the women and older men.” On the other hand, monte was similar to poker as it appealed to more serious male players where large amounts of money were at stake.

⁶⁵⁴ Buckland, *In the Land of the Filipino*, p. 197.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 199.

⁶⁵⁷ Camagay, *Working Women of Manila*, p. 45.

⁶⁵⁸ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 92 and 131.

⁶⁵⁹ Camagay, *Working Women of Manila*, p. 46.

adversarial relations along racial and class lines, maltreatment from their employers, and familiarity as to where their masters kept their valuables led to some servants leaving their places of employment without permission, with some absconding with their employers' money, clothes, jewelry, and other valuables.

There were those who successfully got away from both their masters and the authorities. For those who were captured, it was indicated Article 12 of the *Reglamento Provisional para la Policia de la Servidumbre Domestica* of 1848 that the punishment for such an offense was eight days in prison and 15 strokes of a *rattan*⁶⁶⁰ cane.⁶⁶¹ By 1895, however, servants caught leaving their place of work without permission no longer suffered corporal punishment and imprisonment, but they still had to pay a P5 fine.⁶⁶² Yet all cases examined here involved domestics held by state agents before the 1895 rules came into effect.

It is not clear whether arrested servants suffered corporal punishment, a practice that was discouraged in Europe by the nineteenth century.⁶⁶³ What is certain was that delinquent domestics could avoid prison if they paid a P4 fine. Alejandra de Leon was apprehended in 1894 for leaving the home of her employer, Dr. Monico Rojas, without permission. However, she gained her freedom after paying the fine.⁶⁶⁴ Filomena Magustan committed the same offense in 1891 but stayed in prison for only a day.⁶⁶⁵ Four *pesos* was not a small amount of money at that time. For example, an offer of P3 a month was enough for a woman living with her cousin in Manila to take a job as a house help in Sampaloc in the 1880s.⁶⁶⁶ Those who were insolvent though suffered a few days of incarceration. Apolonia Robaldo,⁶⁶⁷ Maria Libulo,⁶⁶⁸ Lucina de los Reyes,⁶⁶⁹ and Susana Ariola⁶⁷⁰ all spent time in jail for absconding from their masters. The odds of catching a fleeing *criada* were quite high. From 70 cases of servants in the *Servidumbres Domestica* who fled their masters' homes, authorities were able to jail 46 (66%) of them.

⁶⁶⁰ A hard forest vine commonly used for making furniture.

⁶⁶¹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S12.

⁶⁶² NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1713, S1-7.

⁶⁶³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1991), p. 8.

⁶⁶⁴ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S340

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, S335.

⁶⁶⁶ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, S236-237B.

⁶⁶⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S1003.

⁶⁶⁸ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S1134.

⁶⁶⁹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S164-166B.

⁶⁷⁰ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S753B.

Homeowners in Manila commonly mistrusted their servants whom they feared would run away with their “portable wealth”.⁶⁷¹ In some cases, such wariness was well-founded; there were domestic helpers who fled their employers’ homes with items easily hidden or sold in a socially diverse city such as Manila.⁶⁷² Maria Gomez abruptly left the home of Elias Gutierrez, taking with her a ring that was studded with precious stones.⁶⁷³ Dña. Valeriana Velasquez reported to the police that her servant Aquilina Belen suddenly disappeared along with two diamond needles, a veil, and a shroud. Aquilina was never found.⁶⁷⁴ Catalina de la Cruz allegedly stole a pair of earrings encrusted with precious stones.⁶⁷⁵ On the other hand, Susana Ariola tried and failed to run away with 20 pairs of *sinamay* cloth owned by her employer, Luciano Fortich.⁶⁷⁶

Some domestics even dared to steal cumbersome and heavy items. Dña Macaria Tivurque’s coachman, Melchor Dumandan, stole his señora’s *carromata* and horse but made the mistake of passing by the home of an acquaintance of Mrs. Tivurque’s. Dumandan was promptly arrested and escorted to the nearest police station.⁶⁷⁷ Maria Concepcion pilfered clothes from the home of Brigida de Gusman, but the police, who found it suspicious that Maria was carrying so many clothes while walking along a street in Malabon in the early morning, promptly arrested her.⁶⁷⁸ In 1896, Dña. Narcisa reported to the *guardia civil* that her *criado* Gregorio Daalos had fled her home carrying with him her late husband’s hard wood box that was made of *camagong*, a heavy Philippine hardwood that was valued at P16.⁶⁷⁹

Whether it was a man or woman, female employers dealt with a variety of issues with their household staff. While the wife of her *amo*, Fermin Lamadrid was gravely ill, Hipolita Bernabe took advantage of her master and mistress’s difficult circumstances to run away with P200 worth of money, valuables, and clothes from her employers’ residence in Intramuros.⁶⁸⁰ In 1891, Fabiana Catanizan did not steal anything from her mistress, Luciana Pascual, but the latter accused her of seeking work in the Binondo home of

⁶⁷¹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 93.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁶⁷³ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, 313-313B.

⁶⁷⁴ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S173-173B.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, S742-742B.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, S753-753B.

⁶⁷⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S195-196.

⁶⁷⁸ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1711, S125B.

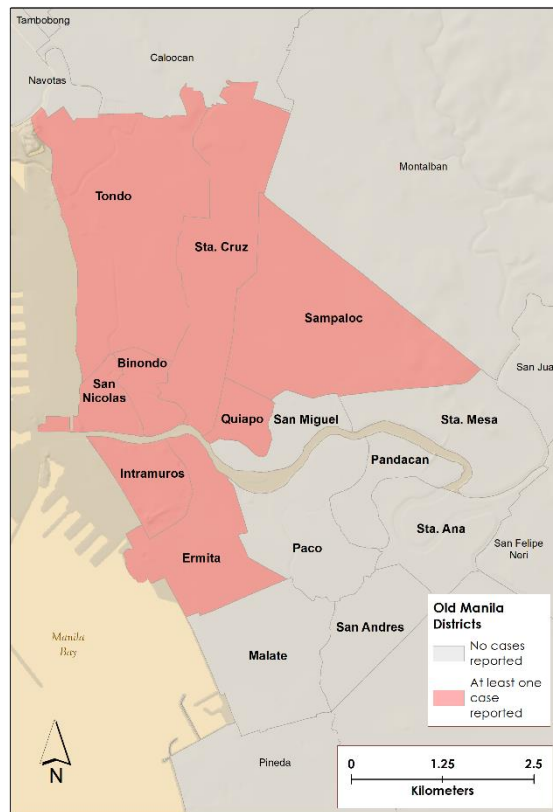
⁶⁷⁹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S145-147B.

⁶⁸⁰ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1708, S223-232.

Mateo Villanueva along de Lara Street.⁶⁸¹ In contrast, one of the worst cases of domestic theft was an “inside job” perpetrated by the servant Francisco Lauterio against Dña. Felisa Felix of Intramuros. Lauterio tried to steal a variety of items valued at P293.50 from Dña. Felix’s other home in Calle Crespo, Quiapo in 1880.⁶⁸²

A Geography of Run-Away Servants

Female servants who left their places of employment without permission occurred in eight of the 15 settlements of Manila. Aside from Intramuros and Ermita, cases of fleeing domestics occurred in the districts north of the Pasig River - Tondo, Binondo, San Nicolas, Quiapo, Sta. Cruz, and Sampaloc (See Map 5.5 below).



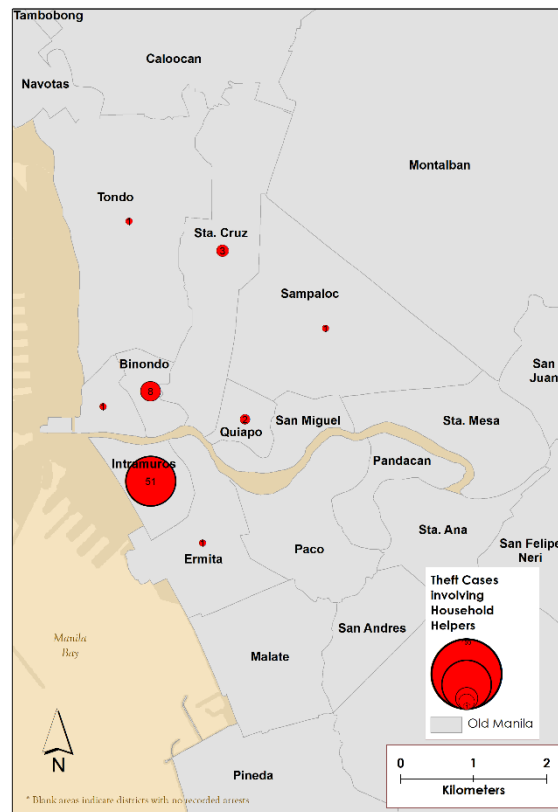
Map 5.5. Districts with Recorded Theft Incidents Involving Household Helpers.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸¹ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1709, S97-98B.

⁶⁸² NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1710, S689.

⁶⁸³ NAP, *Servidumbres Domestica*, SDS-1707-1710, 1713. Map made with the assistance of Nein Eneri Tingin.

If the incidence of runaway servants is quantified per location,⁶⁸⁴ the number of incidents is skewed towards three districts, Intramuros (51), Binondo (8), and Sta. Cruz (3) (See Map 5.6.). Most domestics were based in Intramuros where the Spanish and other European elite resided. Binondo and Sta. Cruz, on the other hand, had significant Chinese and *mestizo* populations⁶⁸⁵ that comprised Philippine society's commercial and landed classes.⁶⁸⁶



Map 5.6. Quantitative Distribution of Theft Cases involving Household Helpers.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁴ It should be noted that of the many cases where the location of the household where the servant left was not recorded, three reports gave enough detail to confirm that the residence where the escapes occurred were in Intramuros. Given Bankoff's assertion that a significant majority of native servants resided in Intramuros, an assumption was made that all incidents where the address was not indicated had occurred in the colony's capital.

⁶⁸⁵ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 23 and 30.

⁶⁸⁶ Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, p. 113.

⁶⁸⁷ NAP, *Servidumbres Domesticas*, SDS 1707 and 1709. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

The Ways by which the State Dealt with Sex Workers and Brothel Owners

Certain environments encourage the proliferation of prostitution.⁶⁸⁸ Urban areas bustling with economic activity⁶⁸⁹ and with population densities that allow for anonymity⁶⁹⁰ serve as an ideal breeding ground for prostitution. International trade and the movement of goods and people were the main drivers of cities that emerged in the nineteenth century, and these factors contributed to Manila's emergence as a primate city⁶⁹¹ and an ideal site for a flourishing sex trade.

Prostitution, the nineteenth century's "Great Social Evil", was considered the dark, noisy, and obscene portions of a city's urban landscape.⁶⁹² Irrespective of place, women who sold their bodies for money posed a twin problem for the authorities. Sex workers were threats to public order,⁶⁹³ improper, and unrespectable.⁶⁹⁴ Aside from being a moral threat to communities, they were a public health risk, "polluted beings"⁶⁹⁵ that spread venereal diseases, the nineteenth century's "new cholera."⁶⁹⁶

Bankoff noted that prostitution was a common offense committed by women in Spanish Manila.⁶⁹⁷ However, the treatment of those apprehended for prostitution greatly differed from those arrested for gambling or public disorder. A thorough examination of the *Prostitucion de Manila* documents from 1862 to 1897 reveals how the colonial justice system treated, studied, and punished public women, or *mujeres de publica*, and changed over time. In the 1860s and 1870s, judges and law enforcement agents were more strict and severe in their methods. As decades passed, their approach slowly became more lenient and concerned with preventing the spread of venereal disease.

⁶⁸⁸ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p 22.

⁶⁸⁹ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, pp. 189-190.

⁶⁹⁰ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p.309.

⁶⁹¹ Jurgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 257, 262-263.

⁶⁹² Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 137.

⁶⁹³ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p.300.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7

⁶⁹⁵ Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics*, p. 200.

⁶⁹⁶ Camagay, *Working Women of Manila*, p. 99.

⁶⁹⁷ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 90.

Detailed Case Files and Harsher Punishments, 1862-1879

The period 1862 to 1879 yield fewer cases of arrests than in the following decades. However, the more detailed reports for each *mujer de publica* more than compensates for the lack of incidents. Some accounts contain the site and time of apprehension, and all reports included a list of all involved individuals. Once in the custody of the police, the suspected prostitute gave her personal details, particularly her place of residence. Within 48 hours, under threat of a P30 fine from the government, the *gobernadorcillo*, prominent male members of the local elite and the parish priest, who had jurisdiction over the accused's place of residence, needed to confirm whether the woman in question was known to them and had fulfilled her annual tribute obligations. In these reports, mention is commonly made of corporal punishment or *castigo corporal*, during a suspected sex worker's incarceration. Those who were apprehended for prostitution in the 1860s and 1870s, were then deported to agricultural colonies in the southern Philippines such as Jolo and Palawan.⁶⁹⁸

The arrest report of 25-year-old Maria de Jesus and her 10-year-old daughter Leonarda reflected the rich detail regarding the situation of those involved in prostitution. Along with Francisca Buensuceso, the authorities found the pair one evening in June 1862 in a structure in *Barrio* Murallon in Binondo, Manila. Leonarda was allegedly "selling illicit commerce", and her mother consented to this. Francisca, on the other hand, admitted to prostituting herself in the home of Ramon Reyes, a 34-year-old native and resident of Binondo who worked as a trader. While the places where Leonarda and Francisca offered their services varied, the Binondo-residing Chinese who were interrogated knew these women. Three illiterate iron workers in their late 20s, Chua Quiaco, Lo Chiongco, and Go Juico, as well as Lim Sian and Lo-Moco, attested to recognizing them.⁶⁹⁹

Arrest reports of suspected sex workers often reveal personal stories of rural-urban migration and the need to earn more money. Such was the case of Ponsia Nuñez, a migrant from Tagalog-speaking Bataan Province who had dutifully paid her tribute taxes as a resident of San Jose at the time of her arrest. Her mother and sisters had also already moved to Manila. She resided in the home of Dña. Rita del Prado of Meisic, Tondo where she served as a seamstress and washer woman. Unbeknownst to her employer, she

⁶⁹⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 2, S328-338 and NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, S68-70.

⁶⁹⁹ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 1, S2-31.

also pretended to work in the house of a woman named Fabiana which was a known place for prostitutes. She was subjected to repeated corporal punishment and declared a vagabond by the local elite who were asked about her place of residence. In the latter part of 1871, it was decided that Ponsia was to be banished to an agricultural colony in the southern Philippines.⁷⁰⁰ It should be noted that *castigo corporal* was mentioned in the records of 18 apprehended women between 1862 to 1879, but by the 1880s such physical punishment was no longer mentioned in case reports.

A woman accused of prostitution not recognized by prominent members of the community where she claimed residence, was a *vagamundo* or vagrant, an unproductive and useless individual. In the eyes of a colonial State that encouraged commercial expansion and needed revenue, vagrancy was likened to economic sabotage. Victoria de la Rosa,⁷⁰¹ Fabiana Ygnacio,⁷⁰² and Maria del Rosario⁷⁰³ were assigned such a label. Besides being stigmatized as prostitutes, their classification as vagabonds expedited the decision to have them deported. The same situation applied to Eusebia Miguel, a *cigarrera* from Bulacan in her early twenties who, upon her arrest, claimed she was a resident of Binondo. Upon checking with Binondo's local elite, the arresting officers were informed that Ms. Miguel had not paid tribute for the past two years and was therefore considered a vagabond. Her circumstances led to her being recommended for exile to Mindanao, but it appears she did not make the trip to the distant agricultural colony by herself. Apparently, Antonio Bonifacio, an inmate doing time for *estafa* and who claimed to be her fiancé, volunteered to marry and join Eusebia in starting a new life in Mindanao.⁷⁰⁴

Some first-time offenders endured far more punishment than others. Such was the case of 17-year-old Telesfora de la Rosa, who hailed from Nagcarlan, Laguna. After being caught plying her trade in the residence of Bonifacio de la Cruz in San Jose Trozo, Manila in September 1871, Telesfora, a known *mujer de publica*, was subjected to corporal punishment during detention. She was then sentenced to 30 days of

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., S102B-108. It is likely that Ms. Nuñez, like other deportees during the 1860s and 1870s was banished to one of two colonies in Palawan – Balabac and Paragua.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., S120B.

⁷⁰² Ibid., S130.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., S140.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., S98-100.

public work appropriate for women. As if she already had not suffered enough, she was eventually recommended for deportation.⁷⁰⁵

The harsh treatment of prostitutes reflected the perception that they were filthy and diseased women of no fixed address.⁷⁰⁶ Despite the fact that men were equally capable of spreading venereal disease, deporting these stigmatized women became the preferred health measure to rid the public of such afflictions.⁷⁰⁷ Many young women were banished from Manila and pried away from their loved ones. Some of them ended up in the sparsely populated settlements on Palawan, one of the westernmost islands of the Philippines. On 31 October 1871, 45 of these women boarded the vessel *Sud-Oeste* whose destination was the island of Balabac in Palawan where Spain maintained a naval base.⁷⁰⁸

Four months later, twenty-six women between the ages of 15 to 36, the majority of whom were seamstresses and washerwomen, boarded the ship *Marques de la Victoria* bound for Puerto Princesa, Palawan.⁷⁰⁹ One of them was 21-year-old Quingua,⁷¹⁰ Bulacan native Rafaela Mesa. Registered as a resident of San Jose Trozo, Manila, the district's male elite reported that Rafaela was a long-time drifter and prostitute. Her parish priest added that Ms. Mesa was known in San Jose for her bad reputation and conduct. These men emphatically stated it would benefit society if Rafaela was deported. In 1875, after spending three years in Puerto Princesa, Ms. Mesa appealed to the authorities, claiming she had suffered enough and be allowed to return to Manila. To bolster her case, the town's parish priest vouched for her behavior over the past three years. Ms. Mesa had been well-behaved.⁷¹¹ Two other Palawan deportees also tried appealing to Manila, with one supplying supporting documents from her immediate superiors in the agricultural colony. Ermita native Graciana Martillano appealed to be sent back to Manila in order to reunite with her mother and aunt. She reported that she now stayed at the parochial house in Puerto

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., S111-119B.

⁷⁰⁶ Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics*, p. 200.

⁷⁰⁷ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p. 100.

⁷⁰⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion 1862-1879* Book 1, S150.

⁷⁰⁹ NAP, *Prostitucion 1862-1879* Book 2, S317.

⁷¹⁰ The town is now called Pulilan.

⁷¹¹ NAP, *Prostitucion 1862-1879* Book 2, S279-292.

Princesa.⁷¹² Antonia Graciana not only requested to go back to Manila. She also attached notes from her parish priest and the chief of the colony vouching for her good behavior on Palawan.⁷¹³

A person would naturally want to avoid the physical and emotional hardship of being separated from loved ones and sent to a distant and unknown place. The mother of Maria del Rosario, who was part of a group of passengers bound for Palawan, appealed to the governor-general that her daughter was innocent and that she should be spared. Her appeal worked. Maria was not included in the list of those who boarded the vessel. She stayed behind because she was “gravely ill”. The authorities freed her more than a month later.⁷¹⁴

There was a case, however, of a woman arrested for prostitution, Juliana de la Cruz, who volunteered herself for deportation. Beyond being an unusual case, Ms. de la Cruz’s request reveals the extremely difficult economic circumstances she experienced in her place of origin, as well as in Manila. In October 1892, Juliana was one of three women and a pimp, Gregorio Batac, who were brought before the *alguacil* of *Barrio Lecheros*, Tondo for causing grave scandal in full view of the public. Records note they were only assessed fines for their offensive behavior, the common penalty for prostitutes by the 1890s.⁷¹⁵ Juliana, who was illiterate, made it clear that she was requesting for deportation to the agricultural colony at Jolo. A native of Tanay *pueblo* in Morong (Rizal) Province, she had no means of making a living in Manila and was willing to dedicate herself to agricultural work. Four days later, she boarded the mail steamer *Elcano* bound for Jolo.⁷¹⁶

From Deportations to Short-Term Incarcerations and Fines, mid-1880s-1897

In the last decades of Spanish rule, the authorities were no longer keen on deporting prostitutes. Banishment was now exclusively for recidivists who were considered beyond rehabilitation. The police files of this period also become more streamlined. Beyond basic information, such as the woman’s name and that of her parents, her civil status, listed occupation, place of origin and residence, authorities were now more concerned to find out if a *mujer de publica* had venereal disease. If a medical doctor ascertained

⁷¹² Ibid., S241-251B.

⁷¹³ Ibid., S254-256.

⁷¹⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1862-1879 Book 1, S147-156.

⁷¹⁵ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, S180.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., S212-215B.

that a woman was disease-free, she either paid a fine or suffered a short jail-term. If she had a sexually transmitted disease, however, she stayed at the *Hospital de San Juan de Dios* until she recovered. For example, Ysabel Pico and Agueda Fajardo were arrested for prostitution in July 1885. They were orphaned *lavanderas*. Both spent time at the hospital and subsequently declared free from any venereal disease.⁷¹⁷ The following month, a 20-year-old washerwoman named Petronila de los Santos and Petrona Mendoza, a 22-year-old seamstress, were apprehended in Binondo. The two native Manileñas were charged with “living a life of depravity”. Both, however, were free from any sexually transmitted disease. Petrona was let go after paying a fine, but it could not be determined if Petronila, who was arrested twice in 1884, was granted the same privilege.⁷¹⁸ Two months later, Margarita Manuel, Josefa de los Santos, and Teodora Beatez were nabbed for prostitution along with their *rufian* named Catalino Belen. Margarita and Josefa were let go after it was determined they did not have a venereal disease, but Teodora was not as lucky. She was confined in the Hospital de San Juan de Dios. Catalino Belen, on the other hand, also remained incarcerated.⁷¹⁹

Camagay noted that *mujeres de publica* usually received 10, 15 or 30-day jail terms, with some getting assigned to public works.⁷²⁰ Vicenta Navarro, a 15-year-old domestic from Boac, Mindoro Island, twice ran away from her employers and was guilty of prostitution in 1884 and 1885. She received 15 and 30 days of hard labor for the respective offenses.⁷²¹ Cecilia de los Reyes, a shopkeeper, received the same punishment when she twice left her employer’s home to do sex work in 1885.⁷²² In 1891, Maria Tambad, a *mestiza* who resided in Tondo, spent 10 days in jail for prostitution in the same district.⁷²³ The period of incarceration for Ermita-based Maria Ramona, however, was an unusual one. She served at the public works not for 10 or 15 but rather 12 days.⁷²⁴

By the 1890s, rather than meting harsh punishments, it became standard practice to simply fine women for sex work. Such penalties were a mere wrist slap compared to the previous policy of deporting public

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., S319-327.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., S329-340.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., S345-361.

⁷²⁰ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p. 101.

⁷²¹ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1881-1886 Book 2, S467-474.

⁷²² Ibid., S537-539.

⁷²³ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1887-1897, S232-235.

⁷²⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1881-1886 Book 2, S300.

women in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1892, Honorata Pulido of Sta. Cruz de Malabon, Cavite Province was arrested by the *guardia civil* for prostitution in San Pedro de Makati, a town that shared a border with the peripheral district of Sta. Ana. She underwent detention in the nearby *pueblo* of Pineda⁷²⁵ where she stayed for 20 hours until she paid the fine.⁷²⁶ In the previous year, San Miguel resident Valentina Domingo was with a Chinese client in Bancusay, Tondo when the police caught them by surprise. She paid P5 for her transgression.⁷²⁷ Seven months later, Maria de la Cruz was made to pay the same amount of money for scandalous activities among the Chinese that allegedly affected the morals of the community's youth.⁷²⁸

These legal adjustments in the manner of punishing public women in Manila can be explained in the context of changes occurring in the justice and penal systems in nineteenth century Europe. Punishments were becoming less physical and more corrective.⁷²⁹ By the middle 1800s, punishments were associated more with the loss of one's resources and personal liberties.⁷³⁰ In exchange for reducing the severity of the punishments, the penalties became more codified, less arbitrary, and ever more certain. Moreover, the guilty party was given a chance to mend his or her ways; hence, the more limited time frames for jail terms.⁷³¹ While the changes occurred rather late in the century, assessing fines and assigning short prison sentences for apprehended *mujeres de publica* made their violations financially difficult for them. Moreover, unlike outright exile, 10 to 30 days of jail time with hard labor, provided such women with more space and opportunity to reform their ways.

On the other hand, fines are assessed for violations that are considered minor infractions, violations that would be more costly for the State to imprison people. Moreover, fines do not commonly serve as a deterrent for such violations.⁷³² Thus, it can be argued that prostitution had become so common in Manila that the authorities simply decided to take a policy of toleration towards such activities.⁷³³

⁷²⁵ Pineda, along with the settlement of Malibay, is now part of present-day Pasay.

⁷²⁶ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1887-1897, S200-203.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, S216-231.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, S330-332B.

⁷²⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 8 & 11.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89 & 107.

⁷³² See Kang, "Fines and Prison" and Quilter, "The Hidden Punitiveness of Fines," pp. 14-15.

⁷³³ By 1890, Manila's Office of Public Hygiene already maintained a list of brothels called *casas de tolerada* or tolerated houses.

If a public woman freely roaming alone in the streets was perceived as a threat to social order,⁷³⁴ and a symbol of the improper female who has transgressed the public space of men,⁷³⁵ then a life centered on family and the home was considered the ideal woman's place.⁷³⁶ Because the female ideal meant a life of domesticity, marrying off a "fallen woman" or giving them employment in good homes were acceptable means of reforming prostitutes. In August 1887, police arrested Elena Gutierrez in Sta. Cruz on charges that she was a prostitute who caused a scandal in the area. She also allegedly had illicit relations with a soldier. However, the police freed Ms. Gutierrez not because she paid a fine or spent time in jail, but rather a man named Simplicio Perez offered her marriage.⁷³⁷

One of the most interesting attempts at reforming so-called fallen women involved an unnamed parish priest in 1887 who appealed to the authorities not to deport Maria de los Santos and three other women to one of the agricultural colonies in the southern islands. Law enforcers caught the four women in a brothel in Sta. Cruz with their pimps, Jose Gabida and Silvino Mañago. The curate proposed three solutions to ensure the four would become proper women. He first suggested that Maria be married to Silvino. One of the other girls would stay in a *beaterio* - a religious house where residents adhered to the feminine values of "piety, seclusion, modesty, chastity, industriousness".⁷³⁸ The other two would be given jobs by good families residing in Sta. Cruz.⁷³⁹

The State as a Realistic and Adaptive Disciplinarian of Delinquent Women

States, by their very nature, attempt to impose order and discipline on their subjects. In the case of Manila women involved in public disorder and illegal gambling, the difficulty of controlling such violations resulted in a policy of treating these as minor offenses. Hence, transgressors were normally meted short prison terms, which one could avoid by paying fines. The monetary gains from imposing financial penalties on guilty parties was facilitated by a police force and government treasury that received a share of the gambling fines assessed and the money confiscated from crime scenes.

⁷³⁴ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, p. 186.

⁷³⁵ Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, p. 43.

⁷³⁶ Rose, *What is Gender History*, p. 6.

⁷³⁷ NAP, *Prostitucion, 1887-1897*, S385-386.

⁷³⁸ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," p. 139.

⁷³⁹ NAP, *Prostitucion, 1887-1897*, S380, 389-393.

Servants guilty of absconding and stealing from their employers and women caught doing sex work were considered far more serious offenders. Such acts compromised the authority and property of the elite classes and were potentially injurious to the morals and health of the public. While the Law recommended corporal punishment and longer jail sentence for dishonest servants, the treatment of public women was more severe. In the 1860s and 1870s, women engaged in sex work were physically punished and deported. However, a growing concern for preventing the spread of venereal disease, and the uncontrolled prevalence of prostitution, as well as the reformatory nature of the penal system, resulted in the introduction of lighter prison sentences, assignment to public works, and, eventually, the mere award of fines to apprehended prostitutes who were disease-free.

Combining databases from archival sources with G.I.S. methodologies also allows for a more spatial and temporal understanding of the nature of transgressive female activity in Manila's late nineteenth century landscape. Incidents of public servants fleeing and stealing from their employers were common in most Manila districts, but such actions were most prevalent in the prosperous communities of Intramuros, Binondo, and Sta. Cruz. Most women caught gambling were apprehended in Manila, but their habits and preferences were clearly different from their male counterparts. Women typically preferred to play *panguingue* in the afternoon, unlike the men who were keen on *monte* games that occurred until the early morning. Unlike their male counterparts who bet serious money on *monte*, women commonly wagered nominal bets as they treated *panguingue* more as a form of social pastime.

THEME 2: Women and Spaces for Making a Living

Chapter 6. The Manileña as Entrepreneur, Rent-Seeker, and Propertied Woman

Sources such as traveler's accounts can serve as a means of revealing the social life of groups.⁷⁴⁰ A careful examination of westerners' written descriptions of the Philippines and its people in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals a high regard for women irrespective of class and race. In particular, they were praised for their industry and business acumen.

The Frenchman Jean Baptiste Mallat's report on the natural history, economy, politics, and society of the Philippines in the 1830s, noted that Filipino women were more hardworking than their male counterparts.⁷⁴¹ During the early years of the American Period, Hamilton Wright wrote that the "Filipino woman is more saving and industrious than her helpmeet".⁷⁴² It was also observed that working-class Filipino women were more likely to be gainfully employed than their American contemporaries in the early 1900s.⁷⁴³ Even Jacobo Zobel, whose company built Manila's *tranvia* lines during the 1880s, justified the necessity of building a streetcar system to address the city's growing vehicular and commercial traffic because of the industriousness of its Chinese and *mestizo* inhabitants as well as its native women.⁷⁴⁴

Traveler accounts similarly acknowledge the abilities of the colony's females regarding business and money matters. The German ethnologist and explorer Fedor Jagor, who traveled to the Philippines in the middle of the nineteenth century, narrated how a trip he took to Bulacan from Manila via steamer included Tagalog women managing their family's business affairs.⁷⁴⁵ John Blunt, an army officer during the early years of American colonial rule, remarked that the Filipina was "an excellent businesswoman and will buy and sell, no matter what quantities, more advantageously" than her husband possibly could.⁷⁴⁶ Frank G. Carpenter gave the Filipino woman the ultimate compliment when he wrote:

⁷⁴⁰ Burke, ed., *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, p. 13.

⁷⁴¹ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 35.

⁷⁴² Wright, *A Handbook on the Philippines*, p. 95.

⁷⁴³ Le Roy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, pp. 45-46.

⁷⁴⁴ National Archives of the Philippines, *Tranvia de Manila* SDS-5281, S-23B.

⁷⁴⁵ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 55.

⁷⁴⁶ Blunt, *An Army Officer's Philippine Studies*, p. 21

“The fact is, the fair Filipinas, high and low, have good heads for business. I have heard of the wives of large landholders who practically ran their husbands’ estates...Sometimes the wife of a landed proprietor may supervise a small store and keep at work a weaver or two or maybe two or three embroidery women, whose output she will send to Manila for sale.”⁷⁴⁷

Despite such praise there are few studies that have utilized primary sources, particularly archival records, to underscore the women’s role in society as merchants, entrepreneurs, and property owners.⁷⁴⁸ Using nineteenth century notarial documents, business permits, and property tax records for homes, this chapter describes and analyzes how women left her mark on the city’s social and economic life and landscape⁷⁴⁹ as buyers or sellers of properties and assets, money lenders, business owners, and rent-seekers. The chapter also elaborates on the nature and distribution of female businesses and real property ownership in Manila’s late nineteenth century landscape through an analysis of Geographic Information Systems-generated maps.

The Manileña as Buyer and Seller of Economic Assets

Pacto de Retroventa

Despite being a center of commercial activity, Spanish Manila never developed a mature banking sector. Bankoff cites this reason for the city’s privileged residents’ adaptation of keeping “portable wealth” inside their homes.⁷⁵⁰ There were those, however, who quickly filled this industry gap by becoming moneylenders. One western observer mentioned, rather unkindly, that the “higher class in Manila was wholly composed of usurers and pawn-dealers. There is not one family free of that stigma.”⁷⁵¹

The preferred arrangement of moneylenders was the *sanlangbili* or debt with mortgage. More known as *pacto de retroventa*, it was a practice that began in more prosperous agricultural towns in the seventeenth

⁷⁴⁷ Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, p. 36.

⁷⁴⁸ See Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila in the Nineteenth Century*. Her chapter on the *sinamayeras* or women whose business was the selling of native textiles is one of the few works that emphasize the role of women in the colonial Philippines as merchants.

⁷⁴⁹ Lorelle Semley, “Introduction: Sex and the Colonial City,” *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 42, no. 5 (2016), p. 831.

⁷⁵⁰ Bankoff, *Crime, Society and the State*, pp. 93-94.

⁷⁵¹ Ebenezer Hannaford, *The History and Description of Our Philippine Wonderland* (Springfield, Ohio: The Crowell and Kirkpatrick Co., 1899), p. 78.

century.⁷⁵² In such an arrangement, a creditor would lend, at an interest, a specific amount of money in exchange for the title of the borrower's land. Failure of the latter to pay back his debt would result in the lender taking ownership of the collateral property.⁷⁵³ Whether as lender or borrower, Manilañas were active in agreements that used agricultural and urban properties as collateral for loans with varying interest rates and lengths of maturity (For a list of *pacto de retroventa* and other business transactions involving women, please refer to Appendix 16.)

Agricultural Lands, Urban Parcels, and Residences as Guarantee

The integration of the Philippines within the world economy in the nineteenth century led to the emergence of land valued as both a commodity and resource. Agricultural land values were highest near Manila in the provinces of Bulacan, Laguna, and Cavite. Despite suffering from nutrient depletion due to overuse, the proximity of such lands to Manila meant such parcels still fetched high prices.⁷⁵⁴

Manila's peripheries in the nineteenth century still contained agricultural areas, and there were cases of individuals pawning their farmlands. In 1873, three siblings known only as Cecilio, Tranquilina, and Juana of Pandacan, Manila entered into such an arrangement with a fellow district resident also named Cecilio. The latter lent the brother and two sisters P700 that was payable within two years at an annual interest rate of 12%. Failure to pay Cecilio P984 by 1875 meant forfeiting their agricultural land in Sitio Sinsay, Pandacan.⁷⁵⁵

Women from Chinese *mestizo* families normally went into business,⁷⁵⁶ and Dña. Aleja Siangco, a widowed *mestiza* from Sta. Cruz, was engaged in moneylending. In 1881, the brothers Leon and Julian Raymundo, together with Benedicto Peña, used the rice land they inherited from their father in the nearby town of Pasig to borrow P155 and seven *reales* from Ms. Siangco. It was not clear in the protocolos document how the men could reclaim their property.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵² Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 60-61; Larkin, *The Pampangans*, pp. 53-54, 74-76.

⁷⁵³ Larkin, *The Pampangans*, pp. 53-54.

⁷⁵⁴ Rodriguez, "Land and the Philippine Revolution," p. 201-202.

⁷⁵⁵ NAP, *Protocolos* Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 474.

⁷⁵⁶ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 36.

⁷⁵⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 1515387, Images 82-86.

Land, whether used in agricultural processes or as an investment for building structures,⁷⁵⁸ had a stable value that rarely depreciated. It could also be disposed of or utilized as an asset in times of need. Dña. Andrea Atayde was astute enough to purchase a parcel with a hut adjacent to a grazing area along the Pasig River in Uli-Uli, San Miguel from Dña. Vicenta de Vera. Years later, Ms. Atayde mortgaged the property for P300, at an annual interest rate of 8%, to a government official named Crisanto de los Reyes.⁷⁵⁹ When her army captain husband died in 1873, Eustaquia Rojas inherited a residential lot in Manila. Eight years later, she loaned P200 from a Chinese *mestiza*, Ygnacia Herrera, using the said property as insurance. Ms. Rojas had 15 months to settle her financial obligation.⁷⁶⁰

Due to their location and the structures on them, the higher value of urban residential properties allowed their owners to borrow larger amounts of money. In March 1872, a widowed *Español Filipina* named Bettina Basterechea loaned to fellow Intramuros resident Manuel Hitta P700. The amount was payable within two years at an annual interest rate of 8%. In exchange, Dña. Bettina held as collateral D. Manuel Hitta's stone house at 30 Solana Street, Intramuros.⁷⁶¹ A year earlier, Samson Rodriguez lent Tondo-based widow Celidonia Domingo, P2000 in exchange for the rights to her stone house in Calle Real, Tondo near the Teatro Ysabel. Ms. Domingo would recover her property once she paid off the principal and interest payments worth P247.20 within two years.⁷⁶²

Even a small parcel of urban real estate in nineteenth century Manila allowed its owner to borrow a substantial amount of money. In 1895, Dilao⁷⁶³ resident Ana Roxas loaned P1500 to fellow businessperson Angela Roxas in exchange for the latter's 98-square-meter lot with a house made of strong and light materials in Ermita. Angela had until December 1897 to pay the latter P2000.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁵⁸ Ernesto M. Serote. *Property, Patrimony and Territory: Foundations of Land Use Planning in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2004), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁵⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 870-873.

⁷⁶⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 007918926, Images 303-305.

⁷⁶¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 201.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, Image 607.

⁷⁶³ Dilao is now present-day Paco, Manila, a district east of Ermita and north of Malate.

⁷⁶⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Image 150.

Selling Mortgaged Properties

While a *pacto de retroventa* transaction meant that mortgaged real estate stayed with the lender until the arranged deadline of the loan payment, some creditors sold these pawned assets before the loan's maturity. In March 1873, Juan Hernandez of Tondo used his lot with a warehouse to borrow P500 from Navotas-based spouses Agustin Natividad and Geronima Leño. He, however, had to pay the couple P800 within two years. This meant Juan's loan had an annual interest rate of more than 25%! The couple therefore quickly sold the mortgaged property at a profit to Dña. Juliana Mauricio, who was assisted by her husband.⁷⁶⁵

Another individual who profited from selling mortgaged properties was Dña. Enriquetta Barcinas. In June 1896, in exchange for a P1090 loan, she acquired the rights to Dña. Rosario Granado's stone house along Calle Concepcion, Quiapo. While the asset was redeemable within a year, Dña. Enriquetta soon sold the property to a widow named Dña. Apolonia Cruz for almost three times the loan amount, at P3000.⁷⁶⁶

Some Properties Recovered

The development of *sanlangbili* as a practice in the seventeenth century led many to lose their properties and ushered along the rise of the landed *mestizo* class.⁷⁶⁷ Yet not all *pacto de retroventa* agreements led to defaults. In November 1858, Dña. Maria Epitacia Reyes borrowed P2000 at 6% interest per annum from the *Obras Pias*. She received such preferred rates by using her Longos, Navotas property as collateral. By 1863, she repaid her obligations with the said organization's legal representative, Jose Reyes.⁷⁶⁸ Twenty-six years later, a merchant named Rafael Reyes mortgaged two lots in Sto. Niño, Quiapo with a combined area of nearly a hectare to Maria Tita Mendiola for P500. Within two years, Mr. Reyes was able to redeem his assets.⁷⁶⁹

One woman willingly pawned her properties twice. In 1889, Marcelina Guidote used the nine *accesorias*⁷⁷⁰ in Calle Villalobos, Quiapo she inherited from her mother to borrow P6000 from the Archbishop of

⁷⁶⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Images 360 and 500.

⁷⁶⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Images 443-447.

⁷⁶⁷ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 60-62

⁷⁶⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Nicolas Avila, Film No. 7916610, Images 310-311.

⁷⁶⁹ NAP, *Protocolos* Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 256-257.

⁷⁷⁰ A residential space for rent that was similar to an apartment.

Manila at 6% interest per annum. She paid her debt within the prescribed period, and again used the properties to borrow P4000 from Mariano Chuidan. This time, Dña. Marcelina could only regain her apartments if she paid D. Mariano P480 per quarter for the next two years, in addition to the principal.⁷⁷¹

There were even individuals who sold their recently recovered assets for a profit. The siblings Leon and Sinforosa Limcuando borrowed P4500 from Cornelia Lao Changco using a house and three other structures in a lot along Calle Caballeros, Binondo as collateral. They redeemed their property a year later, in 1896, by paying back Dña. Cornelia P4500 plus P500 in interest. The Intramuros-based pair soon earned P2000 after selling the same property to the Chinese mestiza Silvina Taisan for P7000.⁷⁷²

Short-Term and “Borrower-Friendly” Loans

Sanlangbili usually involved loans with interest rates ranging from 8-12% per annum. An alternative arrangement involved an interest-free loan with a shorter payment period. Such was the dilemma of Casimira Alarcon, a widow from Tondo, who used the limestone house under the name of her three children to borrow P500 from Nicolas del Rosario. She only had three months to return Mr. del Rosario his money.⁷⁷³ Another similar case involved Juana Santa Brigada. Desperate for funds, she pawned five rice lands in Sta. Ana to Leon Limcuando, the *gobernadorcillo* of the *gremio de mestizos*⁷⁷⁴ of Binondo, for only P120. Juana had only 6 months to pay back D. Leon.⁷⁷⁵

Some individuals were fortunate to borrow money on “friendlier” terms. Intramuros residents Matilde Ballester and Maxima Guerrero agreed to a nearly interest-free loan arrangement in 1889. The widowed Ms. Guerrero promised to pay back the P620 she borrowed from Ms. Ballester through monthly payments of P51.75. Until Ms. Guerrero settled her debt, Dña. Matilde had rights to one of the former’s residences in Intramuros. In addition, Ms. Ballester had access to all home furnishings and carriages within it. Matilde was to gain only P1 after she received the final installment from Maxima.⁷⁷⁶ On that same year, Maria

⁷⁷¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 346-351.

⁷⁷² NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Image 561.

⁷⁷³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Image 136.

⁷⁷⁴ The *gremio* was a council that dealt with concerns at the district-level in Manila. The natives, Chinese *mestizos*, and, if they had a significant population, the Chinese had separate *gremios* for each district,

⁷⁷⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano Film No. 007918926, Images 333-335.

⁷⁷⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 41-46.

Salvador of Ermita was also able to get an interest free loan from Intramuros-based Vicenta Torres. In exchange for P100 that was payable within 12 months, Ms. Salvador surrendered the title to a house and lot she owned in Ermita.⁷⁷⁷

Religious institutions gave out loans to people in need, albeit often on easier terms. Faustina Cabrera needed funds to repair her limestone house along Calle Magallanes, Intramuros. She obtained P800 from The Brotherhood of the Sacred Heart of Binondo using her home as collateral. There was no deadline for paying the debt, and the approved interest rate of 6.5 percent per annum was lower than normally demanded by money lenders.⁷⁷⁸

Collateral Free Loans and Debt Payments

Borrowing Money without Collateral

While initially used for tribute payments, individuals increasingly used coins for other purposes in the Philippine colony beginning in the seventeenth century.⁷⁷⁹ The commercialization of the economy by the nineteenth century naturally led to an increased use of money to purchase goods and facilitate transactions. This included the incurring of loans and settling of debts.⁷⁸⁰

The accumulation of assets through money lending became a cold and impersonal business for certain individuals. One such person was D. Doroteo Cortes who gave out several collateral-free loans tied to high interest rates. One of his debtors was Saturnina Medina, a Spanish *mestiza*. To fund her business, Saturnina borrowed P186 at P5 interest per month from Cortes, a fellow San Jose resident. Ms. Medina would pay Mr. Cortes P20 every month for the first 10 months and P23 each for the last two. Dña. Saturnina also had to pay off her debt if she planned on leaving for the provinces or traveling outside the colony.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., Image 205.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., Image 176.

⁷⁷⁹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 58-61.

⁷⁸⁰ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 30 and 106; Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 114.

⁷⁸¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 007918926, Images 258-261.

Raymunda Santos, a Chinese *mestiza* widow from Malabon, needed money and found a willing lender in D. Doroteo Cortes. Mr. Cortes loaned her P124, payable within a year, but her lack of assets led to usurious rates. She agreed to settle the principal of her debt through monthly installments of P10 for the first ten and P12 for the last two months. On top of those payments, she had to add to give an additional P6 every month as interest. This meant an overall interest payment (P72) that was 58% of the principal!⁷⁸²

Mr. Cortes again loaned money, P310 at an interest rate of 54%, to another Chinese *mestiza*, the Binondo-based Maria Cuenca, and her spouse, Eugenio Contujan. The couple agreed to send Mr. Cortes monthly installments of P25 each for the first 10 months and P30 each for the eleventh and twelfth months. Over the course of a year, Maria and Eugenio also had to give Mr. Cortes P7 as interest every fortnight.⁷⁸³

Money lending was such serious business for some individuals that all debtors were treated the same, even if they were relatives. In June 1871, Feliciano Basa incurred a P2000 debt from Joaquina San Agustin that would mature in two years. Aside from the principal, she had to pay an additional P420 to Joaquina, who was her mother!⁷⁸⁴

Recognizing, Collecting, and Settling Debts

Notarized documents protected lenders from borrowers who could default from their debts. It was common for institutions to lend money to individuals, but there were instances when the tables were turned. In 1891, a representative of a business enterprise, named Lohm and Company, signed a document stating that it owed P2154 to the German investor Luisa Roessler. Ms. Roessler was to collect, on an unspecified date, P3000 from the said firm.⁷⁸⁵

Notarized papers also reminded individuals of their obligations and the risk of legal action if they failed to fulfill these. In a bid for more sales, lottery ticket seller Dña. Ynes Feliciano entrusted people with tickets to sell in 1889. One of them was a *mestizo* named Jose del Rosario, who received P150 worth of tickets. However, Mr. del Rosario only returned P60 to Ms. Feliciano, claiming he used the balance for

⁷⁸² Ibid., Images 380-381.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., Images 384-386.

⁷⁸⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 897.

⁷⁸⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 105-107.

his personal expenses. Worried that she would not be paid back, Dña. Ynes had a document certified that Mr. del Rosario promised to pay the P90 owed to her within 30 days.⁷⁸⁶

Whether as payer or payee, women participated in the signing of documents proving the fulfillment of monetary responsibilities and transactions. Hipolito Magsalinde borrowed P1470 from Margarita Lopez. In 1889, Ms. Lopez confirmed that Mr. Magsalinde had already paid what he owed her.⁷⁸⁷ Three years later, Rita del Valle, a proprietress, sold a Quiapo property she bought 10 years ago from D. Maximo Roxas, to Ricardo Pardell, a soldier, and his wife Vicenta Felix. Both parties agreed on a purchase price of P2000 and a down payment of P666.25. The document that Dña. Rita had notarized attested that the couple had paid their remaining balance of P1333.75.⁷⁸⁸

Rent Seekers

There were also women who rented or leased out properties. In August 1896, Amalia Sabio, a 26-year-old widow, agreed to let her iron works shop along Calle Barraca, Binondo to Rafael Reyes and Juan Wilson. The men agreed to pay her P30 a month. They would also shoulder all property taxes and lighting fees during the duration of their lease.⁷⁸⁹

In the case of Benita Francisco, the 26-year-old single businesswoman loaned P3000 to Avelina Caballero in return for a house in Calle Lavezares, Binondo that was made of strong materials. Ms. Caballero had two years to pay back Ms. Francisco. During that period, Dña. Benita would keep the P25 that the house's tenant paid as monthly rent.⁷⁹⁰

Aside from income derived from renting out residential and business spaces, some proprietresses maintained or ended tenurial arrangements. One such record involved Dña. Sergia Tanquintin Corrales, who owned a house along Calle Arlegui, Quiapo, and her renter, Mariano Alejandro. In April 1896, she

⁷⁸⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Image 299.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., Image 273.

⁷⁸⁸ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 783-787.

⁷⁸⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Image 835.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., Image 538.

requested Mr. Alejandro to vacate her rental house within 10 days as she was no longer renewing his lease.⁷⁹¹

Julia Beleti Olmationgla also made her living by renting out commercial spaces. One of her lessors was Elias Madrid who used two ground floor units in her building in Calle Carballo, Binondo. In August 1896, she informed Mr. Madrid of the non-renewal of his lease, and he had 30 days to vacate her properties.⁷⁹²

The Purchase and Sale of Real Properties

Manila was the site of rapid urban development in the nineteenth century.⁷⁹³ During that period, Intramuros and its suburbs north and south of the Pasig River were already represented on maps as a “coherent urban space”.⁷⁹⁴ Another reflection of Manila’s urbanization and booming economy was the emergence of an active real estate market. Whether as an investment, a residence, or a space for making a living,⁷⁹⁵ Manileñas regularly participated as buyers and sellers of land-based assets.

A Continued Interest in Agricultural Land

Land purchases and sales involving Manileñas reflected their willingness to buy productive agricultural land within Manila and nearby provinces, the changing land use in the city, or simply their ability to spot bargains. In 1881, D. Bartolome Francisco of Pandacan suffered a foot injury and needed money. He was compelled to sell grassland in San Miguel that he inherited from his mother fifteen years earlier to Dña. Elena Peña for P900. D. Bartolome and Dña. Elena, with the consent of her husband, agreed that the former would pay in installments over a two-year period.⁷⁹⁶ Not even old age could prevent the seventy-year-old proprietress, Maria Ignacio, from expressing interest in the three-hectare agricultural land that Dominga Basa was selling in Guiguinto, Bulacan. The two widows agreed on a purchase price of P600.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Image 916.

⁷⁹² Ibid., Film No. 007920930, Image 843.

⁷⁹³ Huetz de Lemp, “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes,” p. 160.

⁷⁹⁴ Xavier Huetz de Lemp, “Shifts in the Meaning of Manila in the Nineteenth Century,” In *Old Ties and New Solidarities: Studies on Philippine Communities*, eds. Charles J-H MacDonald and Guillermo Pesigan (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), pp. 219-220.

⁷⁹⁵ Ernesto M. Serote, *Rationalizing the Local Planning System: A Source Book, 1st Edition* (Quezon City: Bureau of Local Government Development, Department of the Interior and Local Government, 2008), pp. 23-24.

⁷⁹⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 1515387, Images 115-119.

⁷⁹⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Aurelio Pelaez, Film No. 7920772, Images 126-130.

In land use planning, the “best use” of land usually provides the highest return on investment.⁷⁹⁸ Such a notion led to the conversion of agricultural land for “more profitable” urban uses. One transaction that dealt with converted agricultural land involved Dilao resident Ana Roxas. An unmarried moneylender, Ms. Roxas sold to an unnamed buyer 2.32 hectares of land in Dilao that was converted to urban use. The former agricultural property composed of three parcels that had become the site of a building surrounded by *Ylang-ylang*⁷⁹⁹ trees. One of its portions was a 198 square meter lot with a house of mixed materials. She received P31000 for the said properties.⁸⁰⁰

The Different Aspects of Urban Property Transactions

Given its status as the colony’s economic center and major in-migration area,⁸⁰¹ most property matters involving women dealt with urban real estate. Beyond the actual exchange of assets and money, these dealings reveal interesting social aspects pertaining to Manila’s inhabitants.

Some transactions highlight the role and status of women in Philippine society, as well as the unimportance of race in real property transactions. Widows and mothers functioned as guardians of underage individuals. One woman who bore such a responsibility was Dña. Casimira Alarcon, a widow and mother of three. In 1891, she sold two urban lots of her two underaged sons and daughter to fellow Quiapo resident D. Lorenzo del Rosario for P700. One parcel had an area of 216 square meters and was located along Peñarrubia and Madrid Streets in Binondo. The smaller property, 55 square meters, was in Madrid Street.⁸⁰²

Despite being a patriarchal society, men in the Spanish Philippines commonly consulted their wives regarding important decisions.⁸⁰³ In 1891, Dña. Emilia Barcelon, a widow, purchased from D. Mariano

⁷⁹⁸ Ernesto M. Serote, *Property, Patrimony and Territory: The Foundations of Land Use Planning in the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2004), p. 67.

⁷⁹⁹ A tree whose flowers serve as raw material for producing perfumes.

⁸⁰⁰ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No.007920930, Image 155.

⁸⁰¹ Huetz de Lemp. “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes”, pp. 160. While Huetz de Lemp explicitly stated Manila’s status as economic hub, it could be inferred from the fact that said settlement’s population more than tripled from 1817 to 1892 – 75 years – such growth was clearly driven by in-migration and not natural increase.

⁸⁰² NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 252-255.

⁸⁰³ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 35.

Umali of Batangas, an urban property in Calle Concepcion, Quiapo for P2,900. While a woman purchasing property from a man was a common practice, D. Mariano still sought the approval of his wife despite being the one who inherited the said property.⁸⁰⁴

The segregation of nineteenth century colonial society along racial lines promoted a degree of suspicion and dislike among particular social groups.⁸⁰⁵ This assertion, however, seemed not to apply to transacting parties who were usually blind to matters of race or class. In 1872, Petronila Melgarojo sold to Nicasia Francisco her stone house located along 25 Calle Magallanes, Intramuros for P1700. Nicasia was an *indio*, while Petronila was Spanish.⁸⁰⁶ A similar case involved Cirilo de Gusman, a Spanish widower, who purchased a small parcel of land in *Barrio* Peñafrancia, Dilao for P30 in 1869. In February 1871, de Gusman needed money and sold the lot to a native woman named Fermina Gonzales for the same amount.⁸⁰⁷

Extreme events such as earthquakes could result in great destruction, affect people's sense of security,⁸⁰⁸ and threaten the stability of governments.⁸⁰⁹ The June 1863 and July 1880 earthquakes wreaked havoc on Manila and damaged public structures and private property. The first event so greatly affected people's lives that a decade afterwards the government still received letters from upper class women appealing for financial support to repair their damaged homes.⁸¹⁰

One adaptive response of Manila's residents immediately after both earthquakes was to utilize structures made of bamboo, *rattan*, and *nipa* as temporary factories and offices.⁸¹¹ A few months after the 1863

⁸⁰⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 429-433.

⁸⁰⁵ Bankoff, *Crime, Society and the State*, p. 97.

⁸⁰⁶ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 226.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Image 622.

⁸⁰⁸ Jelle Zeilinga de Boer and Donald Theodore Sanders. *Earthquakes in Human History: The Far-Reaching Effects of Seismic Disruptions* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), p.1.

⁸⁰⁹ Aitor Anduaga, "Earthquake Building Overseas: Military Engineers, Cyclonic-Sesimic Affinity and the Spanish Dominion in the Philippines, 1860-1898," *Engineering Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2014), p. 3. The colonial authorities were of the opinion that if the structural damage brought about by massive earthquakes, such as the ones that occurred in Manila in 1863 and 1880 were not addressed their hold on their Philippines would be under threat. This led to the development by their military engineers of building regulations which, at the time, were considered cutting edge.

⁸¹⁰ See the National Archives of the Philippines' *Calamidades Publicas* bundles SDS-15085 and 15096.

⁸¹¹ Xavier Huetz de Lempis, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes", p. 161.

tremors subsided, there were several transactions involving the purchase of properties made of light materials. In July of the same year, Binondo-based Dña. Antonia Jose Gotengco, with the consent of her spouse, bought from D. Eulogio Ventura of Intramuros, a residential property with a bamboo and *nipa* house along the riverbanks of Sibacon, Sta. Cruz for P1550. During the same period, Jose Farragut, a Spanish merchant from Intramuros, purchased from Hipolita de la Cruz, an untitled Tondo resident, a similar structure in *Sitio* Aguila of the said district for P300. Two months later, Dña. Concepcion Calles y Elzinger, with her husband's consent, provided a notarized description of her wooden house with a zinc roof in San Miguel that faced the Pasig River.⁸¹²

While urban residential property sales usually involved a parcel of land or house and lot, rarely was a buyer interested solely in a housing structure. In 1889, Eulalia Santiago and Andres Quilabot of Binondo lived in a house made of tin and lumber on land that was not theirs. They could not sell the land. However, their house was of use to Serafin Te Juco, a Chinese *mestizo*, who paid them P105 for the said building.⁸¹³

Other transactions reflected the different interests of Manila's female residents and the diverse spatial conditions within the city. In 1873, Juana Manlapas and Ynes Gatmaitan purchased a property owned by a Chinese *mestizo* couple in *Barrio* Aguila, Tondo for P86. The property combined urban and agricultural uses - it had a warehouse, a house with a kitchen, and a fishpond.⁸¹⁴ Eighteen years later, Luisa del Castillo, a proprietress, paid Rafael Reyes P6000 for a 1070 square meter lot in San Jose, Ermita with three houses made of light materials.⁸¹⁵ During the same period, Dña. Josefa Barreto consolidated her land assets in nearby Malate. One of her properties shared a border with a 363 square meter lot owned by an untitled man, Cosme de la Cruz, who sold his parcel to Ms. Barreto for P480.⁸¹⁶

More of sellers than buyers of other assets

It was common for women in nineteenth century Manila to purchase real property. However, apart from land and buildings, Manileñas were oftentimes sellers. The death of a loved one, the need for money, and/or unfamiliarity with the asset left in her name, led some women to sell. Dña. Juana Valentin lost her

⁸¹² NAP, *Protocolos*, Nicolas Avila, Film No. 7916610, Images 361-362, 367-369, 458-460.

⁸¹³ NAP, *Protocolos*, Vicente Santos, Film No. 007912297, Images 54-55.

⁸¹⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Francisco Salanova, Film No. 007915218, Image 566.

⁸¹⁵ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso, Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 37-38.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Images 342-345.

husband who owned a general store along Rosario Street, Binondo, in 1881. Rather than take over the business, she sold the store's contents for P1447.51.⁸¹⁷ In that same year, Dña. Catalina Blanco auctioned off three of her late husband's ships. Two of these, the "Talim" and "Dichoza" found no buyers, but the *Senores Ynchausti y Compania* purchased the "Kanlaon" for P756.77.⁸¹⁸

Even women with heads for business sometimes decided to dispose of their dead loved one's enterprises. In 1891, Elisa Barriedo, a Manila-based shopkeeper, was in no position to manage her late son Ysidro Lim's tobacco factory named "El Lucero" in Cagayan. She sold the factory and its contents for P6850, a third of its assessed value, to Chinese industrialist Benito Tan Auco.⁸¹⁹

In another case, Spain-based Dña. Josefa Vega, after her husband's death in 1891, inherited a kiosk facing the *Estero de Sta. Cruz* along the Sta. Cruz Bridge that sold tobacco-products. Her son, Manila resident D. Francisco Meacho, facilitated the sale of the said property to the merchant Buenaventura Lacasas for P4000. Mr. Lacasas then incorporated a new business, "A. del Castillo y Compania", with a female partner, Dña. Aurea del Castillo.⁸²⁰

Dña. Sergia Tanquintin Corrales, on the other hand, used the proceeds of a sale to purchase an established enterprise. Corrales received P24,000 from Teodoro de los Reyes, a bookkeeper, in exchange for a storehouse full of naval items. The widowed Spanish *mestiza* then spent P4000 to purchase a Mandaluyong roof tile factory, including its equipment and stock, from Mariano de Leon, a pharmacist, and his businessperson wife Escolastica de los Reyes.⁸²¹

The Nature and Geography of Female-Owned Businesses in Manila

In her landmark work on Manila's working women, Camagay emphasized that nineteenth century Filipinas were far from the "timid and coy woman" Spaniards portrayed them to be. They were, in fact,

⁸¹⁷ NAP, *Protocolos*, Numeriano Adriano, Film No. 007918926, Images 79-80.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Images 316-323.

⁸¹⁹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Narciso Mir, Film No. 007920775, Images 74-76.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, Images 592-609.

⁸²¹ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No.007920930 Images 483-487.

very entrepreneurial.⁸²² They were described in accounts as having an instinctive “business ability”,⁸²³ “dexterous businesswomen” who “made the fortunes of their families”.⁸²⁴

Business licenses issued from 1892 to 1897 confirm the enterprising spirit of women across Manila’s economic landscape. Despite living in a patriarchal society, of the 2975 businesses issued permits by the provincial government of Manila, 27%, or 813, were owned by women.⁸²⁵ While their endeavors were less diverse than their male counterparts, an aggregation and classification of these enterprises reveal the entrepreneurial activities the entrepreneurial Manilaña tended to specialize in, their distribution in Manila’s districts and towns, and the unique characteristics of such businesses (Please refer to Appendices 1 to 4).

A General Spatial Distribution of Female Enterprises

Forty-four percent of all establishments listed under a female were in the commercial districts of Binondo⁸²⁶ and Sta. Cruz⁸²⁷, as well as the former’s natural extension, Quiapo. One out of every four female-owned enterprises (24%) was found in Binondo, while two out of every 10 were either in Sta. Cruz (13%) or Quiapo (7%).

The other Manila suburbs north of the Pasig River that were sites of a significant share of female-held ventures were the working-class district of Tondo⁸²⁸ (12%) and the more rustic environs of Sampaloc⁸²⁹ (8%). The latter district at the end of the nineteenth century became the new place of residence for the elite.⁸³⁰ Of the communities south of the Pasig, only Dilao had a significant share (10%) of businesses held by women in Manila Province, besting even the 55 establishments owned by females in the capital

⁸²² Camagay, *The Workingwomen of Manila*, pp. 1 and 23.

⁸²³ Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official’s Wife* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908), p. 350-351.

⁸²⁴ Foreman, *The Philippines*, p. 173.

⁸²⁵ This is based on a database derived from recorded licenses from the *Contribucion Industrial* bundles at the National Archives of the Philippines. I would like to acknowledge Professor Tsukasa Mizushima of Tokyo University who facilitated the initial development of this database in 2012 by providing funds from his Japan Society for the Progress of Science Global Histories Project.

⁸²⁶ Wilkes, “Manila in 1842,” pp. 459-529; Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 26; Deviana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, p. 48.

⁸²⁷ Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, p. 21.

⁸²⁸ Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 120; Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, p. 22.

⁸²⁹ Huetz de Lemp, “Shifts in Meaning of Manila,” p. 232.

⁸³⁰ Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines*, p. 168.

of Intramuros (5%). Among the *pueblos* of Manila Province, only the nearby towns of Tambobong and Navotas, which had active trade relations with Manila,⁸³¹ had a significant share of registered female commercial activity at 3% each.

Economic Activities Favored by Women

Women preferred to be involved in providing transport and gambling services, small-scale cigar manufacturing, and the selling of local and imported textiles.

1. *Cascos: Water-Based Cargo Transports*

Waterbodies were ubiquitous physical features of Manila, a city filled with natural waterways that connected its districts with each other and nearby towns.⁸³² Among the various water transports that traveled along the busy Pasig River and Laguna de Bay, one notable vessel was the *casco*,⁸³³ a wooden-craft capable of carrying several tons of cargo⁸³⁴ (See Illustration 6.1).⁸³⁵ Like the smaller-based craft in nineteenth century Singapore's River/Port trade, the *casco* likely functioned as feeder craft that delivered and received materials to and from larger ships along Manila's harbor⁸³⁶ and whose ubiquity reflected the vibrance of a colonial trading center.⁸³⁷

There were 120 registered *cascos* listed in the *Contribucion Industrial*.⁸³⁸ More than a fourth (33) were registered under women who resided in the "aquatic suburb"⁸³⁹ of Quiapo (10) and the towns of Malabon and Navotas, which were connected to Manila via waterways that terminated in Tondo (See Map 6.1 and Appendix 2.). Except for a few registered vessels in Binondo, Sta. Cruz, and the town of Pineda, majority of the boats owned by both sexes were based in these communities. While only 20% and 14% of *cascos*

⁸³¹ NAP, *Tranvia de Manila*, SDS-5281, S-25B-27.

⁸³² Huetz de Lempis, "Waters in Nineteenth Century Manila," *Philippine Studies* vol 49, no. 4 (2001), pp. 488-489.

⁸³³ Karl Von Scherzer, "Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian Frigate 'Novara,'" In *Travel Accounts of the Islands* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974), pp. 246-247.

⁸³⁴ NAP, *Protocolos*, Genaro Heredia, Film No. 007920930, Image 260.

⁸³⁵ Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife*, p. 18.

⁸³⁶ Stephen Dobbs, "The Singapore River Trade, 1819-1869: Cradle of a Maritime Entrepot," *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (December 2001), p. 107.

⁸³⁷ Stephen Dobbs, "The Singapore River/Port in the Global Context," In *Singapore in Global History*, eds. Derek Heng and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 60 and 62.

⁸³⁸ A few of these *cascos* had registration numbers. Their actual number may have reached at least 3,000.

⁸³⁹ Huetz de Lempis, "Waters in Nineteenth Century Manila," p. 495.

based in Malabon and Navotas, respectively, were female-owned, all ten licensed watercraft based in Calle Tanduay, Quiapo were under the control of Maria Santos.⁸⁴⁰



Illustration 6.1. A *casco* moving along a river.⁸⁴¹

The watercargo business involved only a few powerful women who owned multiple vessels. In Navotas, Crisanta Gonzales operated four boats based in the town's Calle Real.⁸⁴² An even bigger player was Luisa Naval, who had seven *cascos* to her name in San Jose, Navotas.⁸⁴³ Aside from Rosalia Rivera and Cipriana Viando⁸⁴⁴ who each operated a single vessel, the *casco* trade in Tambobong was dominated by three women. Juana Carreon's two boats were in Balot Street,⁸⁴⁵ while Eugenia Villongco's three watercraft⁸⁴⁶ competed against Florentina Sta. Maria's five in Calle Tinajeros.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴⁰ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390, S109, 112, 114, 116-122.

⁸⁴¹ National Library of the Philippines (NLP), *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 14, Febrero 1892.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, S101-103, 105.

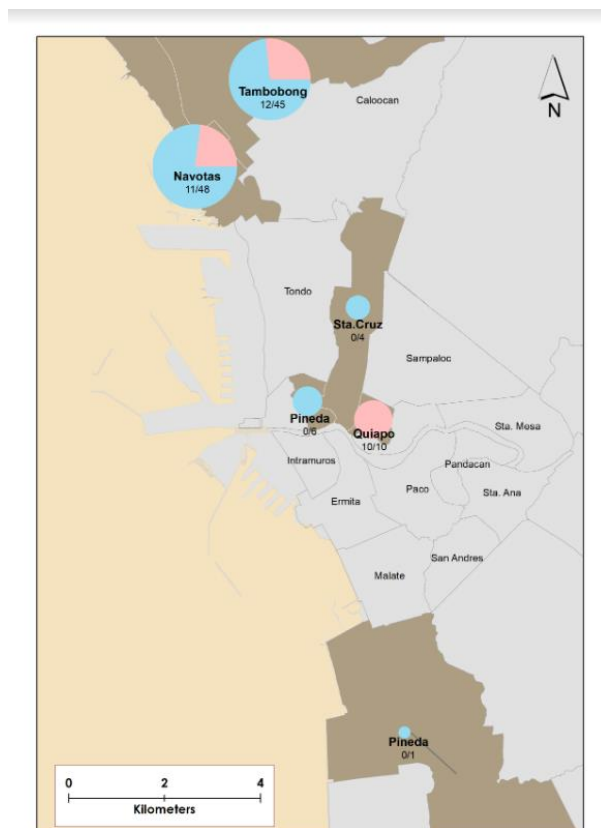
⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, S126, 178, 181, 183-186.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S73 and 140.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, S113 and 115.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, S106-107 and 187.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, S158-162.



Map 6.1. Distribution of *Cascos*, by Gender.⁸⁴⁸

2. *Wheeled Transports-for-Hire*

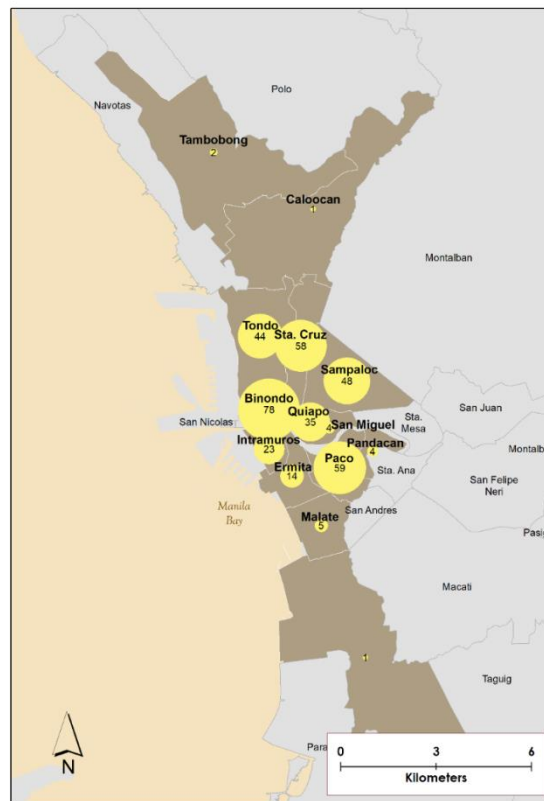
The transport vehicles its inhabitants employ heavily influence the size of cities. The limited range of its residents' conveyance of choice – the horse-drawn vehicle – partially explains the compactness of nineteenth century. (See Illustration 6.2.)⁸⁴⁹ Out of 802 registered operators of *calesas*, *carromatas*, *quiles*,⁸⁵⁰ and *caretelas*⁸⁵¹ in Manila Province for the period 1892-1897, 49% were owned by women (See Appendix 3.). Horse-drawn vehicles-for-hire also accounted for nearly half of all female businesses in the province.

⁸⁴⁸ National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390 and 15392B. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

⁸⁴⁹ Truman A. Hartshorn, *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography*, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1992), pp. 18, 158-160.

⁸⁵⁰ All three vehicles were two-wheeled, horse-drawn transports with similar designs, although there was said to have provided a more comfort ride.

⁸⁵¹ A horse-drawn cart used for cargo purposes.



Map 6.2. Distribution of Female-Owned Transports-for-Hire.⁸⁵²

Wheeled transports concentrated in Manila's centers of commercial activity and peripheral areas. More than half (58%) of female-registered animal-drawn transports were based in Binondo (78), Sta. Cruz (58), Tondo (44), and Quiapo (35) (See Map 6.2.). Binondo and Sta. Cruz were Manila's commercial centers,⁸⁵³ while the working-class district of Tondo, along with Binondo, had the most vendors and shopkeepers.⁸⁵⁴

The bustling activity in these places resulted in a strong demand for public transport services. Half of Binondo's *caretelas* and *quiles* were based in three streets – Magdalena (5), Elcano (4), Jolo (3). The biggest female player in Sta. Cruz was Dña. Concepcion Leyva who had six transports-for-hire stationed along

⁸⁵² National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15391, 15392B, 15395, 15396, 15399, and 15403. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

⁸⁵³ Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," p. 162.

⁸⁵⁴ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p.24.

Curtidor Street.⁸⁵⁵ In Quiapo, the woman with the most animal-drawn vehicles was Maria Moer, with three.⁸⁵⁶ Tondo was again the exception with no dominant female players. Out of the four registered operators, only Emilia Gutieres had more than one cart.⁸⁵⁷



Illustration 6.2. A *carromata* filled with people and cargo.⁸⁵⁸

Close to three out of every 10 (29%) transports-for-hire were based in San Fernando de Dilao (59) and Sampaloc (48). Both districts were found along Manila's fringes, where rural environments allowed easier access to fodder (See Map 6.2.).⁸⁵⁹ The distribution of female ownership of Dilao's public animal-drawn conveyances was rather even as most women operated one to two vehicles. Only *Doñas* Juana Bunayan, Juana Jimenes, and Josefa Dimalanta had three horse-drawn units each.⁸⁶⁰ In contrast, 22 of Sampaloc's

⁸⁵⁵ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15396, S70-74 and SDS-15390, S124.

⁸⁵⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390, S250, 252-253.

⁸⁵⁷ NAP, SDS-15395, S90-91.

⁸⁵⁸ PNL, "Vehiculos," *Manililla*, 12 Marzo 1892, Ano 6, Num 203, p. 1

⁸⁵⁹ Xavier Huetz de Lempis, "Waters in Nineteenth Century Manila," p. 495.

⁸⁶⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15403, S381, 393-395; SDS-15395, S8, 200; SDS-15396, S432-434.

49 public two-wheeled vehicles were owned by three females – Eugenia Lim (9), Dña. Rafaela Orlac (8), and Dña. Estefania Ramos (5).⁸⁶¹

3. Home-Based Panguingue Gaming Places

The gaming sector, as noted earlier, had a significant female presence, with 42% of all licensed *panguingue* tables in Manila Province being female owned (See Appendix 1.). Nearly three out of every four (73%) tables operated in Manila's districts, with half of all *panguingue* outlets located in the settlements north of the Pasig, such as Binondo (34), Tondo (13), Sampaloc (10), and Sta. Cruz (7). On the other hand, one out of every five tables served clients in the Intramuros (14), Pandacan (8), and Paco (15) areas south of the river (See Map 6.3 and Illustration 6.3.).



Illustration 6.3. People playing *panguingue* with people looking on.⁸⁶²

Some women possessed two or more *panguingue* tables. Catalina Esteban, Agrifina de los Santos, and Maria Blanco each had two playing tables along Bangbang, Herran and San Marcelino Streets in Dilao.⁸⁶³ Both Rufina Sarmiento⁸⁶⁴ and Florencia Licerio⁸⁶⁵ were owners of two *panguingue* tables in 1896. Dña. Ramona

⁸⁶¹ National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15396, S82-83, 477; SDS-15403, S158-159, 164-170, 188-202, 205, 207-208; SDS-15395, S144.

⁸⁶² PNL, "El Panguingue," *Manililla*, 4 Junio 1892, Ano 6, Num 415, p. 5.

⁸⁶³ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15403, S379-380, 397-398, 407-408.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, S142-143.

⁸⁶⁵ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S214.

Nava had six licensed tables based in Calle Principe, Binondo,⁸⁶⁶ while Tomasa Tayson operated three along Sande Street in Tondo.⁸⁶⁷



Map 6.3. Distribution of Female Operated *Panguingue* Tables.⁸⁶⁸

Pueblos along Manila's borders, such as Navotas (10), Pineda (6), Pasig (5), Makati (2), and San Felipe Nery (2), accounted for 21% of all licensed *panguingue* tables in the 1890s. The town farthest from Manila with a significant number of gaming tables was the eastern settlement of Marikina (6). Some of these towns had female operators with the same surnames and were likely related. Faustina and Gregoria Flores operated tables in Calle Bambang and Caminglin in Pasig.⁸⁶⁹ Marikina residents Paula and Juana Desiderio,

⁸⁶⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15402, S27-32.

⁸⁶⁷ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15392B, S84-89.

⁸⁶⁸ National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390, 15392B, 15395, 15399, 15400, 15402, and 15403. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

⁸⁶⁹ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S205, 223.

who were members of the town's elite, had *panguingue* operations in separate places.⁸⁷⁰ In Navotas, Eugenia Roque had two tables along San Marcos Street, while Prudencia Roque operated one in Calle Tercera.⁸⁷¹

4. *Small-Scale Cigar Manufacturing*

Cigars were the only manufactured product of the Philippines during Spanish rule. During its peak, the Tobacco Monopoly's factories employed around 30,000 people, most of whom were women.⁸⁷² After the Monopoly's abolition in 1882, cigar manufacturing became the colony's first large-scale industry.⁸⁷³ According to Wickberg, the lifting of government restrictions on cigar manufacturing led to the establishment of around 200 factories in Manila.⁸⁷⁴ Data from the *Contribucion Industrial* files supports this assertion. There were 219 cigar workshops in Manila in the 1890s, of which 43% were women-owned. Tondo (27), Santa Cruz (23), and Binondo (23) accounted for 82% of these factories (See Map 6.4. and Appendix 4.).

Almost one out of every five factories owned by a woman was home-based. These facilities, which employed only had a handful of employees, were in four Manila districts – Santa Cruz (8), Tondo (7), San Miguel (2), and Paco (2). The home-based operations that had the most workers were owned by Dña. Favila and Dña. Tarcila Flores, who owned shops along Arranque Street, Sta. Cruz. Each employed eight full-time workers (See Map 6.5).

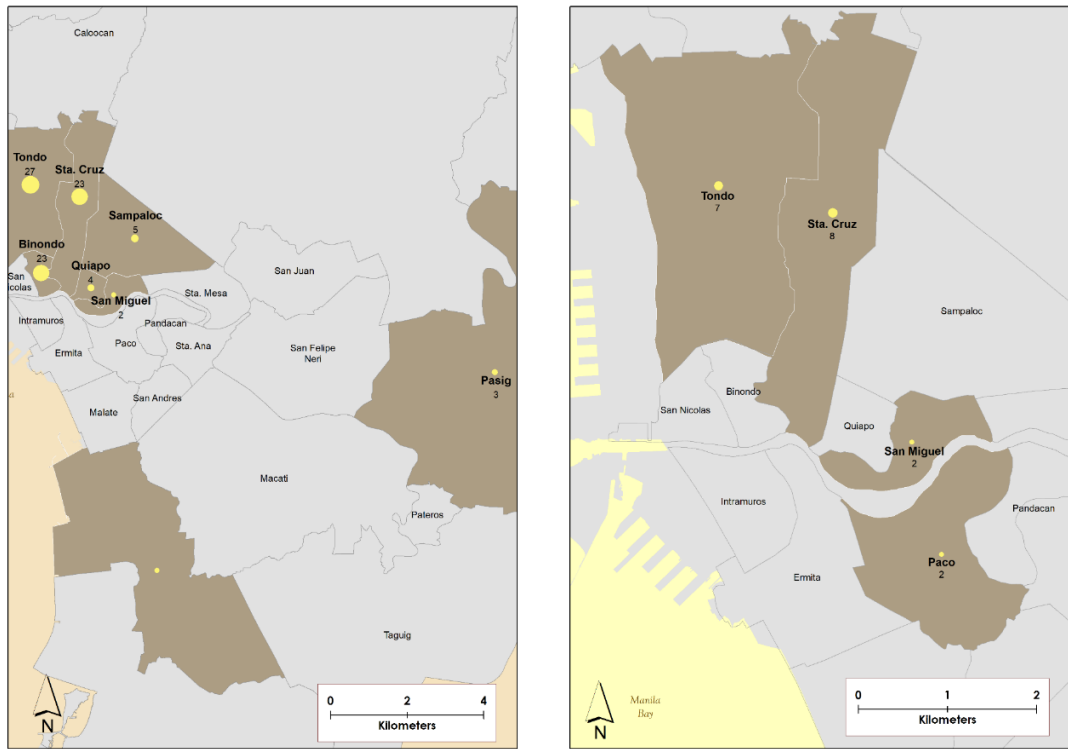
⁸⁷⁰ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15402, S156, 179.

⁸⁷¹ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15392B, S151-152, 164-167.

⁸⁷² Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p.170.

⁸⁷³ Yoshihiro Chiba, "Cigar-Makers in American Colonial Manila: Survival during Structural Depression in the 1920s," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* vol.36, no. 3 (2005), pp. 373-397.

⁸⁷⁴ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, p. 100.



Maps 6.4 and 6.5. Distribution of Female-Registered and Home-Based Cigar Factories.⁸⁷⁵

Silvestra Sandoval operated the largest female-run cigar factory along Alix Street, Sampaloc with 30 workers.⁸⁷⁶ The smallest home-based cigar-making factories were two-employee operations in Tondo (3) and Sta. Cruz (2). Juana Gonzales, Sixta Cruz, and a woman named Bonifacia, operated such businesses from their residences in Soliman, Calero, and Ilaya Streets. Dña. Maria Lontoc Bernabe and Rufina Apostol also had similar enterprises in Cervantes and Magdalena Streets in Sta. Cruz.⁸⁷⁷

5. *Selling of Textiles*

Manila's markets and commercial areas sold commodities produced by small industries for local consumption. These included textiles, particularly local cloths such as *piña*, *jusi*, *sinamay*, and *abaca*,⁸⁷⁸ that

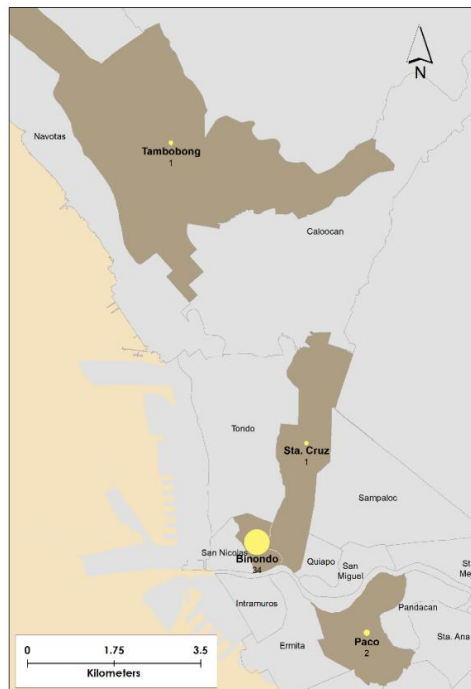
⁸⁷⁵ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15392, 15395, 15397, 15399, 15400, and 15403. Maps made with the assistance of Neil Eleri Tingin.

⁸⁷⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, 1896, SDS-15403, S160.

⁸⁷⁷ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial* 1896, SDS-15397, S52, 60, 62, 82, and 134.

⁸⁷⁸ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 172.

were traded by well-respected *sinamayeras*.⁸⁷⁹ *Piña*, a cloth made of the fibers from the crowns of pineapple plants, was an expensive item that only rich people could afford, and was thus associated with “gentility, wealth, refinement, and urbanity”.⁸⁸⁰ The selling of local, European, and Asian cloths was a sector of the economy where women were traditionally on equal footing with men. Of the 70 textile establishments in Manila Province, 38 (54%) were female operated. Save for one in Tambobong, all were within Manila City. Most of these stalls (34) were in Binondo (See Map 6.6.), particularly in Calle San Fernando – the main site of the *sinamayeras*’ stalls⁸⁸¹ - and Calle Sto. Cristo. The shops in those two thoroughfares were dominated by Dña. Maria Cuejito and Dña. Gregoria Santos. Ms. Santos owned four establishments in San Fernando and two in Sto. Cristo,⁸⁸² while Ms. Cuejito’s stores were all located within San Fernando Street.⁸⁸³



Map 6.6. Location of Female-Operated Textile Shops.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁹ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p.27.

⁸⁸⁰ Mina Roces, “Dress, Status, and Identity in the Philippines: Pineapple Fiber Cloth and *Ilustrado* Fashion,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2013), p. 342.

⁸⁸¹ Deviana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, p. 54

⁸⁸² NAP, *Contribucion Industrial* 1896, SDS-15401, S22, 25-30.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*, S41-47.

⁸⁸⁴ National Archives of the Philippines, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15401 and 15403. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

The Woman's Double Burden

The woman's "double burden" was a major theme in Philippine women's studies in the 1970s and 1980s. While Filipinas during those decades became a significant component of the international labor force, their employment outside of the home did not necessarily excuse them from the traditionally held expectation of managing their households.⁸⁸⁵

The Filipina's double burden of making a living while maintaining her household befell her even during the Spanish period. It was noted in one account that "the direction of the household is always in her hands, and frequently the entire earnings of her husband are turned over to her. Business negotiations are seldom transacted without her concurrence."⁸⁸⁶

Having animal-powered transports-for-hire, cargo vessels, *panguingue* tables, and home-based cigar factories as businesses, allowed women to earn a living while they managed their households. Running a cigar factory or *panguingue* table in the downstairs portion of a woman's residence allowed her to keep an eye on her employees or playing guests while she did her domestic chores. While a woman who owned a *carromata* or *casco* could keep her home in order since she only needed to periodically supervise those who operated her units.

A 1923 issue of a newspaper that explained why a career in pharmacy suited a woman's "ways and manners" also supports the later need for a professional woman to be near or within her household. Lady pharmacists could have their drugstores in their homes. Thus, they could still manage their households while working. A student also admitted that she took up pharmacy so she could still have a career while raising her would-be children.⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸⁵ Amaryllis T. Torres, ed., *The Filipino Woman in Focus*, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁸⁶ Wright. *A Handbook on the Philippines*, p. 95.

⁸⁸⁷ "Where Mere Man Takes A Backseat. Profession of pharmacy is attracting the fair sex in such numbers that men are in danger of being crowded out entirely - curious facts and figures about women pharmacists - why they succeed," *The Philippines Free Press*, 14 July 1923, p. 4.

Other Women-Run Businesses

While owning and operating public transport vehicles, gambling tables, cigar workshops, and textile retail shops were feasible business options for women, they also engaged in other economic activities. This included ownership of roadside eateries called *carinderia*, ambulant vending, supplying light building materials and firewood, tending a general store (*tienda de sari-sari*), as well as managing brick factories.

1. *Carinderia Owner*

The *carinderia* or roadside eatery served the needs of ordinary workers and employees in Manila's busy urban environment. These canteens were composed of either tents or *nipa* roofs and posts and were called the "café of the common people". Such establishments were generally depicted as managed by women (See Illustration 6.4.) from early morning until late at night and mainly served cigar workers and laborers.⁸⁸⁸

Registered *carinderia* were found in Calle Yris, Sampaloc, along the Quinta Market in Sta. Cruz, and in Divisoria, Tondo. The *Contribucion Industrial* files only lists 13 such establishments, although government statistics in 1852 indicate that there were 60 road-side eateries in Binondo alone.⁸⁸⁹ Despite its description as business endeavor associated with women, all, save for one, were owned by men who held shop in Intramuros, Binondo, and Sta. Cruz. The lone woman-operated *carinderia*, owned by Catalina Martin, was in Lecheros Street, Tondo.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸ "La Carinderia", *El Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 4, 4 Octuvre 1875, p. 5.

⁸⁸⁹ Comision Central de Estadistica de Filipinas, *Segunda Cuaderno* (Manila: Imprenta del Boletin Oficial, 1855), p. 27.

⁸⁹⁰ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS 15392B, S374-375.



Illustration 6.4. An 1886 sketch of a woman manning a *carindia* in Quiapo, Manila.⁸⁹¹

2. *Ambulant Vendors*

Camagay emphasized that “selling by women has always been a Filipino tradition.”⁸⁹² It was observed during the American period that “much of the business of the islands is carried on by women”⁸⁹³ who dominated “vending in market stalls”.⁸⁹⁴ Some female vendors, however, were ambulant sellers who actively sought out customers. The fruit vendor and betel nut (*buyo*) seller are mentioned in the literature as prime examples of *vendedoras* (See Illustration 6.5).⁸⁹⁵

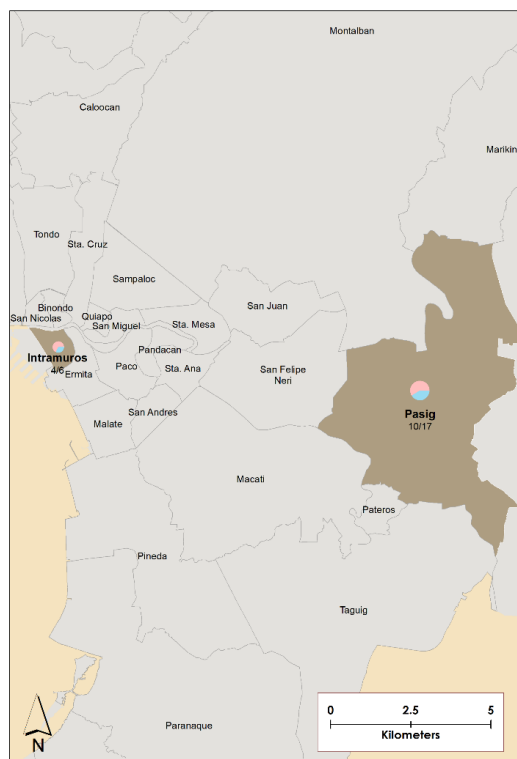
⁸⁹¹ NLP, *Manila Alegre*, 8 Enero 1887, Ano 3, Num 2, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁹² Camagay. *The Working Women of Manila*, p. 23.

⁸⁹³ Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, p. 25.

⁸⁹⁴ LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p.30.

⁸⁹⁵ Camagay. *The Working Women of Manila*, pp. 29 and 34.



Map 6.7. Distribution of Female and Male Ambulant Vendors.⁸⁹⁶

There were only 18 ambulant vendors listed in the *Contribucion Industrial*, most of whom were women. They were based in only two places, Binondo and Pasig (See Map 6.7.), and sold mostly European, Chinese, and local products, including cigars and cigarettes. Catalina and Lorenza Antonio, Mara Paz Santos, and Lucia Sto. Tomas were members of Pasig's *principalia* class who moved around selling local and imported goods from their places of registration in Mercado, San Jose, and Plaza Streets.⁸⁹⁷ Pasig, which had its own *parian* and *pariancillo*,⁸⁹⁸ likewise had women with Chinese *mestizo* surnames, such as Ciriaca and Rosalia Tee and Vicenta Tuazon⁸⁹⁹ who also sold goods in the said town.

⁸⁹⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

⁸⁹⁷ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S139-140, 170, 173.

⁸⁹⁸ Also known as Chinese ghettos, these two places were sites in Pasig based on the *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399.

⁸⁹⁹ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S146, 167, and 169.



Illustration 6.5. An ambulant mango vendor selling her wares.⁹⁰⁰

Manila in the late nineteenth century was also the site where modern conveniences were first introduced in the colony. An example was the consumption of carbonated drinks or *bebidas gaseosas*, which became a popular part of Western culture in the 1800s.⁹⁰¹ Two women – Tomasa Rodrigues of Barcelona Street and Aleja Reyes of Lavezares Street in Binondo⁹⁰² – were the only individuals in the 1890s with licenses to move around selling such refreshments to the public.

3. Rice Dealers

Rice has long been a staple and an integral part of Filipino cuisine and culture. Yet despite its nutritional and cultural importance, many agricultural lands allotted to growing rice were converted to produce cash

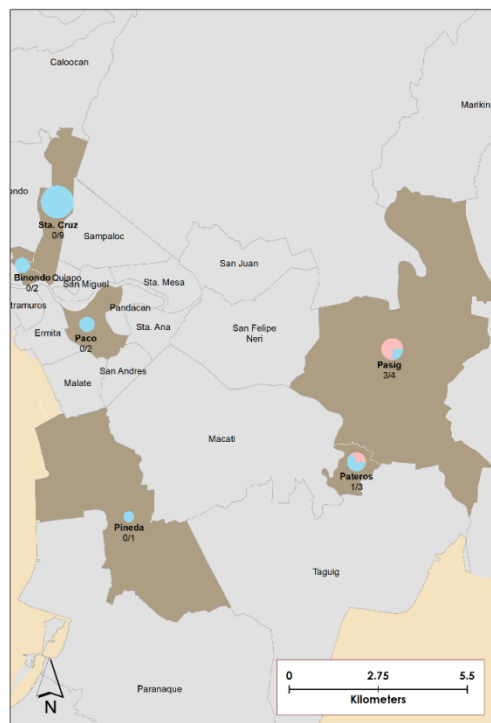
⁹⁰⁰ NPL, “Fruta del Tiempo”, *Manililla*, 2 Abril 1892, Año 6, Num 206, p. 1

⁹⁰¹ “Soft Drinks: History, Origin, and Timeline,” *Retrorambling: A joyride through our slightly ridiculous though memorable past*. <https://retrorambling.wordpress.com/articles/misc-articles/soft-drinks-history-origin-and-timeline/>. Date Accessed: 13 July 2019.

⁹⁰² NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15401, S17 and 62.

crops for export.⁹⁰³ By 1870, the Philippines had become a rice-importing country.⁹⁰⁴ A dietary essential whose demand was partially met by imports, rice was a valuable commodity. In urban areas, the rice dealership was considered among specialty stores one rung below shops that sold luxury items.⁹⁰⁵

There were 21 rice dealerships listed in the *Contribucion Industrial* (See Map 6.8.). Of the 13 shops in Manila's districts, none were female-owned. Only the towns of Pateros and Pasig, southeast of Manila, had rice dealerships that were held by women. Dña. Rosa Castillo⁹⁰⁶ of Pateros had a rice retail store with a storage capacity for fifty *cavans*. Valeriana Gatchalian and Gervacia Martinez⁹⁰⁷ had shops with the same capacity in Calle Mercado, Pasig, while Modesta de la Vega's *tindahan*⁹⁰⁸ was in the town's *parian*.⁹⁰⁹



Map 6.8. Location of Male and Female-Owned Rice Dealerships in Manila Province.⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰³ Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 167.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 139.

⁹⁰⁵ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, p. 107.

⁹⁰⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15402, S135.

⁹⁰⁷ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S198-199.

⁹⁰⁸ Tagalog word for "store."

⁹⁰⁹ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399, S182.

⁹¹⁰ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15399 and 15402. Map with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

4. *Brick, Tile, and Jar Factories*

Bricks, tiles, and clay cooking pots were important items produced by workshops for domestic consumption.⁹¹¹ The seventeen factories that produced these articles were in the clay-rich *pueblos* of San Pedro de Makati and San Felipe Nery (See Map 6.9.). The majority (11) were female-owned, most of whom were members of the local elite. Two women who owned brick and roof tile operations in San Pedro de Makai were Dñas. Julia Condriz and Felipa Tuason, whose facilities were in *Barrios* Guadalupe and Pulang Lupa, respectively.⁹¹² Petrona Santos and Sergia Corrales also had similar factories in Real and Jolo Streets in San Felipe Nery.⁹¹³



Map 6.9. Distribution of Brick and Tile Factories in Towns Adjacent to Manila.⁹¹⁴

⁹¹¹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 172.

⁹¹² NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15402, S255 and 259.

⁹¹³ Ibid., S248 and 266.

⁹¹⁴ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15392B and 15402. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eleri Tingin.

Female Business Specialization in Selected Manila Districts

Urban and land use planners concern themselves with determining the economic drivers of localities within a region. This is to track any shift in a town's economic structure over time and to assess a community's specialized economic activities vis-à-vis nearby areas. Both measures are normally determined using indicators such as the percentage share of employed people or total value of goods produced by a certain activity.⁹¹⁵ Using these concepts in a modified manner, one can also ascertain the impact of a Manila district's female entrepreneurs who specialize in certain economic activities.

Women who had businesses in Binondo, Sta. Cruz, Tondo, Quiapo, Dilao, and Sampaloc were inclined to have specialized concerns. Out of the 195 female enterprises in Binondo, nearly nine out of 10 (89%) were wheeled transports (39%), *panguingue* tables (22%), cloth retail (17%) and small-scale tobacco production (11%) [See Chart 6.1.]. Tondo's 96 women-held businesses were composed of wheeled transports (44%), small cigar operations (28%), and *panguingue* tables (14%) [See Chart 6.2.].

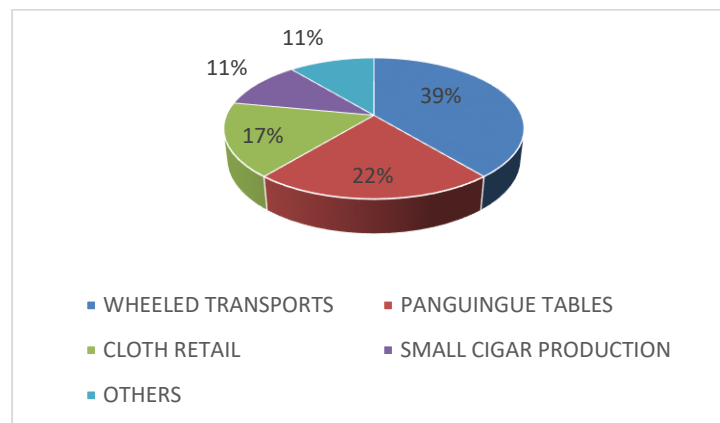


Chart 6.1. Share of Female Businesses in Binondo, by Type.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹⁵ Serote, *Rationalized Planning System*, pp. 48-49.

⁹¹⁶ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390-15392B, 15395-15397, 15399-15403.

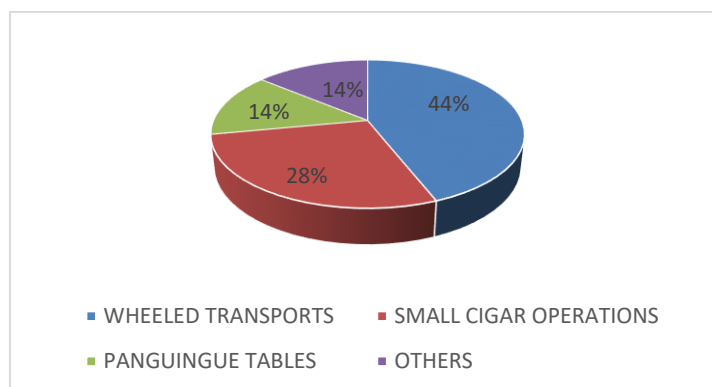


Chart 6.2. Share of Female Businesses in Tondo, by Type.⁹¹⁷

The female businesspersons in the other districts specialized in two activities. More than half (54%) of the 108 businesses owned by Sta. Cruz women were wheeled transports, while 22% were small cigar factories. A woman in Dilao and Sampaloc who had a business likely operated wheeled transports [Dilao (72%); Sampaloc (69%)] or a *panguingue* table at home (both at 18%) [See Charts 6.3 and 6.4.]. Quiapo's women entrepreneurs owned assets that were heavily dependent on transportation as 63% of their businesses were wheeled-transports-for hire and 18% were *cascos* (See Chart 6.5).

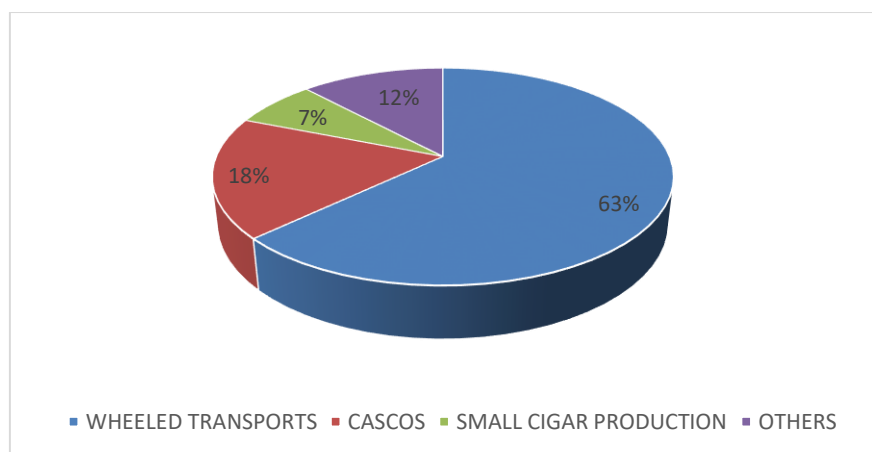


Chart 6.3. Share of Female Businesses in Dilao, by Type.⁹¹⁸

⁹¹⁷ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390-15392B, 15395-15397, 15399-15403.

⁹¹⁸ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390-15392B, 15395-15397, 15399-15403.

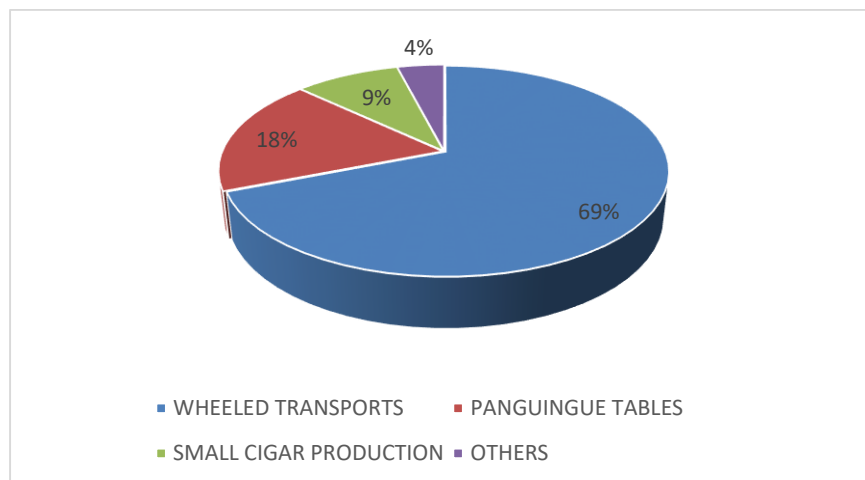


Chart 6.4. Share of Female Businesses in Sampaloc, by Type.⁹¹⁹

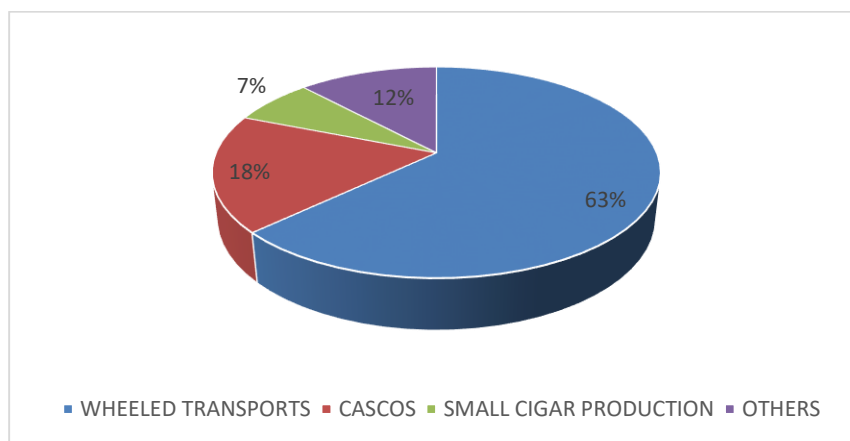


Chart 6.5. Share of Female Businesses in Quiapo, by Type.⁹²⁰

Female Share in Total Businesses per Districts

Commerce-oriented suburbs had a smaller proportion of female-led enterprises. In Binondo and Sta. Cruz, the two communities with the greatest number of businesses, the women's share of commercial activity was only 28% and 24%, respectively. Tondo had the highest female contribution in business permits issued in any district at 41%.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁹ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390-15392B, 15395-15397, 15399-15403.

⁹²⁰ NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*, SDS-15390-15392B, 15395-15397, 15399-15403.

⁹²¹ One factor behind Tondo's having the highest female share in registered businesses is the fact that nearly a third of female businesses are engaged in the manufacture of tobacco products. The district was a major source of cigar and cigarette workers – occupations where women were eight times more likely to be employed than men. Some women who had developed an expertise in the production of tobacco-based commodities may have been among

Women in the less developed areas south of the River Pasig such as Malate (39%), Ermita (38%), and Dilao (35%) had a proportionately higher business presence than their counterparts in more prosperous suburbs. The only settlements that did not coincide with this trend were Quiapo and Intramuros. Unlike other districts in Manila's more prosperous northern part, Quiapo was the only community where almost four out of every 10 businesses (38%) were listed under a woman. In Intramuros (19%), a woman owned nearly one-fifth of commercial establishments, a rate that pales in comparison to nearby Malate, Ermita, and Dilao.

The Physical Composition, Type, and Distribution of Women's Properties in Manila

Historical studies on nineteenth century Manila mainly underscore the economic, social, and demographic development that the city and its environs experienced.⁹²² With the exception of works by Lorelei DC De Viana⁹²³ and Xavier Huetz de Lempis,⁹²⁴ there are few studies that emphasize how Manila's socioeconomic and demographic transformation influenced its built environment. Urban space at that time had become extensive and complex. While such change would be difficult to reconstruct and represent, there is, nonetheless, much archival material,⁹²⁵ such as the *Fincas Urbana*,⁹²⁶ that can be utilized to recreate snapshots of the city's building composition and ownership.

those who decided to set up their own small-scale factories after the abolition of the Tobacco Monopoly in 1882. See John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1859), p. 12; Robert Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State* (Manila: The University of Manila, 1967), p. 168 ; and Daniel F. Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets: The Social Stratification of Tondo and Sampaloc in the 1890s," In *Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, eds. Daniel F Doeppers and Peter Xenos (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), p. 259.

⁹²² For more detailed information regarding Manila's economic, social, and demographic transformation in the 1800s, please refer to the following works: Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*; Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*; Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*; Legarda, *After the Galleons*; Doeppers and Xenos, *Population and History*.

⁹²³ See Lorelei D.C De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*.

⁹²⁴ Huetz de Lempis, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," pp. 160-172.

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

⁹²⁶ The *Fincas Urbana*, or annual real property tax payments contains individual payments made by its owners to the Spanish government. Such documents contain useful information such as the name and gender of the property owner, the street or barrio location of the building, the type of building involved, its material composition, and the amount of tax paid (5% of acknowledge rental rates for such a property).

The threat of fires and earthquakes since Spanish settlement in the late 1500s, and the deforestation of nearby forests, led to Manila's transformation into a city built primarily with stone.⁹²⁷ Yet houses and buildings made of strong materials (*materiales fuertes*), such as walls of masonry, brick, rubblework enclosed by zinc, galvanized iron, and clay tile roofs, had always co-existed with inexpensive yet highly flammable *nipa*,⁹²⁸ bamboo, and cogon⁹²⁹ (*materiales ligeros*).⁹³⁰

By the early nineteenth century, Manila had three distinct built environments – an Intramuros built mainly of stone, the districts of Binondo and Sta. Cruz where strong and weak structures coexisted, and peripheral, lightly populated communities such as Ermita, Malate, and Paco where the *nipa* hut was ubiquitous. Over time, residents of congested Intramuros began leaving for more idyllic conditions, particularly to the sparsely populated settlements along Pasig's left bank⁹³¹ and the more rustic environments of Santa Mesa and Sampaloc.⁹³²

This shift to buildings made of durable materials was not an organic process. State interests and Western notions of architecture and building codes influenced this development. Higher taxes that could be imposed on more permanent structures and the chronic fear of a conflagration compelled the government to push dwellings and businesses made of plant-based material towards the city's margins.⁹³³ Constructions made of masonry were appreciated as a sign of civilization and permanence,⁹³⁴ while *nipa* houses were stigmatized as “dangerous structures” that represented local “passivity” and “savagery.”⁹³⁵

By 1879, owners of stone buildings paid urban real property taxes, the *finca urbana*. Ten years later, this tax was imposed on all urban structures.⁹³⁶ The 3,999 tax records that were examined in circa 1881 reveal

⁹²⁷ Greg Bankoff, “Fire and Quake in the Construction of Old Manila.” *The Medieval History Journal* vol. 10, nos. 1 & 2 (2007), pp. 416 and 418.

⁹²⁸ A variety of palm that exists in marshlands.

⁹²⁹ A type of grass that is commonly used for roofing.

⁹³⁰ Huetz de Lemp, “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes,” p. 161. As opposed to *casas de materiales Fuertes* (houses made of strong materials). Huetz de Lemp stated that cheaply made and combustible houses were called *casa de caña y nipa* (house made of bamboo and nipa thatch.).

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*

⁹³² Huetz de Lemp. “Shifts in the Meaning of Manila,” p. 232.

⁹³³ Xavier Huetz de Lemp, “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes,” pp. 164-165.

⁹³⁴ Bankoff, “Fire and Quake,” p. 419; Huetz de Lemp, “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes,” p. 163.

⁹³⁵ Huetz de Lemp, “Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes,” p. 163.

⁹³⁶ Huetz de Lemp. “Shifts in the Meaning of Manila,” p. 221.

a wide variety of taxed urban properties and their associated characteristics, including the location and composition of such buildings. More importantly, these documents allow us to appreciate the role propertied women played in the development of Manila's built environment.

"Materiales Fuertes" and "Materiales Ligeros"-Dominant Districts

A woman owned twenty-three percent or nearly one out of every four registered properties in Manila. In terms of their composition, 62% of female-owned buildings were constructed of strong materials (See Appendix 14 for the structural and locational information pertaining to properties owned by women in Manila).⁹³⁷ The districts of San Nicolas (91%), Quiapo (80%), Binondo (68%), and San Miguel (63%), which, along with Sta. Cruz⁹³⁸ and Tondo, comprised the core of Manila's population at that time, had a greater proportion of buildings that entailed major investment from their female proprietors.⁹³⁹ In Tondo, where Manila's working class lived in homes made of flimsy material,⁹⁴⁰ 43% of the buildings owned by women were of stone or brick. Even in less densely populated areas like Malate and Santa Ana, a known agricultural village,⁹⁴¹ all six female property holders had homes of stone and brick. This included Malate's Vicenta San Reyes who paid an annual tax of P14.17 for her house that was made of rubblework (*mamposteria*)⁹⁴² and Santa Ana's lone residential property titleholder, Avelina Ayllon, who paid the P37.80 for a house of similar construction.⁹⁴³

Despite their attractiveness as residential sites for the elite, the majority of female-owned homes in Manila's more rural environments were still made of bamboo and *nipa*, structures more ideally adapted for communities with a dispersed settlement pattern.⁹⁴⁴ Six out of every 10 houses and buildings under

⁹³⁷ There were only slight differences between the percentage of buildings with strong materials per district owned by women and the percentage share of permanent structures owned by both male and female titleholders per district.

⁹³⁸ Despite its importance as a commercial area and a major place of residence of the city's Chinese and Chinese mestizo communities, Sta. Cruz does not seem to have enough real property tax payment records. I would consider this situation to be anomalous, and it does not represent the spatial nature of the said district. This same dilemma is also associated with available property records for Intramuros.

⁹³⁹ Thomas Jondrie Vivian and Ruel P. Smith, *Everything About Our Possessions: Being A Handy Book on Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines* (New York: R.F. Fenno and Company, 1899), p. 24.

⁹⁴⁰ Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, pp. 22, 24-25; Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 120.

⁹⁴¹ John Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 21.

⁹⁴² NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9583, S611.

⁹⁴³ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9563, S2046.

⁹⁴⁴ Greg Bankoff, "Fire and Quake in the Construction of Old Manila," p. 417.

the possession of a woman in Ermita (63%) and Dilao (69%) were made of light materials. Such women included Francisca Alvarez of Calle Ulilang Kawayan, Dilao and Jacinta Espiritu of Herran, Ermita whose real property tax payments did not even amount to P2, respectively.⁹⁴⁵ Pandacan, a natural extension of Manila in the latter part of the nineteenth century,⁹⁴⁶ had a similar proportion of female property owners (61%). This included Flora Gil de Jesus of Fraternidad Street,⁹⁴⁷ whose families lived in similar housing conditions. One of two women in Santa Mesa who paid an annual levy on their residences was Angela San Luis. She lived in a house made of stone and bamboo walls and a *nipa* roof.⁹⁴⁸ These districts were situated along Manila's peripheries, areas where fire-prone structures were tolerated.

Shells for Living and Making a Living

Constantinos Doxiadis, a Greek architect and town planner who promoted the field of *Ekistics*, the "Science of Human Settlements", argued that every human settlement had five components. One of these were shells or structures that sheltered human activities, including all kinds of building and houses.⁹⁴⁹ Filipino academic and land use planner Ernesto Serote, also offered a similar view. He classified land into four types of spaces, two of which were "spaces for living" and "spaces for making a living".⁹⁵⁰ The structures owned by Manileñas during the last two decades of the nineteenth century could be categorized as buildings that its owners utilized as residences, godowns, or storage areas for valuable commodities, as well as rental spaces for people in need of affordable housing in the city.

1. *Houses and Cottages*

Manila was a settlement dominated by residential structures. Seven out of every 10 registered buildings in Manila Province were dwellings classified either as a house (*casa*) or cottage (*casita*). Of 2,731 Manila homes listed in the *Fincas Urbana*⁹⁵¹ files in 1881,⁹⁵² 28% (754) were under female ownership. Seventy-two percent or seven of 10 houses and cottages listed as female possessions were in Manila's northern districts: the

⁹⁴⁵ National Archives of the Philippines, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9583, S561 and 648.

⁹⁴⁶ Xavier Huetz de Lemp. "Shifts in the Meaning of Manila," pp. 219-233.

⁹⁴⁷ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9579, S945.

⁹⁴⁸ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9579, S993.

⁹⁴⁹ See Constantinos A. Doxiadis, "Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements," *Science: New Series* vol. 170, no. 3956 (October 23, 1970), pp. 393-404.

⁹⁵⁰ Ernesto M. Serote, *Property, Patrimony, and Territory*, pp. 23-24.

⁹⁵¹ Except for the year 1881, majority of *Fincas Urbanas* documents do not indicate the date of these tax payments.

⁹⁵² The only year reflected in a few real estate tax payments was 1881.

commercial areas of Quiapo (25%) and Binondo (20%), the rustic environs of Sampaloc (16%), and the working-class district of Tondo (11%) [See Chart 6.6.]. Regarding the quality of women's homes in these four communities, residences in the prosperous Binondo (61%) and Quiapo (67%) areas were likely to be made of durable materials compared to those found in Sampaloc (43%) and Tondo (41%).

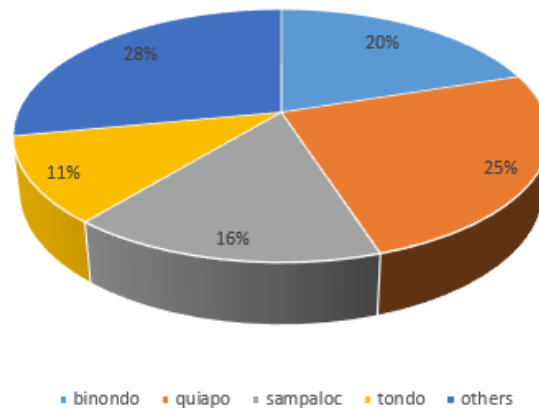


Chart 6.6. Distribution of Female-Owned Houses and Cottages.⁹⁵³

Women-held dwellings were not one and the same. Based on the taxes paid by their owners, there was a wide difference on the valuation of these assets. Aristona Franco of Quiapo had to pay an annual real property tax P122.85 for her stone house along Echague Street.⁹⁵⁴ The property taxes Tiburcia Ortiz settled with the authorities for her home along Calle Rosario in Binondo was slightly less at P94.50.⁹⁵⁵ The tax payments of Ms. Franco and Ortiz are at least 90 times greater than the P1.06 that Pragidas Santos, Andrea Silverio, and Ynes de los Reyes paid for their humble bamboo and *nipa* dwellings along Gagalangin, Lecheros, and Palomar Streets in Tondo.⁹⁵⁶ The value of a house composed of light materials drops so steeply that the highest tax paid for a dwelling made of bamboo and *nipa* – P16.53 – was made by Celestina Pedemonte for her house along Calle Alix, Sampaloc.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵³ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9561, 9563-9565, 9579, 9583-9584.

⁹⁵⁴ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9563, S2140.

⁹⁵⁵ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9565, S506.

⁹⁵⁶ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9564, S312, 351, and 366.

⁹⁵⁷ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9583, S245.

2. Storage Facilities

The *camarin* was the Filipino equivalent of a granary or warehouse.⁹⁵⁸ Such buildings accounted for 14% (566) of 3999 registered constructions in Manila Province, of which 20% (112) were owned by women. Almost seven out of 10 (67%) female-owned *camarin* were scattered in Binondo (34), Tondo (13), Quiapo (13), San Nicolas (8), and Sampaloc (7). The only other settlement that had a significant number of warehouses was the town of Pasig (8), where a significant population of enterprising Chinese *mestizos* resided.⁹⁵⁹

The quality of materials used in building the majority of these *camarin* reflect the value of the products they stored. Well-to-do districts such as Binondo (58%), San Nicolas (100%), and Quiapo (38%), and even working-class Tondo (54%) had more structures classified as *fuertes* or strong. Among the eight women-held warehouses in Quiapo were those of Maria Torres, Juliana Reyes, and Juliana Trinidad whose *camarines* were in Gunao, Marquez, and Mendoza Streets, respectively.⁹⁶⁰

Rural Sampaloc (43%) and the *pueblo* of Pasig (37%) had more *camarin* built of weaker materials. Benita de Jesus and Ysidra Aragon were Sampaloc residents who owned warehouses made of predominantly flammable materials. While Benita's warehouse along Calle Balic-Balic was made of bamboo with *nipa* roofing,⁹⁶¹ Ms. Aragon's *camarin* in Santa Clara Street, while partially made of stone, was also constructed with fire-prone *nipa* and bamboo.⁹⁶² Pasigueña Simplicia Miguel likewise had a *camarin* in Calle Capasigan made of lumber, bamboo, and galvanized iron roofing.⁹⁶³

Among the districts, Binondo had three women who owned more than two *camarin*. Emilia Yparraguirre and Ma. Concepcion Leyva each owned three storage facilities,⁹⁶⁴ while Ygnacia Eusebio had four under

⁹⁵⁸ Daniel F. Doeppers. *Feeding Manila in War and Peace, 1850-1945* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), p. 422; "Medya Agwa," Tagalog Lang Website, <https://www.tagaloglang.com/kamalig/>, Date Accessed: 15 July 2019.

⁹⁵⁹ Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 28 and 34.

⁹⁶⁰ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9563, S2329, 2381, 2401.

⁹⁶¹ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9583, S201.

⁹⁶² NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9579, S858.

⁹⁶³ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9579, S391.

⁹⁶⁴ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*. SDS-9565, S314-315, 319, 369-370, 370.

her name.⁹⁶⁵ Maria de los Santos of Pasig had the *camarin* with the lowest tax valuation at P1.19,⁹⁶⁶ while Emilia Yparraguirre and fellow Binondo resident Vicenta Reyes paid property dues of P20.32 and P108.67, respectively.⁹⁶⁷

3. *Blighted Rental Housing*

In his work on the structural composition of houses and buildings in nineteenth century Manila, Xuetz de Lempis noted that Manila's center was filled with dwellings that he classified as slums. These sites contained flimsily made structures that were an assortment of wood, stone, iron sheets, and other readily available material. These slums included places with the term *interior*,⁹⁶⁸ as well as *posesiones* and *accesorias*, rental housing facilities for the poor who put up with congested and unhygienic living conditions just to reside within the city proper, often near their place of work.⁹⁶⁹

Decrepit housing facilities are recognized representations of slum-like conditions. However, in the Philippine context, slums include vacant land whose inhabitants have built houses without the legitimate landowner's consent.⁹⁷⁰ In the *Fincas Urbanas* files, both *posesiones* and *accesorias* were properties whose owners paid taxes to the State. To avoid confusion, and given their dilapidated, unsafe, and unhealthy conditions, it would be better to collectively label such cramped buildings as "blighted properties".⁹⁷¹

There were 140 *posesiones* and *accesorias* in Intramuros, as well as seven of Manila's districts. Women owned 34 of these blighted properties. Seventy-nine percent (27) of these rental housing that had a female landlord were in Manila's most prosperous area, Binondo. The other female-held places that offered such housing for underprivileged renters were located in Tondo (6) and Sampaloc (1).

⁹⁶⁵ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9565, S206-207, 209-210.

⁹⁶⁶ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9564, S2937.

⁹⁶⁷ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9565, S319 and 619.

⁹⁶⁸ Inner portions of a community in the Tagalog.

⁹⁶⁹ Xuetz de Lempis. "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," p. 165.

⁹⁷⁰ Marco Stefan B. Lagman, "Informal Settlements as Spatial Outcomes of Everyday Forms of Resistance: The Case of Three Depressed Communities in Quezon City," *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. 64, No. 12 (January-June 2012), p. 13.

⁹⁷¹ "Blighted Areas." OregonLaws.org Legal Glossary. http://www.oregonlaws.org/glossary/definition/blighted_areas. Date Accessed: 17 July 2019.

Binondo's blighted rental areas were dominated by two women – Teodora Revilla and Juliana Mauricio. Revilla paid property taxes for 5 *accesorias* with 16 doors along San Jose Street in Binondo.⁹⁷² Ms. Mauricio, on the other hand, owned 14 *posesiones* in Dasmariñas and San Fernando Streets.⁹⁷³ All of these buildings were made of rubble work and other durable materials.

Another type of housing that potentially served the property-less underprivileged were structures called *media aguas*. In Philippine carpentry and construction, *media aguas* are extensions from a roof that shade a window from sun and rain.⁹⁷⁴ In several *Fincas Urbana* records, however, this type of construction had two or more doors. This meant the *media agua*, like the *posesion* and *accesoria*, was divided into several walled spaces or cubicles that were rented out.

There were 21 of these structures in the contiguous districts of Binondo, Tondo, Quiapo, San Nicolas, and San Miguel. Women owned five of these, four in San Nicolas and one in Tondo. Juana Ocampo of San Nicolas had two *media aguas*. The one along Calle Madrid *Interior* had one door, while the other, along 49 San Nicolas Street, had three.⁹⁷⁵ The other woman-owned *media aguas* in San Nicolas were under the names of Clara Lichauco and Marcela Deogracias, while the only *media agua* in Tondo that was registered by a female was the property of Ysabel Saide.⁹⁷⁶

The Privileged Manileña as an Active Agent in the City's Economic Life

Given the proper conditions, women have proven capable of accumulating wealth and pursuing commercial endeavors.⁹⁷⁷ Aside from travelers' depictions, archival records reflect the economic autonomy and influence women from Manila's privileged class enjoyed in the nineteenth century. In the absence of a formal banking sector, they either played the role of a moneylender who gave out loans in exchange for high interest rates and mortgaged properties, or a property owner in need of money. It was common for them to sell inherited assets that they were not competent to manage, but they also purchased

⁹⁷² NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9561, S3198-3202.

⁹⁷³ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9565, S419-427, 431-436.

⁹⁷⁴ "Medya-Agwa", Tagalog Lang Website, <https://www.tagaloglang.com/medya-agwa/>, November 23, 2016. Date Accessed: 15 July 2019.

⁹⁷⁵ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9565, S494 and 496.

⁹⁷⁶ NAP, *Fincas Urbana*, SDS-9563, S2008; SDS-9565, S177 and 396.

⁹⁷⁷ Fay, "Women, Property, and Power," p. 125. Mary Ann Fay, "From Concubines to Capitalists: Women, Property, and Power in Eighteenth Century Cairo," *Journal of Women's History* vol. 10, Issue 3 (Fall 1998), p. 118.

businesses they were interested in running. They also addressed the need of people and firms for residential and commercial space as rent-seeking urban landlords in Manila's rental property market.

Visibly embedded in the city's commercial spaces was the importance of women in Manila's economy. Manilaña's owned nearly three out of 10 registered businesses, and their presence was most felt in the areas of transportation, recreational gambling, textile retail, small-scale cigar manufacturing, and brickmaking. However, an enterprising woman's choice of business was also limited by her traditional role as manager of the household.

Finally, it was also not uncommon for a Manilaña to be a tax-paying property owner. Most of her built real properties were of strong materials. While the privileged woman was commonly a residential owner, some possessed spaces for making a living, such as storage facilities and blighted rental housing for poor and cash-strapped inhabitants of the city.

Chapter 7. Livelihoods of Women of Humbler Means

The nineteenth century was a time of widespread economic and demographic change in the Philippines. The colony's steady integration within the international trade system began with Governor General Jose Basco y Vargas' reforms in the 1780s. In the succeeding decades, the Philippines' subsistence economy steadily shifted into one that produced cash crops for export.⁹⁷⁸ This major environmental shift and development resulted in economic expansion and diversification,⁹⁷⁹ which included manufacturing and trading hubs,⁹⁸⁰ agricultural towns,⁹⁸¹ and estates⁹⁸² that emerged in Manila and its surrounding settlements.⁹⁸³

This transition to a cash crop export economy, however, also had negative outcomes. Land prices escalated in settlements on Manila's peripheries, in places such as Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija,⁹⁸⁴ and as far away as Pangasinan and Ilocos Sur in Northern Luzon.⁹⁸⁵ The demand for land, high rice prices, and usurious interest rates⁹⁸⁶ led to the consolidation of landholdings,⁹⁸⁷ which caused landlessness and hardship for the majority.⁹⁸⁸ People's vulnerability increased as many now depended on imports for their

⁹⁷⁸ Conrado Benitez, *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), p. 189; Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 93.

⁹⁷⁹ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, p. 125.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid.; National Archives of the Philippines, *Tranvia de Manila*, SDS-5281, S-23B. In this document, D. Jacobo Zobel de Ayala justified the construction of the electric street car line from Malabon to Tondo by pointing out that the said town and Navotas was home to many industries and served as storage areas for agricultural products from Central Luzon that were bound for Manila and the international market.

⁹⁸¹ Isagani M. Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution, 1571-1896* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2002), p. 46

⁹⁸² Lynch, "Land Rights, Land Laws, and Land Usurpation." P. 90.

⁹⁸³ The *Memorias de Manila*, which is available in CD-ROM format at the National Archives of the Philippines Reading Room, serves as a *de facto* socio-economic profile of the province as well as Manila's districts. It provides a summary of the agricultural and manufacturing economic activities, resources, prices of basic commodities, and even labor rates of each district and town in the said province.

⁹⁸⁴ Foreman, *The Philippines*, p. 270.

⁹⁸⁵ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 444

⁹⁸⁶ John P. McAndrew, *Urban Usurpation: From Friar Estates to Industrial Estates in a Philippine Hinterland* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), p. 26

⁹⁸⁷ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 48; Jaime B. Veneracion, *Kasaysayan ng Bulakan* (Kolonya, Alemanya: Bahay-Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan, 1986), p. 123.

⁹⁸⁸ McAndrew, *Urban Usurpation*, p. 26.

food and other necessities.⁹⁸⁹ These importations of basic necessities like clothing and food also led to the demise of local industries, particularly women's home-based weaving.⁹⁹⁰

The living conditions of people, which were already reeling from the effects of an increasingly monetized and export crop-dependent economy, worsened with rapid population expansion. From 1800 to 1850, the population grew 2.5 times and quadrupling by the end of the nineteenth century. More individuals competing for finite land resources further exacerbated people's hardship. Inhabitants of population-dense settlements, such as in Northern and Central Luzon and Central Visayas were forced to adapt.⁹⁹¹

These social and cultural adaptations came in several forms. Many individuals became landless sharecroppers,⁹⁹² while some disgruntled peasants turned to banditry.⁹⁹³ Left with limited options and suffering from economic hardship, individuals in provinces around Manila,⁹⁹⁴ as well as those from distant places as far as the Ilocos Region of Northern Luzon and island of Panay in the Central Visayas,⁹⁹⁵ made the fateful decision to find work elsewhere. Many left for Manila, the colony's commercial center⁹⁹⁶ and primate city,⁹⁹⁷ a migration pattern that was also discernible among those who migrated to other colonial cities.⁹⁹⁸

Since the arrival of the Spaniards in 1571, Manila had served as the center of the Philippines' government, religion, culture, and commerce. Settlement development in the colonial Philippines was top-heavy, with no real urban area developing outside of Manila until the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁹⁹⁹ Foreign

⁹⁸⁹ Legarda, *After the Galleons*, p. 94.

⁹⁹⁰ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 46; Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 157.

⁹⁹¹ Doeppers and Xenos, eds. "A Demographic Frame for Philippine History," pp. 4-5.

⁹⁹² Lynch, "Land Rights, Land Laws, and Land Usurpation," p. 98.

⁹⁹³ Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution*, p. 61.

⁹⁹⁴ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 48.

⁹⁹⁵ Doeppers and Xenos, eds. "A Demographic Frame for Philippine History," pp. 2-8.

⁹⁹⁶ March, *The History and Conquest of the Philippines*, p. 37.

⁹⁹⁷ Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 257.

⁹⁹⁸ Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes*, p. 166; Jones, *Outcast London*, pp. 146 and 281; Juan Javier Pescador, "Vanishing Woman: Female Migration and Ethnic Identity in Late-Colonial Mexico City," *Ethnohistory*, vol. 42, no. 4 (Autumn, 1995), p. 617.

⁹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

trade furthered Manila's dominance. By the middle 1800s, the city and its surrounding towns were primary sites of commerce¹⁰⁰⁰ where waged work was readily available.¹⁰⁰¹

Manila's rapid population growth reflected its status as a major site of economic opportunity where people and goods readily circulated.¹⁰⁰² From 83,000 inhabitants in 1817, its population grew to 275,000 by 1892, with much of this growth occurring in the 1870s.¹⁰⁰³ This tripling of Manila's residents in less than eight decades resulted partly from the arrival of work-seeking migrants, who accounted for over 25% of its population.¹⁰⁰⁴

Western travel accounts mention the different livelihoods in Manila and its melting pot of people. In the early 1840s, Charles Wilkes recounted the variety of employed individuals in Manila's commercial districts, from tradesmen such as cabinet-makers, blacksmiths, and cooks, to lesser skilled waiters, messengers, and ambulant vendors.¹⁰⁰⁵ While Chinese migrants controlled many trades, *mestizos* and Filipinos competed for other occupations, with the latter specializing in fishing, river transport, bookbinding, and saddle making.¹⁰⁰⁶ Poorer natives, whose men and women preferred work as transporters, servants, laundresses and needle workers, dominated the lower strata of Manila's population. Le Roy described Manila as primarily a Tagalog city that was also home to Kapampangans, Bicolanos, Ilocanos, and a few Visayans.¹⁰⁰⁷

Manila's public and private spaces reflected the participation of women in its labor force. In public markets,¹⁰⁰⁸ cigar factories,¹⁰⁰⁹ and even on its streets,¹⁰¹⁰ women were busy making a living. Sampaloc's waterways were the bailiwick of the city's washerwomen, while Ermita was renowned for its

¹⁰⁰⁰ Corpuz, *An Economic History of the Philippines*, pp. 73 and 125.

¹⁰⁰¹ National Archives of the Philippines, *Memorias de Manila 1892*, CD-ROM Format. This document served as a socioeconomic profile of different provinces in the Philippines during the Spanish period. One of the information provided for every Manila district and towns in Manila province included the market rates for agricultural and forest commodities as well as waged labor.

¹⁰⁰² Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, p. 262-263.

¹⁰⁰³ Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes", p. 160.

¹⁰⁰⁴ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wilkes, "Manila in 1842," pp. 461.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁰⁷ LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 53; Le Roy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰⁰⁸ LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 30; Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 27; Wilkes, "Manila in 1842," p. 481.

¹⁰¹⁰ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 19.

embroiderers.¹⁰¹¹ Binondo's San Fernando Street was the place of *sinamayeras*, women who sold native cloths in their stalls,¹⁰¹² while the district's cigar factories were constantly busy with female workers.¹⁰¹³ The majority of the city's vendors were women,¹⁰¹⁴ and buyers and sellers in the markets were frequently female.¹⁰¹⁵ Similar to those women in both European and colonial cities¹⁰¹⁶ who failed to get work in the factories, markets, and homes of the well-to-do, some turned to selling their bodies in Manila's streets and brothels.¹⁰¹⁷

Beyond travel narratives, the influence and impacts of working women on Spanish Manila's social and economic life were also embedded in other sources. For example, the colonial civil registers (*Padron General de Vecindario*) offer individual and collective details on women who lived and worked in Manila's districts from the 1880s to the 1890s.¹⁰¹⁸ Just as important, members of the city's emerging print media published stories on the activities and relations of women from specific occupations during the same period.

This chapter combines quantitative data from colonial civil registers and qualitative information from articles and poems published in Manila's weekly women's and satirical newspapers, in order to create a more nuanced picture of the characteristics, lives, and spaces of the city's working-class women. Moreover, this section also employs additional information from police and criminal case files to shed light on the working spaces of women mired in prostitution.

¹⁰¹¹ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 15.

¹⁰¹² De Viana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, p.54.

¹⁰¹³ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p 12.

¹⁰¹⁴ Le Roy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 27.

¹⁰¹⁵ Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, p. 25.

¹⁰¹⁶ Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes*, p. 276; Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 40.

¹⁰¹⁷ MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla*, pp. 44; Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, pp. 40-41. The existence of prostitution in Manila is corroborated by Luis Dery's article, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," *Philippine Studies* vol. 39, no. 4 (1991), p. 476.

¹⁰¹⁸ For this chapter, all district-level utilized vecindarios data was from 1887, save for Ermita (1884) and Dilao (1886).

Domestics, Laundresses, Milkmaids, and Seamstresses: Female Maintainers of People's Homes

Historical demographer Daniel Doeppers observed that while jobs were available for women in late nineteenth century Manila, their options were limited. Native Manileñas commonly worked as laundrywomen, cooks, and domestic servants, while female migrants were involved in tending small shops and stalls, low-skilled needlework, or casual day work.¹⁰¹⁹ Whether based within or outside the home, particular occupations such as making, repairing, and washing clothes, delivering milk, and domestic work had households as their main market.

The Servant as "Threat from Within"

It was allegedly common for the upper classes in colonial Manila to distrust their servants. Some Spaniards were so obsessed that domestics would steal their possessions that it affected the conduct of daily affairs.¹⁰²⁰ An 1891 article in the women's weekly magazine *Un Bello Sexo* entitled "Moral Vigilance" revealed how wary employers were of their domestics. The essay enumerated the ways a servant could steal resources from a household or spend energy during her free time to work for others. Maids were said to connive with food suppliers and sellers to overprice household purchases, consume part of expensive delicacies reserved for their masters, and steal household supplies such as soap, old clothes and even food for the use of the maid's family. Moreover, there were servants who took on extra work from other households. While they did such work during their free time at night, such 'moonlighting' compromised the domestic's health and productivity.¹⁰²¹

Servants may not steal from their masters, but they could still take full advantage of their privileged access to their employers' personal spaces. A depiction by D. Juan Atayde of Dulumbayan, Sta. Cruz called "Abuzo de Confianza" or "Abuse of Confidence" illustrates this concern.

¹⁰¹⁹ Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," pp. 255.

¹⁰²⁰ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 91 and 93.

¹⁰²¹ Maria del Pilar Sinues. "Moral Vigilancia," *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Num. 31-35 and 35, 21 Setiembre 1891, pp. 548-550.



Illustration 7.1. D. Juan Atayde's "Abuzo de Confianza."¹⁰²²

In the said image (See Illustration 7.1.), a male servant fashions his hair using his master's brush and dresser. It was mentioned in jest that, surprisingly, the house boy did not use ointment on his hair as he would have wanted to impress the younger girls in the neighborhood with his new hairdo.¹⁰²³

Majority of native Filipino residents of Intramuros were servants¹⁰²⁴ and were commonly mentioned in police reports and other archival sources.¹⁰²⁵ However, very few women were listed as *criadas*¹⁰²⁶ in the colonial government's civil registers, a reality that mirrors Scholten's contention that for native women in early twentieth century Dutch East Indies domestic work was the least desired employment option.¹⁰²⁷ In the mid-1880s, there were 62 women listed as servants. The districts with the most registered female

¹⁰²² Philippine National Library, *La Ilustracion Filipina*. Año 2, Numero 40, 28 Agosto 1892, p. 317.

¹⁰²³ "Abuzo de Confianza," *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 40, 28 Agosto 1892, p. 319.

¹⁰²⁴ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 92.

¹⁰²⁵ Such documents would include the *Servidumbres Domestica*, *Prostitucion* and *Asuntos Criminales* records at the National Archives of the Philippines.

¹⁰²⁶ Female servant or domestic.

¹⁰²⁷ Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), p. 91.

domestics were Sampaloc (22), Ermita (10), Dilao (9), and Tondo (8) [See Map 7.1.]. There were also seven *criadas* in Binondo, four in Pandacan, and one each in Malate and Intramuros. Sampaloc¹⁰²⁸ and Ermita were preferred destinations of the elite when they began transferring their residence to escape the stifling conditions in Intramuros in the late 1800s.¹⁰²⁹

The average age of these female house helpers was 34 years old. More than half (32) were between the ages of 17 and 30, but some worked well into their senior years. The youngest individuals included seventeen-year-old Rufina Dalos,¹⁰³⁰ followed by Gabriela Cierra, 18,¹⁰³¹ Andrea Buenaventura, 19,¹⁰³² and twenty-year-old Ceverina Navarro.¹⁰³³ The most senior *criadas* were well into their 60s – Teodora Alejandro was 65 years old, while Maria Rosario still worked for a household at the age of 67.¹⁰³⁴

As Doeppers has argued, the majority of servants were locals (37 of 62).¹⁰³⁵ Of the 25 migrants, Maria Lopez of Pateros,¹⁰³⁶ Severina del Rosario of Makati,¹⁰³⁷ and Gregoria Andres of Pasig¹⁰³⁸ were all from towns of *Provincia de Manila* that became part of Rizal Province during the American Occupation. Fifteen women, or two-thirds of all migrants, were natives of the towns of Bulacan, one was from Pampanga, while seven others were from Ilocos Sur in Northern Luzon and Samar in the Eastern Visayas. The composition of these servants' places of origin corroborates Doeppers' assertion that 70% of the women who migrated to Manila in the late nineteenth century were originally from the Tagalog-speaking provinces of Bulacan and Rizal.¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰²⁸ Reed, *Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines*, p. 168.

¹⁰²⁹ Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," p. 166.

¹⁰³⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Vecindario de Pandacan 1878*, S74.

¹⁰³¹ NAP, *Vecindario de Ermita 1884*, S3.

¹⁰³² NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao 1886*, S6.

¹⁰³³ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1884-1885*, no page number.

¹⁰³⁴ NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao 1886*, S59.

¹⁰³⁵ Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," p. 256.

¹⁰³⁶ NAP, *Vecindario de Ermita 1884*, S3.

¹⁰³⁷ NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao 1892*, no page.

¹⁰³⁸ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1887*, S19.

¹⁰³⁹ Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," pp. 153.



Map 7.1. Distribution of Servants by District.¹⁰⁴⁰

Aside from the *criada*, who likely functioned as a “maid-of-all-work”¹⁰⁴¹ in her employer’s residence, others served as cooks (*cocinera*) or nannies (*yaya*). Such occupations underscored the specialized nature of housework.¹⁰⁴² There were 30 *cocineras* listed in the *Vecindarios*, with almost half (14) finding employment in Sampaloc (8) and Tondo (6). The average female cook, at 40 years of age, was slightly older than her *criada* counterpart, and a third of them (11) were between 41 to 50 years old. Most were Manila locals, while the majority of migrants hailed from the towns of Bulacan Province. They included 61-year-old Francisca Torres who hailed from a town also named Bulacan¹⁰⁴³ and a Sampaloc-based *cocinera*, known only as Petrona, who was a native of Guiguinto.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Vecindario de Ermita 1884, Dilao 1886, Sampaloc 1887, Tondo 1889*. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

¹⁰⁴¹ Branca, “Image and Reality,” p.186.

¹⁰⁴² Gaw, *Superior Servants*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴³ NAP, *Vecindario de Quiapo 1887*, S3.

¹⁰⁴⁴ NAP, *Vecindario deSampaloc 1887*, S104.

There were only four females who were officially employed as nannies. Engracia Vidal and Nicolasa Aring,¹⁰⁴⁵ who registered in Ermita in 1884, Binondo-based Andrea de la Cruz who was listed in 1887,¹⁰⁴⁶ and Maria Ponce who was part of Tondo's register in 1889.¹⁰⁴⁷ Both 18-year-old Nicolasa and Maria, 31, were unmarried, while 33-year-old Engracia and Andrea, the most senior of the four at age 55, were widows. Ms. Aring, a native of Daraga, Albay, was the only non-Manileña.

The Lavandera as "Work Machine"

Not all individuals who provided domestic services stayed and worked in other people's homes. One such worker was the washerwoman. At an agreed price, a *lavandera* would take a client's clothes, wash it in her humble shack,¹⁰⁴⁸ on a ditch along Manila's streets,¹⁰⁴⁹ or along streams and waterways in peripheral areas.¹⁰⁵⁰ She would then deliver these clothes back starched and ironed.¹⁰⁵¹ As early as the 1830s, laundry services was considered an affordable expense during a European's stay in Manila.¹⁰⁵² The harsh reality that washing clothes was a difficult low-paying job was noted by an American in the early 1900s who commented that "laundry work is extremely reasonable in price all throughout the islands, and is usually done remarkably well, considering the difficulties under which the *lavandera*...labors."¹⁰⁵³

Manila-based periodicals during the last decades of the Spanish period regarded the washer woman as a ubiquitous member of urban colonial society. Two articles described in detail her places of origin, characteristics, personal affairs, and the difficult life she led. While the district of Sampaloc along the outskirts of the city was said to have the most *lavanderas*,¹⁰⁵⁴ providers of washing and ironing services to Manila's privileged class were usually natives or Chinese mestizas from the towns of San Pedro de Makati, San Felipe Nery (present-day Mandaluyong), and San Juan del Monte, all of which were connected to

¹⁰⁴⁵ NAP, *Vecindario de Ermita* 1884, S2 and S3.

¹⁰⁴⁶ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo* 1887, no page.

¹⁰⁴⁷ NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo* 1889, no page.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Mack P. Cretcher, *A Tenderfoot in the Tropics* (Topeka: Printed by Crane and Company, 1918), p. 121; Sarah I. Keenan, *Our Brown Brother* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924), p. 15.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Freer, *The Experiences of an American Teacher*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵¹ Freer, *The Experiences of an American Teacher*, p. 57; Dauncey, *An Englishwoman in the Philippines*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁵² Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁵³ Robert W. Hart, *The Philippines Today* (New York: Dodd; Mead, 1928), p. 45.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 15.

Manila by waterways. This meant that a clothes washer's place of residence was usually near a river or estuary (See Illustration 7.2).¹⁰⁵⁵



Illustration 7.2: "Lavanderas"¹⁰⁵⁶

The *lavanderas* from these towns were said to have led a hard life. An occasional nice meal, a chew of betel nut, and a cigar from Nueva Ecija were considered luxuries. She had no time for gossip as she was primarily more concerned with how to make a living and save money. Her earnings were rarely spent on clothes or other luxuries. She instead used these for rice or to pay her workers, in case her Spanish clientele had expanded. She also used her extra funds to purchase *ylang-ylang* flowers to sell in Manila.

The Sampaloc-based *lavandera* was similar to her counterparts in the Manila towns, except she was better dressed and worked mainly for herself. This often implied that she was a migrant, a status supported by the observation that her preferred language was Tagalog. Similar to those found in Makati, San Felipe

¹⁰⁵⁵ "Lavandera." *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, 13 Enero 1878, Año 2, Numero 2, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵⁶ NAP, *La Opinion*, 13 Agosto 1888, Año 2, Numero 217, p. 8.

Nery, and San Juan, a Sampaloc-based *lavandera's* existence was difficult. She worked until old age without much savings, usually lived in a “poor and ugly *nipa* house”, and was lucky if she married. To emphasize the *lavandera's* hardship, the essay ends with this statement: “Such is the life of this class, numerous but poor, which seems to be composed more of work machines, than of human beings prone to enjoy their activity and life.”¹⁰⁵⁷

The other essay focused on the personal life and circumstances of a young clothes washer who worked and resided along the Pasig River. The said laundress lived with her old and frail grandmother in a humble hut. This woman, named Ninay, had dutifully supported her elder for years without any outside help. Fortunately, eventual support was on the way. A boatman had fallen in love with her, and they were soon planning a less precarious life together.¹⁰⁵⁸

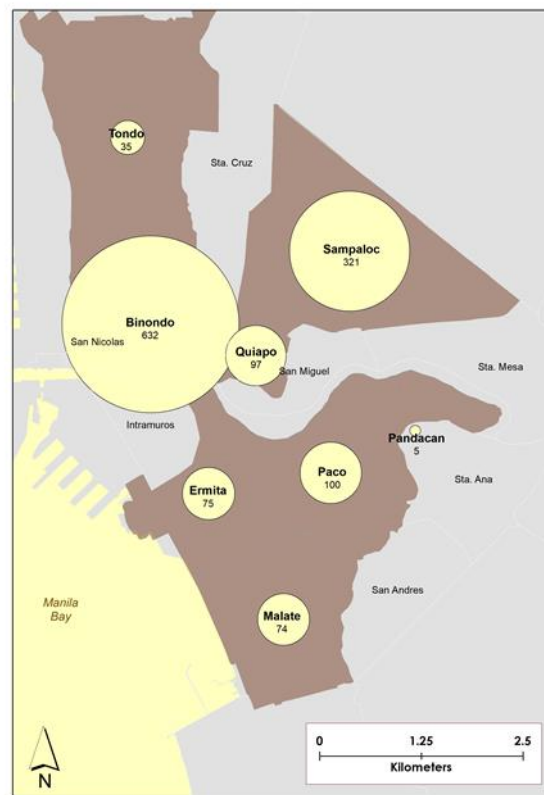
The colonial government's civil registers have the names of 2, 280 washerwomen over various years. In the mid-1880s, there were *lavanderas* in Binondo (632), Sampaloc (321), Dilao (100), Quiapo (97), Ermita (75), Malate (74), Tondo (35), and Pandacan (5) [See Map 7.2. and Appendices 7, 10, and 13]. The typical *lavandera* was in her middle to late thirties. A woman who did such work in Binondo and Sampaloc was around 34 to 35-years-old, while the average age of a laundress in Dilao and Ermita was 37 and 38 years-old, respectively. Some washerwomen such as Maria Castillo (17), Juana Ramos (18), Angela Marquez (19)¹⁰⁵⁹ were still in their teens, while there those such as Bacilia Pedeliso who still worked at the ripe old age of 67.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁸ “Palengocha,” *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 27, 7 Avril 1892, p. 142.

¹⁰⁵⁹ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo* 1887, no pages.

¹⁰⁶⁰ NAP, *Vecindario de Ermita* 1884, S4.



Map 7.2. Distribution of *Lavanderas* by District.¹⁰⁶¹

The place of origin of migrant laundresses reflected the tendency for women who moved to Manila to come from nearby towns. There were those, however, who travelled all the way from Northern and Southern Luzon, the Central and Eastern Visayas, and portions of Spanish-occupied Mindanao such as Surigao Province. In Sampaloc, such long-range migrants¹⁰⁶² included 33-year-old Andrea Mamcat and 27-year-old Francisca Ponzalan who were from the provinces of Catanduanes and Samar,¹⁰⁶³ areas in the Philippines regularly struck by typhoons.

Despite not having the most laundresses, Sampaloc-based washerwomen had unique characteristics. It was the only district where 26 of those involved in such work were members of the local elite, and thus,

¹⁰⁶¹ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo 1887, Dilao 1886, Ermita 1884, Malate 1887, Pandacan 1887, Quiapo 1887, and Sampaloc 1887*. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

¹⁰⁶² For the purpose of this study, a “long-range migrant” would be someone who is a native of provinces beyond the Central and Southern Luzon.

¹⁰⁶³ NAP. *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1887*, S12 and 17.

carried the title of *Doña*. The youngest was Maria Concepcion Hermogenes, who was 22 years old, while the most senior was 62-year-old Barbara Pablo.¹⁰⁶⁴

Washing clothes naturally provided the basis for another occupation – clothes ironing. From 1884-1887, there were 14 ironers or *planchadoras* in Sampaloc. One of them, 20-year-old Rafaela Estanislao, was a member of the local elite and married to fellow ironer D. Dionicio Gregorio.¹⁰⁶⁵ The youngest was 15-year-old Maria Bautista, while the oldest, Clemencia Gonzaga, was 59.¹⁰⁶⁶ All the *planchadoras* were born in Sampaloc, except for Maria Bautista who hailed from nearby Quiapo.

The Lechera as Provider of Sustenance for Homes

Homes are nurturing places, “fields of care”¹⁰⁶⁷ for people both young and old. Nurturing and caring in households entailed feeding its occupants, and such staple food would include milk. During the initial decades of American rule in the early twentieth century, Filipinos, particularly those in Manila, were enticed to purchase imported brands of sterilized evaporated milk.¹⁰⁶⁸

During Spanish rule, however, homeowners procured milk from a milkman or milkmaid (*lechera*) [See Illustration 7.3.]. While milk vending was not a gendered occupation,¹⁰⁶⁹ the *lechera* was the one who often caught the attention of the local press. Since milk production required the management of dairy animals in places where fodder was available, most milkmaids were from Manila’s fringes. This included the *Barrio* of San Lazaro in Sta. Ana, the neighborhoods of Cabulusan, Licod,¹⁰⁷⁰ and Gagalangin in Tondo, and La Loma¹⁰⁷¹ in Sampaloc, where people could have fenced grazing areas. Commonly for a young native or Chinese *mestiza*, a *lechera*’s work began at three in the morning, when she loaded milk produced by family

¹⁰⁶⁴ NAP. *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1887, S1 and 80.

¹⁰⁶⁵ NAP. *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1887, S86.

¹⁰⁶⁶ NAP. *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1884-1885, no pages.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, “Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective,” In *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), pp. 447-448.

¹⁰⁶⁸ As early as 1909, American newspapers, such as the *Cable News American* and the *Manila Times*, carried numerous milk product advertisements. Milk products were, in fact, the most common printed commercial until the middle part of the 1910s.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Doeppers, “Migrants in Urban Labor Markets,” p. 259.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The word means “back” or “back portion” in the Tagalog.

¹⁰⁷¹ La Loma is now part of Quezon City in Metropolitan Manila.

members in a clay jar that she would bring to her clients within or beyond her parish.¹⁰⁷² Despite the heavy load, she often worked with grace and cheerfulness. If she had a suitor, the young man dutifully carried the milk for her. Similar to the *lavandera*, the milkmaid had simple wants and was content with her small hut and garden filled with banana plants.¹⁰⁷³



Illustration 7.3. “La Via Lactea” (The Milky Way).¹⁰⁷⁴

From 1884-1893, there were 70 milkmaids in Manila’s registers. There was one *lechera* from Binondo, 19 from Sampaloc, and 50 from Tondo. The latter district was the main supplier of Manila’s dairy needs (See Map 7.3).¹⁰⁷⁵ Despite her youthful portrayals, the average age of a *lechera* was 37 years old. Nearly half of all the women were 30 years old or younger. Fifteen of them, however, were still working in their later years (51-70). Even if the youngest milkmaid, Cirila Cruz was a mere 13-year-old in 1887,¹⁰⁷⁶ fellow Tondo resident Luisa Pascual was still working in 1889 at the age of 70.¹⁰⁷⁷

¹⁰⁷² In some period photographs, milk vendors sometimes used bamboo culms as containers.

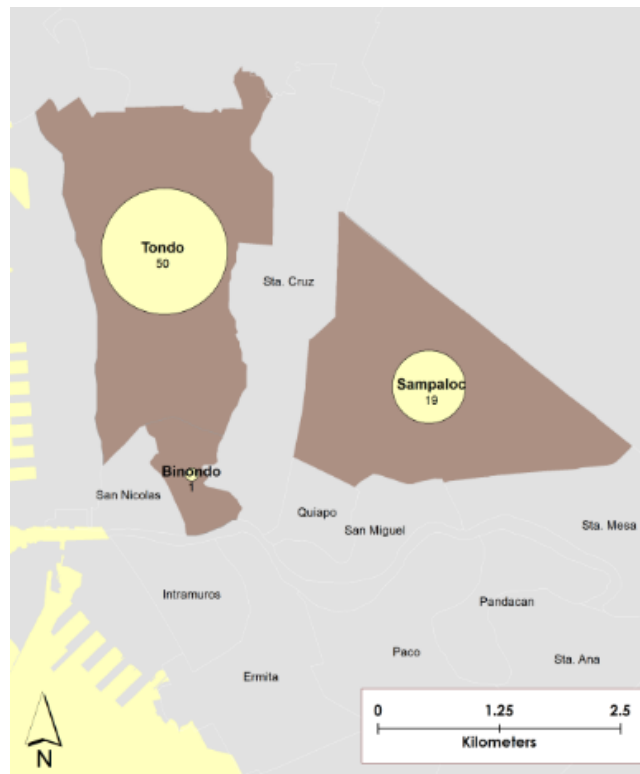
¹⁰⁷³ “La Lechera,” *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 12, 23 Diciembre 1877, pp. 4 & 6.

¹⁰⁷⁴ “La Via Lactea,” *Manililla* 16 Julio 1892, Año 6, Num 221, pp. 4-5

¹⁰⁷⁵ Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, p. 12; Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁷⁶ NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo* 1887, no page.

¹⁰⁷⁷ NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo* 1889, no page.



Map 7.3. Distribution of Lecheras by District.¹⁰⁷⁸

Seven milkmaids originated from a Manila district or grew up in a town in Manila Province with more rustic environs. Residents of Sampaloc when they registered in 1892, Dominga Domingo was originally from Pandacan,¹⁰⁷⁹ a known source of fodder,¹⁰⁸⁰ while Marcela Cruz was a Tondo native.¹⁰⁸¹ Teresa Almazan,¹⁰⁸² Eleuteria de los Santos, and Braulia Geronimo¹⁰⁸³ were from Manila Province's easternmost towns of Marikina and Montalban. Silbina Mateo and Anselma Sevilla, on the other hand, were residents of the nearby *pueblos* of Pasig and Tambobong.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁷⁸ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo 1887, Sampaloc 1884-1885 and 1887, Tondo 1887 and 1893*. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

¹⁰⁷⁹ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1892*, no page number.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Mallat, *The Philippines*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁸¹ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1892*, no page number.

¹⁰⁸² NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1887*, S87.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, S52 and 55.

¹⁰⁸⁴ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc 1884-1885*, no page number.

The Seamstress

Seamstresses were the main component of the labor force, besides tailors, who accelerated the production of clothing in Europe beginning in the 1600s. The introduction of the sewing machine in the 1860s pushed production even further. However, in the pecking order of the clothing industry's division of labor, the *costurera*¹⁰⁸⁵ was the least skilled. This fact, combined with their large numbers, meant the seamstress, who either worked at home or did outwork, always received less wages than an embroiderer or dressmaker.¹⁰⁸⁶

The *costurera* was a permanent fixture of Philippine social life that foreign accounts and Tagalog novels in the early 1920s mentioned how hiring a seamstress was a common practice in well-to-do households. Two United States citizens who resided in Manila during the early years of American rule noted how *costureras* were stay-at-home employees.¹⁰⁸⁷ The satirical magazine, *Lipag Kalabaw*,¹⁰⁸⁸ published an essay on how defeated political candidates often rushed to have their relatives employed as a personal seamstress of those in power.¹⁰⁸⁹ In Narciso S. Asistio's *Patawad!* ("Forgive Me!"), a woman decided to take in her seamstress as a home companion as she was always left alone by her husband.¹⁰⁹⁰ Moreover, in *Bulaklak sa Kabaret* ("Flower of the Cabaret"), a poor woman and her three children were offered a place to stay in exchange for her services as a household *costurera*.¹⁰⁹¹

An article in an 1877 issue of the periodical *La Ilustracion del Oriente* entitled *La Costurera*, provides both detail and context regarding those involved in basic needlework. *Costureras* were "versatile" native women, many of whom resided in the district of Dilao. There were said to be two types of seamstress – one who did manual work and one who used a sewing machine. In the period 1873-1877, there was a significant increase in the number of sewing machine purchases (See Illustration 7.4.). This led to more "break-and-tear" seamstresses whose outputs were deemed inferior to those who did needlework by hand. The typical

¹⁰⁸⁵ Seamstress in both the Spanish and Tagalog.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Barbara Burman. "Seamstresses" <https://fashion-history.lovetoknow.com/fashion-clothing-industry/seamstresses>. Date accessed: 22 July 2019.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Carl Crow, *America and the Philippines* (Garden City, New York,: Doubleday, Page & company, 1914), p. 263; Mary Helen Fee, *A woman's impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago,: A. C. McClurg & co., 1912), pp. 127 and 240.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Literally means "large-leafed water buffalo" in the Tagalog.

¹⁰⁸⁹ "Nag-Gagala Si Talunan," *Lipag Kalabaw*, Año 1, Num. 1, 27 de Julio 1907, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Narciso S. Asistio, *Nobelang Tagalog: Patawad!* (Maynila: P. Sayo, 1923), pp. 55-56.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ruperto S. Cristobal, *Ang Bulaklak sa Kabaret* (Manila: Ruperto S. Cristobal, 1920), p. 219.

costurera's place of work was outside of the home and was often escorted by a relative. Implying they were usually migrants, it was common for such women to live with a godmother or relative.¹⁰⁹²



Illustration 7.4. Singer Sewing Machine Advertisement.¹⁰⁹³

The information from the colonial civil registers indicate that Manila, similar to European cities, had many *costureras*. During the mid 1880s, there were 3212 such women in eight districts, namely: Binondo (1183), Dilao (778), Ermita (140), Malate (143), Pandacan (195), Quiapo (409), Sampaloc (252), and Tondo (112) [See Map 7.4 and Appendices 6, 9 and 12]. However, unlike what was stated in the *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Dilao did not have the most *costureras*, but rather came in at second, accounting for a fourth of all seamstresses in the city. Such women also tended to reside along the city's peripheries with Manila's fringe districts of Dilao, Sampaloc, Ermita, Pandacan, and Sampaloc accounting for almost half (47%) of all Manila-based *cosutureras*.

In terms of age, the average seamstress was around 32 years old, with four out of every 10 (38%) aged between 21 to 30 years old when they were registered in the head tax lists. Those listed between 21 to 40 years of age, accounted for 64% of all *costureras* in Manila. The youngest seamstresses were Manuela Gonzalez¹⁰⁹⁴ and Macarina de Jesus,¹⁰⁹⁵ who were 11 and 12 years old, respectively, when they registered

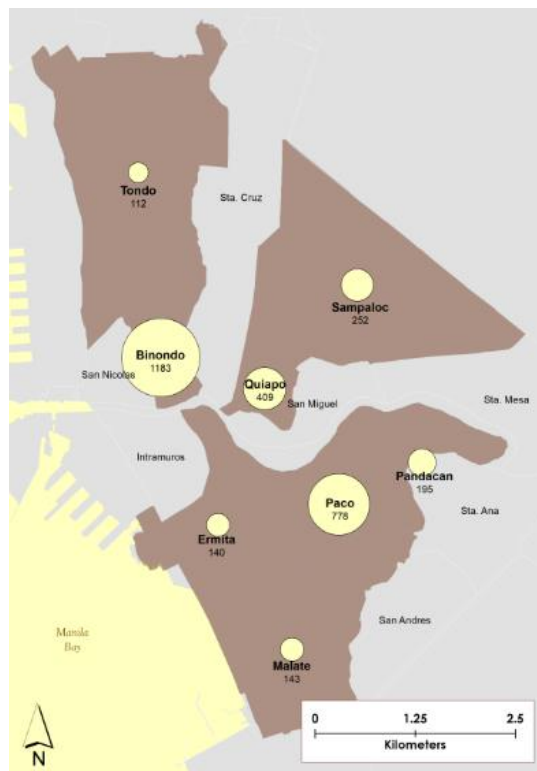
¹⁰⁹² "La Costurera," *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Num 6, 11 Noviembre 1877, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰⁹³ *La Opinion*. 7 Mayo 1888 Año 2, Numero 126, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹⁴ NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao* 1886, S11.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, no page.

in the rolls. The oldest was Regina Resurreccion who was already 85 years old when her name was included in the *vecindario* of Pandacan in 1887.¹⁰⁹⁶



Map 7.4. Distribution of *Costureras* by District.¹⁰⁹⁷

While Doeppers states that a seamstress in Sampaloc and Tondo in the 1890s was likely a migrant, the civil register lists reveal that 87% of all *costureras* were Manila locals. The majority of migrant needleworkers were from the towns of present-day Metro Manila and Rizal as well as the Bulacan area. There were a few who came from distant provinces in Mindanao. They included Martina Magana of Surigao,¹⁰⁹⁸ Carmen Torres Bustamante of Zamboanga,¹⁰⁹⁹ Juana Alili of Agusan del Sur,¹¹⁰⁰ and Rosa Claus of Agusan del Norte.¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁶ NAP, *Vecindario de Pandacan* 1887, no page.

¹⁰⁹⁷ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo* 1887, *Dilao* 1886, *Ermita* 1884, *Malate* 1887, *Pandacan* 1887, *Quiapo* 1887, *Sampaloc* 1884-1885 and 1887, and *Tondo* 1887. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eleri Tingin.

¹⁰⁹⁸ NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao* 1886, S8.

¹⁰⁹⁹ NAP, *Vecindario de Dilao* 1886, S4.

¹¹⁰⁰ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1887, S37.

¹¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, S62.

Tenderas, Vendedoras, and Cigarreras

Descriptions of Workingwomen in the Public Realm

Among the working women of Spanish Manila, the ones who particularly caught the attention of most Western observers were those who sold items in shops, marketplaces and streets, as well as the women who rolled cigars in Manila's tobacco factories. Women were dominant in town markets (See Photograph 7.1.) as they comprised most vendors who sold their goods in stalls.¹¹⁰² Even the carriers who brought in the commodities to be sold were mostly female.¹¹⁰³ Their constant presence in the marketplace was emphasized by Frank Carpenter when he remarked: "In each cell is a woman merchant. Much of the business of the islands is carried on by women, and I saw thousands of them buying and selling in the market to-day."¹¹⁰⁴



Photograph 7.1. Interior of the Paco Market in Manila filled with women, early 1900s.¹¹⁰⁵

Westerners who stayed in Manila also took notice of the many females who worked in the local factories. Charles Wilkes, who visited Manila in 1842, clearly observed that thousands of women, aged between 15 to 45, worked in cigar factories from 6:00 AM to 6:00 PM, taking a break only from 11:00 AM to 1:00 PM (See Photograph 7.2).¹¹⁰⁶ John Bowring provided a more comprehensive description of the *cigarrera* in this mid-nineteenth century passage:

¹¹⁰² Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, p. 30.

¹¹⁰³ MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla*, pp. 44.

¹¹⁰⁴ Carpenter, *Through the Philippines and Hawaii*, p. 25.

¹¹⁰⁵ United States National Archives at College Park, *Bureau of Internal Affairs Record Group 350-GS*.

¹¹⁰⁶ Wilkes, "Manila in 1842," pp. 459-529.

“The chattering and bustling of thousands of women, which the constantly asserted authority of the female superintendents wholly failed to control, would have been distracting enough from the manipulation of the tobacco leaf, even if their tongues have been tied, but their tongues were not tied, and they filled the place with noise. This was strangely contrasted with the absolute silence which prevailed in the room solely occupied by men. Most of the girls, whose numbers fluctuate from eight to ten thousand, are unmarried, and many seem to be only ten or eleven years old. Some inhabit the *pueblos* of a considerable distance from Manila, and form quite a procession either in proceeding or returning from their employment.”¹¹⁰⁷



Photograph 7.2. Women rolling cigars on a factory floor of a cigar factory in Manila, early 1900s.¹¹⁰⁸

Manila's print media during the 1880s and 1890s carried no articles about the *cigarrera*. However, the ubiquitous female shopkeeper in commercial areas and the ambulant *vendedora* were the subject of several feature essays (See Illustration 7.5.).¹¹⁰⁹ In her pioneering research on Manila's workingwomen, Camagay mentioned that the *sinamayera*, an upper class woman who sold textile products in her stall and who dressed elegantly to advertise her wares, was the subject of two feature articles in separate newspapers. On the other hand, the *buyera*, or betel nut vendor, was a woman of humbler origins and the best known among Manila's street-based sellers.¹¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰⁷ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 27.

¹¹⁰⁸ United States National Archives at College Park, *Bureau of Internal Affairs Record Group 350-GS*.

¹¹⁰⁹ Vendor in the Spanish language.

¹¹¹⁰ Camagay, *The Workingwomen of Manila*, pp. 23-33.

An examination of the two articles on the *sinamayera* written by A. Puya, provides details about this particular seller. While the female cloth merchant of native and Chinese *mestizo* descent was physically attractive, they both had dark teeth, due to their customary practice of chewing betel nut. While they worked hard, they also enjoyed spending their money on Sunday theater plays, perfume, and facial rice powder.¹¹¹¹ The *sinamayera* periodically played *panguingue* and smoked cigarettes, personal indulgences that she rightfully earned.¹¹¹²



Illustration 7.5. A rich woman is surrounded by female vendors.¹¹¹³

Snapshots of the shopkeeper and the vendor's lives were the subject of two separate feature stories. However, the essay, *La Herbolaria* (The Herbalist), focused more on the beauty and grace of her mestiza customer, while also describing the female herbalist and her wares. Aware of the need to position themselves in places of constant foot traffic, the *herbolaria* set up shop near the atrium of the Binondo Church. After Mass, a young *mestiza* and her assistant appeared and inspected the fruits, flowers, medicinal plants and roots placed in the vendor's *bilao*.¹¹¹⁴ While the items were from the Pasay *pueblo*'s agricultural

¹¹¹¹ A. Puya, "La Sinamayera." *La Opinion*, 22 Julio 1889, Año 3, Num 191, pp. 3 & 6.

¹¹¹² A. Puya, "La Sinamayera." *Manililla*, 27 Junio 1891, Año 5, Num 166, p. 6

¹¹¹³ NAP, *Manililla*, 12 Marzo 1892, Año 6, Numero 203, pp. 4-5.

¹¹¹⁴ A flat, basket-like container made of woven leaves commonly used as a platform for grain and vegetables.

lands, the vendor merely purchased them and was unfamiliar with their propagation (See Illustration 7.6).¹¹¹⁵



Illustration 7.6. “La Herbolaria.”¹¹¹⁶

The other essay, *En El Mercado*, on the other hand, offered an insightful take on a difficult situation. The stall owner was berating her assistant who was not doing her job properly. An argument between the two ensued, which soon developed into an altercation that required police intervention.¹¹¹⁷

Details about Manila’s Cigarreras and Tenderas from the Civil Registers

There were 2, 930 female cigar workers in the middle 1880s who resided in eight Manila districts: Binondo (783), Tondo (692), Sampaloc (584), Dilao (282), Quiapo (272), Malate (158), Ermita (59), and Pandacan (10) [See Map 7.5 and Appendices 5, 8 and 11.]. Those from Binondo, Tondo, and Sampaloc made up

¹¹¹⁵ “La Herbolaria,” *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 43, 21 Setiembre 1892, p. 330 and 334.

¹¹¹⁶ “La Herbolaria,” *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 43, 21 Setiembre 1892, p. 330.

¹¹¹⁷ “En El Mercado,” *Manililla*, 18 Junio 1892 Año 6, Numero 216, p. 3 and 6.

nearly three-fourths (73%) of all *cigarreras* in Manila during the said period. If those who lived in Quiapo, which was contiguous to these three communities, were included, 83% of Manila's cigar workers resided in the more progressive northern settlements of the city.



Map 7.5. Distribution of *Cigarreras* by District.¹¹¹⁸

The typical *cigarrera* was in her early 30s. The average age of a female cigar worker in Binondo and Sampaloc was 32 years old, while a Tondo-based cigar maker was slightly younger at 30. The youngest *cigarreras* in Tondo were children – Maxima Santos was only nine years old, while Prisca del Rosario and Lorenza Narsobia were both 10 when they first became part of Tondo's civil register in 1887.¹¹¹⁹ Their ages support Bowring's assertion that some cigar workers looked like they were only 10 or 11 years old.¹¹²⁰ During that same year, the widow Anastacia Senson was already 66, yet still toiled as a *cigarrera*.¹¹²¹

¹¹¹⁸ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo 1887, Dilao 1886, Ermita 1884, Malate 1887, Pandacan 1887, Quiapo 1887, Sampaloc 1884-1885 and 1887, and Tondo 1887 and 1889*. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eleri Tingin.

¹¹¹⁹ NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo 1887*, no page numbers.

¹¹²⁰ Bowring, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 27.

¹¹²¹ NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo 1887*, no page numbers.

In the middle 1880s, nine out of every 10 (91%) *cigarreras* working in Manila's tobacco factories were born and raised in Manila. Of the 185 migrants, 156 were from nearby Tagalog provinces in Central and Southern Luzon, as well as the province of Pampanga. Almost half (78) were from the *pueblos* of Bulacan. Among those who originated from remote settlements, most came from Ilocos Sur, Cebu, and Catanduanes. Some of these women, such as Maria Ruiz of Cebu,¹¹²² a Bicolana named Valeriana Torrez,¹¹²³ and Agapita Villador of Ilocos Sur,¹¹²⁴ settled in Sampaloc.

The 1083 listed *tenderas*¹¹²⁵ was only a third of the number of registered *cigarreras*. Most of them resided in the districts north of the Pasig River such as Binondo (349), Tondo (229), Sampaloc (209), and Quiapo (108), with a few based in the lesser developed communities of Dilao (82), Ermita (30), Malate (62), and Pandacan (14). Camagay mentioned that shopkeepers were primarily residents of Binondo and Tondo,¹¹²⁶ where 349 and 229 *tenderas* resided, respectively. Sampaloc (209) nearly had the same number of female traders as Tondo (See Map 7.6.).

The Manila-based *tendera* had a mean age of 37 years. The average age of such women in Binondo (35), Tondo (37), and Sampaloc (39) were between 35 to 39 years. Female vendors and traders from the upper class, however, were slightly more senior, as they had a mean age of 45 years. Nineteen-year-old Paterna Benavides¹¹²⁷ was the youngest *tendera* from the privileged class, while Dña. Ysabel Florentino of Ermita was the oldest at 78.¹¹²⁸

The shop keeping trade had the most females from the local elite in the civil register lists with 32. The districts of Sampaloc, Malate, and Ermita, places where members of the upperclass transferred residence in significant numbers in the late nineteenth century,¹¹²⁹ had the highest percentage of well-off *tenderas*.

¹¹²² NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1887, S113.

¹¹²³ Ibid.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., S117.

¹¹²⁵ The term *vendedora* does not appear in the Vecindario documents. However, a nineteen-year-old woman named Vicenta Francisco of Sampaloc was listed in the district's 1884-1885 register as a "tendera de gulay" or vegetable seller, a kind of occupation more associated with street-based vendors. The *Comision Central de Estadistica de Filipinas* of 1855 also made no distinctions between a shopkeeper and a vendor. Thus, the term *tendera* in the Vecindario was likely to have encompassed both occupations.

¹¹²⁶ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p. 24.

¹¹²⁷ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo* 1887, no page.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid., no page.

¹¹²⁹ Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," p. 166.

This situation also corroborates what Edith Moses, wife of an American government official who lived in the Philippines in the early 1900s, declared, namely, that many rich families had businesses handled by a female member since there was “no leisure class” in the Philippines.¹¹³⁰ One out of every 10 shopkeepers/vendors from Sampaloc and Malate were well to do. This included Felipa Maningas Dionisio and Juana Metiong,¹¹³¹ who were under the same *cabeza de barangay*¹¹³² in Sampaloc, as well as Malate residents Balvina Villegas and Mariquita Roque.¹¹³³ On the other hand, *Doñas* Paula Benitez and Lauriana del Rosario¹¹³⁴ were two of six privileged women who comprised a fifth of all listed shopkeepers in Ermita.



Map 7.6. Distribution of *Tenderas* by District.¹¹³⁵

While Doeppers observed that most *tenderas* (84%) in Sampaloc in 1893 were migrants, a vast majority of merchants who registered in the *vecindarios* of 1884, 1886, and 1887 were Manila locals. Among those originally from other places, 50 women were from the localities of present-day Metro Manila, while 105 were natives of Pampanga and the Tagalog-speaking provinces of Bulacan, Laguna, Cavite, Bataan, Nueva

¹¹³⁰ Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife*, pp. 350-351.

¹¹³¹ NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc* 1887, S78 and 80.

¹¹³² Village headman. The Cabeza de Barangay was the lowest-ranking elected official during the Spanish colonial period.

¹¹³³ NAP, *Vecindario de Malate* 1887, S125-149.

¹¹³⁴ NAP, *Vecindario de Ermita* 1884, S5.

¹¹³⁵ NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo* 1887, *Dilao* 1886, *Ermita* 1884, *Malate* 1887, *Pandacan* 1887, *Quiapo* 1887, *Sampaloc* 1887, *Tondo* 1887. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

Ecija, and Batangas. Thirteen came from far-away provinces, most of whom settled in Quiapo, a district where almost a third of its population (31%) were migrants. They included Pragedes Lamela of Antique, Balbina de los Reyes of Tayabas (Quezon),¹¹³⁶ and Feliciano Alferez of Kalibo, Aklan.¹¹³⁷

The *Mujer de Publica* and her Illicit Spaces

As a practice, prostitution is an outgrowth of wider processes,¹¹³⁸ the combined outcome of cultural practices and beliefs, colonial strategies, and demographic disparities.¹¹³⁹ Settlements like Manila that had an expanding economy, a pervasive patriarchal culture, and large pool of unattached male local and foreign migrants provided ideal conditions for the sex trade to flourish.¹¹⁴⁰

The State regards prostitution as a profession once laws are enacted pertaining to it.¹¹⁴¹ While the Spanish authorities were quite late in attempting to legalize prostitution, the fact that its law and enforcement personnel apprehended women for sex work, had them deported, and even subjected them to medical examinations underscored its existence and the perceived threat it posed to society's physical and moral health.¹¹⁴² Cities and urban areas, particularly port cities,¹¹⁴³ such as Manila, always created a demand for sex workers.¹¹⁴⁴ Those who failed to find employment in the city's factories, markets, and households were frequently compelled to do sex work¹¹⁴⁵ or forced into it by unscrupulous individuals.¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹³⁶ NAP, *Vecindario de Quiapo* 1887, S3.

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, S5.

¹¹³⁸ Warren, "The Lives of the Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San," p. 89. For a more detailed explanation of how large-scale processes have an impact on the lives of individuals and groups, please see James Warren's *Pirates, Prostitutes, and Pullers: Explorations in the Ethno- and Social History of Southeast Asia* (Crawley: Western Australia: UWA Press, 2008).

¹¹³⁹ Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, "Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System: Submission, Servitude, Escape, and Collusion, In *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude, and Escape*, eds. Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers (London: Zed Books, Ltd., 1994), p. 12.

¹¹⁴⁰ See James Warren. *Pirates, Prostitutes, and Pullers: Explorations in the Ethno- and Social History of Southeast Asia* (Crawley, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 2008); Levine. *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

¹¹⁴¹ Pateman. *The Sexual Contract*, p 196.

¹¹⁴² Camagay. *The Working Women of Manila*, pp. 99-100; De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 72 [84]

¹¹⁴³ Walkowitz. *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 22.

¹¹⁴⁴ Pateman. *The Sexual Contract*, pp. 189-190.

¹¹⁴⁵ Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," pp. 475-489.

¹¹⁴⁶ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, pp. 108-109

Age and Occupation

The typical *mujer de publica* was young and involved in low-skilled, low-paying work (Please see Appendix 17). Eight out of every 10 (83%) sex workers were in their late teens or middle twenties (See Map 7.7, Chart 7.1, and Chart 7.2).¹¹⁴⁷ They were also more often also a *costurera* or a *cigarrera*.¹¹⁴⁸ Such women included Telesfora de la Rosa, a 17-year-old *cigarrera* from Nagcarlan, Laguna who was booked for prostitution in September 1871.¹¹⁴⁹ Another was Juana del Rosario, a 25-year old *costurera* from Tondo who was caught soliciting in one of Binondo's streets by the *guardia civil* on 12 February 1872.¹¹⁵⁰ There were also public women who were either very young or quite old. Leonarda de Jesus was only 10 when the authorities found her, together with her mother, in a blacksmith shop in Dilao used by several Chinese men as an illicit sexual space.¹¹⁵¹ While Leonarda was merely a child, Pascuala Tenorio was already a married *tendera* in her early 50s when the *guardia civil* arrested her in 1887. It was likely that she was no longer a sex worker but a *bugaw* or pimp.¹¹⁵²

¹¹⁴⁷ Camagay also pointed out that public women were usually in their late teens as well as in their early twenties.

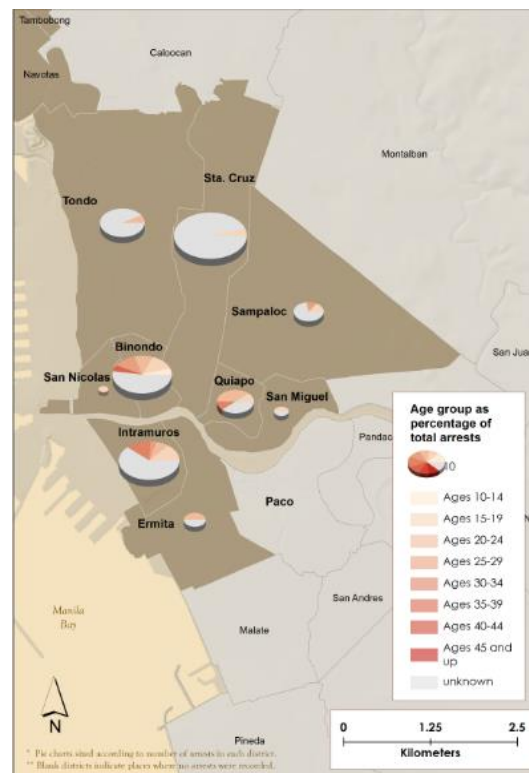
¹¹⁴⁸ The police files of prostitutes from 1862 to 1886 would usually indicate if a woman had work that was appropriate for her sex. By the 1890s, such data was rarely available for women apprehended for such an offense.

¹¹⁴⁹ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879 Book 1, 111-119B.

¹¹⁵⁰ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879 Book 2, 269-276B; 292.

¹¹⁵¹ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879 Book 1, 2-14B.

¹¹⁵² NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, S669-670.



Map 7.7. Age Group Distribution of Public Women by Manila District .¹¹⁵³

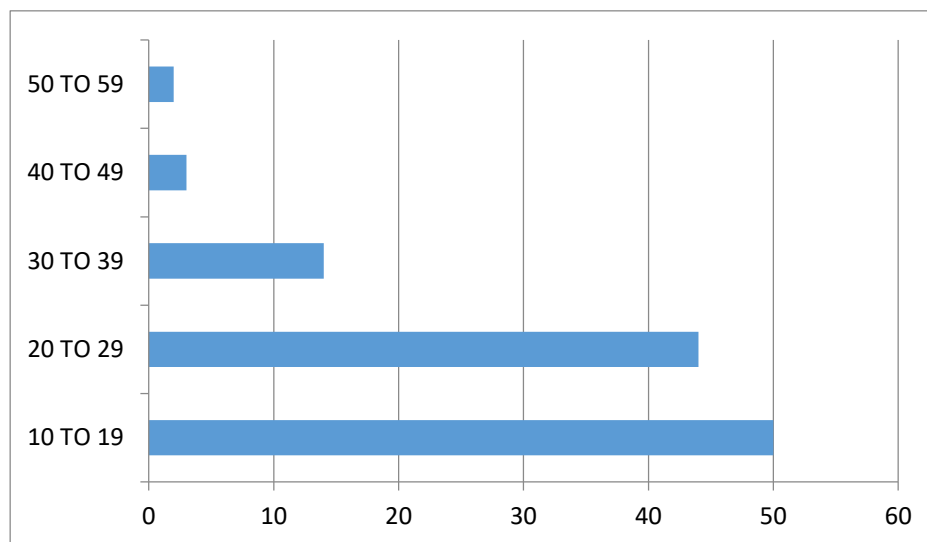


Chart 7.1. Age Distribution of Public Women, 1862-1897.¹¹⁵⁴

¹¹⁵³ National Archives of the Philippines, *Prostitucion de Manila*, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897. Map made with the assistance of Neil Eneri Tingin.

¹¹⁵⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion de Manila*, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897.

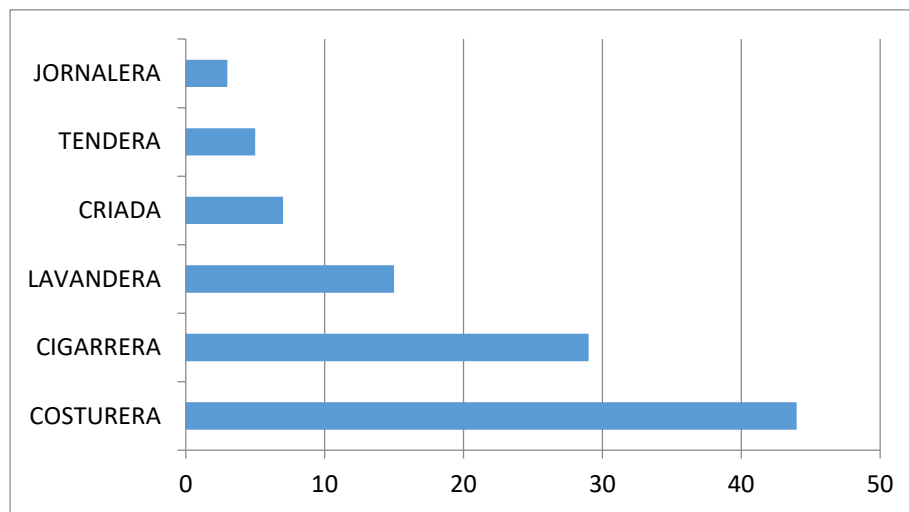


Chart 7.2. Listed Occupations of Public Women.¹¹⁵⁵

Province of Origin

Of the 213 women listed in the *Prostitucion* records, only 117 (55% of total) have known provinces of origin. As pointed out by Bankoff,¹¹⁵⁶ Camagay,¹¹⁵⁷ and De Bevoise,¹¹⁵⁸ most of Manila's *mujeres de publica* were migrants. De Bevoise noted that the number of migrants among apprehended prostitutes reflected a sex trade that was the product of "rural want and metropolitan money".¹¹⁵⁹ However, in terms of province of origin, 44 or nearly four out of every 10 women accused and convicted of sex work were natives of the Province of Manila. In addition, almost three out of every 10 prostitutes were locals of Manila's districts. Emiteria Borra was a Chinese *mestiza* from Pandacan,¹¹⁶⁰ while Damasa de los Santos, a seamstress, was a native of Marikina.¹¹⁶¹ Josefa San Jose of Navotas was a 17-year-old, unmarried *costurera* when police arrested her in Binondo in 1887.¹¹⁶² On the other hand, Tondo native Gregoria Faustino did not have a listed occupation when she was booked for prostitution in 1895.¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁵⁵ NAP, *Prostitucion de Manila, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897*.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p.101.

¹¹⁵⁷ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila*, p 108.

¹¹⁵⁸ De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse*, p. 76

¹¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75

¹¹⁶⁰ NAP, *Prostitucion 1862-1879*, Book 2, S187-199.

¹¹⁶¹ NAP, *Prostitucion 1881-1886*, Book 2, S837-842.

¹¹⁶² NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897*, S 76-84; 368-371.

¹¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, S379.

Among migrant women who did sex work, most were from the Tagalog provinces of Bulacan (27) and Cavite (10), as well as Pampanga (6) [See Chart 7.3.]. Calistra de la Cruz,¹¹⁶⁴ Cesaria Ramirez,¹¹⁶⁵ and Apolonia Mojica¹¹⁶⁶ traced their roots to Baliwag, Bustos, and Guiguinto towns in Bulacan. Perfecta Apostol¹¹⁶⁷ and Apolinaria Pulido¹¹⁶⁸ were Caviteñas from the towns of Salinas and Sta. Cruz de Malabon, while Florentina Canlas¹¹⁶⁹ of San Fernando, Pampanga was only 16 when she became involved in the world's oldest profession.

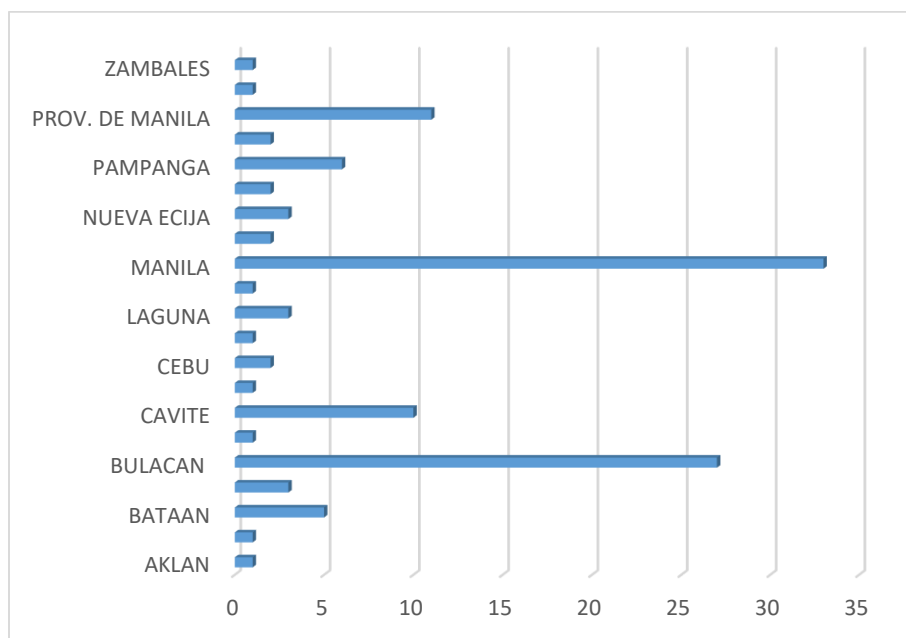


Chart 7.3. Province of Origin of Public Women.¹¹⁷⁰

The Streets, Brothels, and Other Unusual Spaces of Prostitution

Manila's streets and structures served as sites where prostitutes solicited clients and consummated their transactions. Bankoff and Dery mentioned the pathways where streetwalkers waited patiently for potential customers and how other women undertook such work in known brothels.¹¹⁷¹ A review of colonial police

¹¹⁶⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion 1881-1886* Book 2, S 43-44, 59, 63-64.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, S526-527.

¹¹⁶⁶ NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897*, S249-258b.

¹¹⁶⁷ NAP, *Prostitucion 1881-1886* Book 2, S366-368.

¹¹⁶⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897*, S200-203b.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, S 236-237b.

¹¹⁷⁰ NAP, *Prostitucion de Manila, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897*.

¹¹⁷¹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 40, 103-104; Dery, "Prostitution in Colonial Manila," p. 478.

files and criminal cases reveal the circumstances of women who did their work in Manila's streets and *casas de prostitucion*. Moreover, such records reveal how some spaces used for paid sex were structures whose formal use were, on the surface, incompatible with prostitution.

1. The Streets

Across time and place, people have used streets and thoroughfares for purposes other than moving from one place to another. Paths and laneways also serve as spaces where ambulant and sidewalk vendors have long displayed and sold their wares. The local and migrant prostitute, in this respect, was no different from street hawkers who were out to make a sale. One such woman who peddled her body on the street was Juana del Rosario, a 25-year-old native of Tondo arrested by the *guardia civil* in Santo Cristo Street, Binondo on the evening of 12 February 1872. She tried to make extra money by soliciting on the same street where she worked for a certain Rufina as a *costurera*.¹¹⁷² Aniceta Chavas was another Manila native booked for prostitution one late evening in 1872. The arresting officers claimed the arrest was due to their vigilance while making the rounds in their area of responsibility. They arrested the 18-year-old unmarried *costurera* from Binondo in San Miguel, the same district to where she transferred her residence. From 1870 to 1871, Aniceta lived with an aunt in Binondo before she had moved in with a cousin.¹¹⁷³

Women migrants made the difficult decision of selling their bodies on Manila's streets either as a sole source of income or as supplemental work. Dominga Crisostomo was a former *viajera*¹¹⁷⁴ from Tambobong (Malabon) who moved into Manila to work as a *tendera*. She first lived with her cousin Pragedes in San Miguel for a year before transferring residence to Ermita. On 15 February 1872, police arrested her in Intramuros for not carrying the proper residential documents.¹¹⁷⁵ Ten years later, on 10 December 1882, the *guardia civil* also detained Dorotea Calabutan for being an *indocumentada*. She was a resident of Tondo, Manila who migrated from San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite. Dorotea was an 18-year old *cigarrera* at the time of her apprehension. Government doctors who promptly subjected her to a medical examination declared Ms. Calabutan disease-free.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷² NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 1, S269-276B; 292.

¹¹⁷³ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 2, S307-315.

¹¹⁷⁴ A trader in both the Spanish and Filipino language.

¹¹⁷⁵ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 1, S366-373.

¹¹⁷⁶ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1881-1886, Book 2, S142-156.

The bad reputation of public women and fear of contagion extended, at times, to a whole community. Authorities in the early 1880s fined Magdalena Gonzales P5 for scandal and for leading a bad life (*mal vivir*). Her official penalty was a mere wrist slap compared to how residents of *Barrio* Tutuban turned her into a social leper and outcast, a threat to the social and moral order of their community.¹¹⁷⁷

While some women worked on streets by themselves, others did such so in pairs or groups along with their pimp. On 23 February 1881, the authorities apprehended in Binondo Calistra de la Cruz, Braulia Esguerra, Gertrudes Herrera, and their pimp, Sotero Hernandez for not carrying proper documents. Calistra and Braulia were in their late teens, while Gertrudes was 30 years old. Ms. Esguerra was a native resident of Binondo, while the other two were migrants from Bulacan Province.¹¹⁷⁸ More than a year later, on 23 October 1882, law enforcers arrested Grevacia Lorenzo, a 19-year-old migrant from Panay Island, Central Visayas, together with Maria de la Torre and Alejandra Reyes, natives of Bulacan Province in their late 20s, in an undisclosed area of Manila for public scandal and prostitution. Also apprehended was their suspected pimp, Pedro Sacdalan. The three girls all claimed residence in Binondo. Ms. Reyes also stated that she lived in Tambobong, but the prominent men of the said town claimed not to know her.¹¹⁷⁹

2. *Unconventional Sexual Spaces*

Since prostitution was illegal, it behooved the client, the sex worker, and her handler to conduct their affairs with discretion. To address their clients' need for privacy, those involved utilized unusual places and schemes to hide their activities. One group adept at using unconventional sites for illicit sex was Manila's immigrant Chinese. Given the traditional inferior position of women in their culture¹¹⁸⁰ and the lack of females who moved with them to Manila in the nineteenth century,¹¹⁸¹ migrant Chinese either married locally or paid women to satisfy their sexual needs. In settlements where they were economically

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid., S201-210.

¹¹⁷⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1881-1886, Book 2, S43-44, 59, 63-64.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid., S94-120.

¹¹⁸⁰ Jaschok and Miers, "Women in the Chinese Patriarchal System," pp. 11-12.; James L. Watson. "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs," In *Asian and African Slave Systems of Slavery*, ed. James L. Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 63; Warren, "The Lives of the Ah Ku and the Karayuki-San," p. 89.

¹¹⁸¹ Comision Cental de Estadistica de Filipinas, *Segunda Cuaderno*, p. 34. In an 1850 census of Binondo, there were only 8 female Chinese as opposed to 5055 males.

dominant, its members were willing to invest in brothels.¹¹⁸² Thus, some immigrant Chinese had businesses in Manila that doubled as prostitution dens.

The first such recorded case in the *Prostitucion* bundles involved three women, including a 10-year-old child, caught with several Chinese ironsmiths in a blacksmith shop in *Barrio* Murallon, Dilao on the evening of 14 June 1862.¹¹⁸³ Twenty-one years later, Sy Jaco and Sy Junco were owners of a soap shop in Sta. Cruz that also served as a brothel. However, repeated complaints about how the establishment's activities threatened the good reputation of the community's residents and their businesses compelled the authorities to act. The unfortunate woman arrested with these two men was Paula Prim, a native of Tambobong.¹¹⁸⁴

Another interesting case that demonstrated the Chinese' deceptive use of space involved Valentina Domingo. According to a police informant, she was a resident of San Miguel who did sex work in the most unusual places. To hide her activities, she was even willing to consummate a transaction with a Chinese man in a *tinapareria*, or a storage area for smoked fish, in Bancusay, Tondo.¹¹⁸⁵

The Chinese did not have a monopoly over the use of conventional spaces for sex work. Some native women were equally proficient at turning places where people worked and lived into sites of illicit sex. One such individual was 30-year-old Maria Guinto, a native of Bacoor, Cavite and a resident of Ermita. The authorities had arrested her twice for prostitution in 1867, and she was apprehended for a third time in 1872. Ms. Guinto worked as a *lavandera* in the barracks of the Barca Bridge when the police accosted her together with another *mujer de publica* from Ilocos Sur named Maria Castañeda while having illicit relations with two men.¹¹⁸⁶ That same year, the authorities apprehended Tomasa Diwa, an 18-year-old *costurera* based in Binondo and a migrant from Tambobong, in a house located in San Nicolas owned by a Spaniard named D. Francisco Caberas. Unbeknownst to D. Francisco, her lessee, Tomasa, with three other women, used one of his rental properties to entertain clients.¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁸² Sone, "Facing Away from Japan," p. 114.

¹¹⁸³ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 1, S2-14B.

¹¹⁸⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1881-1886, Book 2, S214-216.

¹¹⁸⁵ NAP, *Prostitucion*, 1887-1897, S216-231.

¹¹⁸⁶ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879 Book 2, S328-338, 348-355.

¹¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, S201-211B.

Whether they willingly agreed or forced, sex workers were sometimes caught red-handed in someone else's residence. One of them was Vicenta Rosario, a *lavandera* from Ymus, Cavite and resident of Ermita whom police captured in a house in Calle Basco, Intramuros on 15 February 1872.¹¹⁸⁸ Some cases where residences and businesses served as sites for sex work involved minors trafficked by unscrupulous persons. On 18 September 1888, Cristina Cabalquinto accused Agapito Tolentino of raping her 11-year old daughter Cornelia San Beunaventura and forcing her to have sex with Chinese men and the occasional Spaniard. Women named Goría, Ninay, Prosia, and Antonia vouched for the veracity of her accusations. In her testimony, Cornelia recounted that Agapito delivered her to Chinese shops in Calles Rosario and Jacinto in Binondo to service men there. She also had relations with Spanish men in her pimp's own home. Cornelia recounted she escaped while her abuser's partner, Antonia Vasquez, was about to take her to another Chinese shop in Sampaloc.¹¹⁸⁹

Delivering young women to the homes of their male clients was a practice in the prostitution trade since the 1860s. In February 1866, a 38-year-old wet nurse named Dionicia Navarro accused her own friend, Maria de los Reyes, of prostituting her daughter Ysmenia to a rich Spaniard named D. Carlos in a house owned by a certain Salome. Dionicia thought that Maria had helped Ysmenia get a job in a cigar factory in Tanduay. She assumed her daughter was working in a factory when she suddenly saw Ysmenia riding a calesa that stopped next to a house along Escolta Street in Binondo. According to Ms. Navarro, her daughter Ysmenia had been seeing the same Spaniard in the said house every morning and taken back to the entrance of the factory to avoid suspicion.¹¹⁹⁰

3. Brothels: Their Operators, Workers, and Distribution

Casas de Prostitucion, or brothels, had been the subject of raids by authorities since the 1870s. Eugenia Mamangan was only 15 years old when the brothel where the Ermita native worked in became the subject of a police search in February 1872. The police detained her along with five other women and their male

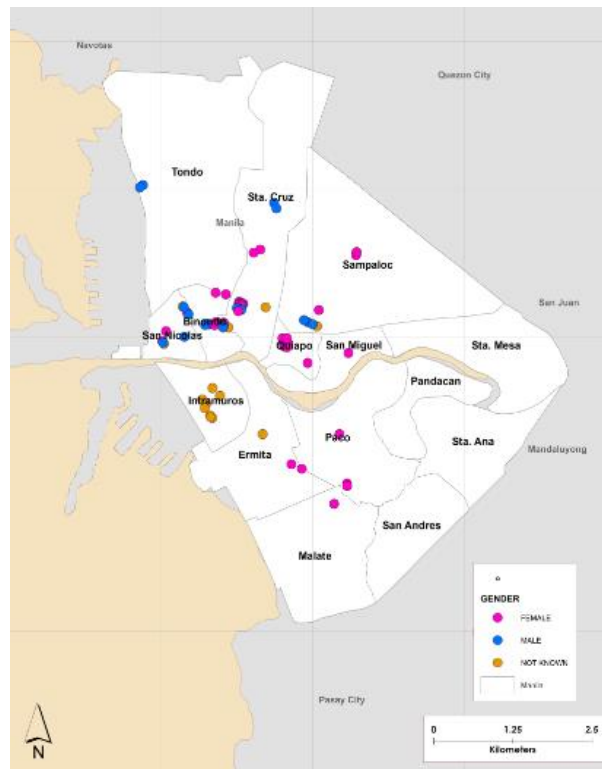
¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, S358-359.

¹¹⁸⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD-ROM Number 26, Folder 2, Images 318-331.

¹¹⁹⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales* CD-ROM Number 2 Folder 2, Images 191-271.

pimp.¹¹⁹¹ Twelve years later, a woman named Petrona was in a *casa de prostitucion* in Dulumbayan Street, Sta. Cruz that was also the subject of a raid.¹¹⁹²

By the 1890s, the authorities already had a reasonably complete record of brothels operating in Manila. There were at least 30 of these establishments distributed in Binondo, Sta. Cruz, Quiapo, Dilao, and Intramuros. Twenty of these *casas de prostitucion* were female-operated. This demonstrated that there were women who had no compunction whatsoever of exploiting other females, and the prostitution trade was “largely organized by women.” (See Map 7.8.)¹¹⁹³ Examples of such abusers were Barbara de la Cruz, and Petrona Correa of Sta. Cruz who handled two girls, and Agapita Francisco of Binondo who had a single employee in her brothel.¹¹⁹⁴ Manila’s brothels were small operations, with no establishment exceeding ten prostitutes (See Map 7.9.).



Map 7.8. Gender of Brothel Owners in Manila, 1862-1897.¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹¹ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1862-1879, Book 2, S375-377.

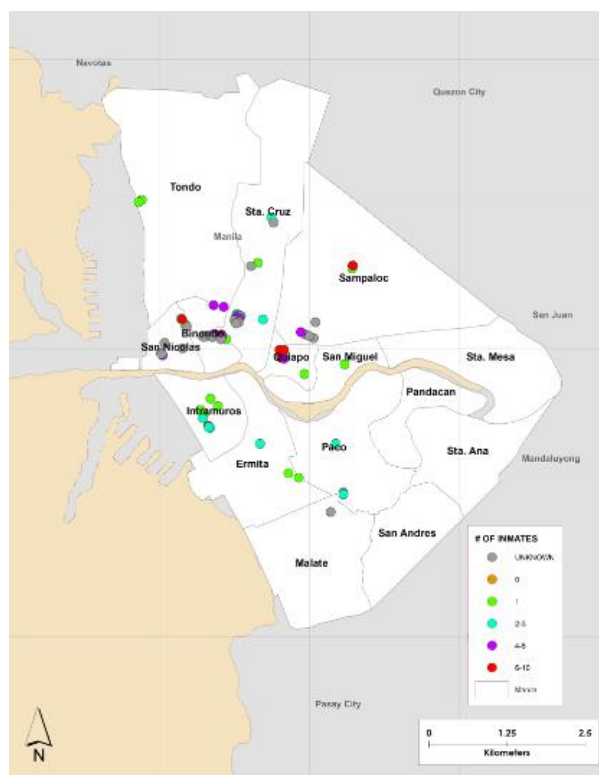
¹¹⁹² NAP, *Prostitucion* 1881-1886, Book 2, S240-241.

¹¹⁹³ Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, p. 24

¹¹⁹⁴ NAP, *Prostitucion* 1887-1897, S444-446B.

¹¹⁹⁵ NAP, *Prostitucion de Manila*, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian.

Women also owned the brothels with the most sex workers. Both Carlota Macapinlong of Pampanga and Brigida de los Santos of Bulacan were only in their early 20s when they managed nine girls each in their respective *casas de prostitucion*. Eugenia de Leon had the most workers under her wing at 10. All their establishments were located in Quiapo.¹¹⁹⁶ There was even a woman who owned separate brothels located on the same street. Maxima Lacanilao had four women each in her two *accessorias* along Arranque Street in Sta. Cruz. Lacanilao was later involved in a prostitution-related case that led to her deportation in 1893.¹¹⁹⁷



Map 7.9. Number of Sex Workers per Brothel, 1862-1897.¹¹⁹⁸

Most prostitution house owners were native women, but there were other racial groups involved in brothel operations. Chinese men such as Soy Oico, Chi-Chingco, Py-Tuco, and Mariano Gomez operated prostitution houses. Three of these were along Elcano, Ilang-Ilang and Plaza de Calderon in Binondo,

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid., S444-446B.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., S448.

¹¹⁹⁸ NAP, *Prostitucion de Manila, 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897*. Map made with the assistance of Johnson Damian.

and Py-Tuco's bordello was in Tondo.¹¹⁹⁹ Josefa Estebañez, a Spanish *mestiza*, also had her own small operation in a house along Salcedo Street, Intramuros.¹²⁰⁰

Patriarchal societies institutionalized prostitution in order to satisfy men's physical needs. While paid sex may have been an accepted practice, some men still preferred services that allowed for privacy.¹²⁰¹ Some may also have desired a prostitute of the same race or ethnic and cultural background. Three Western women, who were part of the city's sex industry in the late 1800s, satisfied such demands. In 1890, A Spanish woman named Trinidad Sanchez, Antonelle Dussard, an American, and Lorenza Yda from England did their work in the privacy of their residences in the districts of San Miguel, Sampaloc, and Quiapo. They had no *bugaw* and, thus, worked as independent operators, a condition far different from brothel prostitutes.¹²⁰²

Some bordellos were likely to have been family-based enterprises. Marcella Catapang's prostitution house had only one girl, Rosalia, who carried the same last name as Marcella. The same situation applied to Maria Baña who did sex work in a place owned by Ysidora Baña. Francisca and Feliciano Cruz also worked for their *bugaw*, Antonia Cruz. All these brothels were located in the district of Dilao.¹²⁰³

Images of the Working-Class Manileña

The women from humbler backgrounds played an integral role in nineteenth century Manila's workspaces. Beyond traveller accounts, cumulative data embedded in the city's civil registers and feature stories and illustrations from late nineteenth century periodicals allow us to reconstruct aspects of the lives of the hard-working and sometimes abused Manileña.

The archival records reveal that a working-class Manileña likely worked in households as a servant and cook or supported the members of such homes as a seamstress, laundry woman, or even a milkmaid. Many also found work as cigar makers, shopkeepers, and vendors, and thus served as the backbone of the city's cigar factories and marketplaces. Dire circumstances pushed some into Manila's burgeoning

¹¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, S448.

¹²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, S448.

¹²⁰¹ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, p. 189.

¹²⁰² NAP, *Prostitucion 1887-1897*, S448.

¹²⁰³ *Ibid.*, S448.

flesh trade as streetwalkers or sex workers who sold their bodies in brothels and other frequently hidden spaces.

Some of these women began working for wages before they entered their teens, while others had no choice but to toil until old age. Depending on their occupations, the average woman from humbler backgrounds was likely to be in her early to late thirties. Professions that put a premium on experience, such as cooks, were typically in their forties, while the importance placed on youth among sex workers meant that many of them were only in their late teens or middle twenties when they entered the profession. While a significant number of workingwomen in Manila were migrants from nearby provinces, the majority were Manila natives.

Beyond the statistics, newspaper stories and illustrations of the servant, washerwoman, ambulant vendor, milkmaid, and seamstress also serve to humanize these women. Portrayals of them having agency, ambition, responsibilities, relations, and lived spaces allows us to appreciate them as regular human beings. Moreover, police records and criminal case files of public women allow us to glimpse the dreadful lives and work spaces they had to endure.

THEME 3: Women and Society

Chapter 8. Imagining the Socio-Spatial World of the Manileña

The history and geography disciplines utilize written sources and images, respectively, to create and communicate knowledge. Straddling both fictional and factual realms, such source materials anchor interdisciplinary historical and geographical studies about a people and place.¹²⁰⁴ These written and visual “texts”¹²⁰⁵ reveal much about particular landscapes¹²⁰⁶ and provide “information about past relationships, beliefs, and behaviour.”¹²⁰⁷

Written evidence reflecting women’s lives in late nineteenth century Manila is certainly available in documents produced by the State’s bureaucracy. However, researchers can also produce a visual representation of the urban female condition by using materials from the Manila-based print media that proliferated after the easing of censorship restrictions in the final years of Spanish rule.¹²⁰⁸ This chapter reveals how the dominant patriarchal views about women - their roles, behaviour, and acceptable conduct of males towards them – were presented in articles, illustrations, and advertisements in women’s magazines and weekly newspapers. These depictions of women and their social spaces reflect what feminists call the male gaze and signify a stereotypical counterpoint to case files that reveal the Manileña’s agency in a male-dominated world. In addition, illustrations published in Manila’s emerging press corroborate such depictions of women found in travel narratives during the Spanish period.

The Woman as Home-Bound Nurturing Mother, Supportive Wife, and Good Daughter: Patriarchal Representations from the *Un Bello Sexo*

In her pioneering work on the social construction of women in Philippine magazines, Georgina Encanto argued that print media revealed the concerns and interests of females at a particular point in time. The ruling classes also used these magazines to promote and normalize dominant ideologies regarding the

¹²⁰⁴ Stephen Daniels, “Geographical Imagination,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* vol. 36, Issue 2 (April 2011), p. 182; Joshua Brown, “Forum: History and the Web: From the Illustrated Newspaper to Cyberspace: Visual Technologies and Interaction in the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Centuries,” *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2004), p. 254.

¹²⁰⁵ Lindsey Moore, “Darkly as through a Veil: Reading Representations of Algerian Women,” *Intercultural Education*, vol. 18, no. 4 (October 2007), pp. 335-351.

¹²⁰⁶ Stephen Daniels, “Geographical Imagination,” p. 185.

¹²⁰⁷ Joshua Brown, “Forum: History and the Web,” p. 254.

¹²⁰⁸ Carson Taylor, *History of the Philippine Press* (Manila: s.n., 1927), p. 26.

woman's proper place and role in the social order.¹²⁰⁹ One periodical that influenced societal views regarding women was the weekly magazine, *Un Bello Sexo* (The Fairer Sex). Marketed for the upper class female, the magazine's writers were men whose views were steeped in patriarchal thinking. Its articles confined women to the domestic sphere and glorified their roles as a supportive and caring wife, and a nurturing mother who raised her children into proper citizens, while serving as keeper of the household. The woman was to become the "queen of the home" yet deprived of a life outside of it.¹²¹⁰ Moreover, instead of developing her ability to make a living, she was merely encouraged to devote much effort to beautify herself.¹²¹¹

Such roles and activities assigned to the Filipino woman are consistent with patriarchal ideas promoted in other cultures that women were the "weaker vessel"¹²¹² and inferior to men.¹²¹³ Such beliefs also rooted women to the home where they served as supportive spouse and decoration to her husband, as well as nurturer of children whom would be future citizens of society.¹²¹⁴ Therefore, *Un Bello Sexo* promoted the social mythology and stereotypical image¹²¹⁵ of the nineteenth century Filipina as a physically attractive mother and supportive helpmeet who remained in the domestic shadows. These consistent representations as contented wife and mother restricted to her domestic space become an "iconology" – a set of culturally accepted concepts and ideas¹²¹⁶ – of what an ideal woman should be.

The lead article of *Un Bello Sexo*'s second issue set the tone in promoting the home-based and subservient role of Filipino women. Titled *La Mujer de Filipinas* (Woman of the Philippines), it emphasized that women were to serve as heads of the household, the "blessed sanctuary" where "the holy traditions were kept

¹²⁰⁹ Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina*, pp. 1 and 4.

¹²¹⁰ Ibid., p.17-19, 31.

¹²¹¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹²¹² Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Female Labour in Twentieth Century Colonial Java: European Notions, Indonesian Practices," In *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), p. 49.

¹²¹³ Philippa Levine, ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 7.

¹²¹⁴ Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Summer Dresses and Canned Food: European Women and Western Lifestyles," *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000), pp. 102 and 109; Arezki and Mahmoudi, "American Women of the Colonial Period," p. 5.

¹²¹⁵ Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 4.

¹²¹⁶ Elizabeth V. Burt, "From 'True Woman' to 'New Woman': An Analysis of the Lydia Pinkham 'Animated Ads' of 1890," *Journalism History* vol. 37, no. 4 (Winter 2012), p. 208.

immaculate and pure". She was to be a picture of selfless motherhood. Given her morals and proper sense of hygiene, she would insist on breastfeeding her children, while having the resources to hire a "mercenary" wet nurse. She would also act as her offspring's first teacher of the "Most Holy Religion," her child's armor and conscience in a temptation-filled world.¹²¹⁷ In a sense, the woman's total inculcation of Catholic virtues was required to keep her home in order.¹²¹⁸

As a wife, the Filipina was to be her husband's wise counsel and comforter during life's trials. Her superior intuition and moral strength would prove beneficial to the latter. She, however, should never relinquish her dependence on her husband. Independence would divest her of modesty, sweetness, charms, and allure. The female was not to leave the natural surroundings and stray into public life. Doing so would question the recognized authority of her spouse and lead to the neglect of her children. Thus, a Catholic Filipina's life was one based upon home-based seclusion,¹²¹⁹ and she was not to work unless necessary.¹²²⁰

However, writers argued that the Christian woman's focus on motherhood and her home would emancipate rather than confine her. Further romanticizing such patriarchal images of the female as mother and nurturer,¹²²¹ she would lord over a home that served as her "true center" and "throne". Truly, her relegation to the domestic sphere was a means of positioning women in a social hierarchy.¹²²²

The male-dominant outlook that eased women out of spaces in public life, reinforced her supporting role to her spouse, and other similar articles further upheld the endorsement of desirable, lady-like characteristics. The married woman was to be a discerning, modest, patient, affectionate, and submissive

¹²¹⁷ Lope Blas Hucapate, "La Mujer de Filipinas," *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 2, 14 Enero 1891, p. 1. This citation applies as well to the two succeeding paragraphs.

¹²¹⁸ Camacho, "Woman's Worth," pp. 125, 135-136.

¹²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133 and 137.

¹²²⁰ Jones, *Outcast London*, p. 84.

¹²²¹ Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina*, p. 31.

¹²²² Emily Rose Stevenson, "Home, Sweet Home: Women and the 'Other Space' of Domesticity in Colonial Indian Postcards, ca. 1880-1920," *Visual Anthropology*, vol. 26, no. 4 (2013), pp. 299-301. While Stevenson's paper mainly demonstrates how social distance and difference between colonizer and colonized was promoted through photographs and illustration of the colonial household, her research also emphasizes how the colonizing role of British women was limited to their households.

wife. She was to compensate for her man's weaknesses, provide him good counsel, and allow him to vent and calm down when irritated.¹²²³

A woman, according to Encanto, should always consider her man's interests. She should never dominate him. If she had something to say, she had to find the right opportunity to express her opinion. A good wife always kept her spouse well groomed while also ensuring her manner of dressing was acceptable to the latter. Moreover, she was always stayed with him, in good times and bad.

The essay likewise enumerated daily activities a woman was to fulfil in the domestic domain. A proper woman ensured her household's food was properly prepared and she always kept busy in order to ward off her greatest enemy – idleness. As chief homemaker, she only did work exclusive to women and duly assigned tasks to all household members, particularly her children. Again, for the sake of her children, she avoided leaving home. Moreover, modesty and faithfulness to her husband meant she should avoid loitering near her home's windows, lest she exposed herself to others. Thus, instead of becoming her husband's property displayed publicly like a trophy,¹²²⁴ the proper woman hid herself behind doors from prying eyes. In other words, the woman's efforts of ceaselessly managing the house not only guaranteed her faithfulness to her husband, but also allowed the latter the convenience of having an orderly and routine life.¹²²⁵

Women were even exhorted to be faithful to their husbands even after the latter's death. In the essay, *La Viuda* (The Widow), the wife was to be totally devoted to her ailing husband. Once widowed, women were to remain faithful to the memory of their deceased spouses.¹²²⁶ The article, however, was silent on whether it was appropriate for a widow to remarry.

¹²²³ Lope Blas Hucapate, "The Obligations of a Woman to her Spouse," *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 9, 7 Marzo 1891, pp. 82-83, 98. This citation also applies to the two succeeding paragraphs.

¹²²⁴ Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 161.

¹²²⁵ On Barak, "Times of Tammadun: Gender, Urbanity, and Contemporaneity in Colonial Egypt," In *Women and the city, Women in the city: A gendered perspective of Ottoman Urban History*, ed. N. Maskudyan (New York and London: Berghahn Books, Inc., 2014), p. 17.

¹²²⁶ Manuel Ravago, "La Viuda," *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 17, 8 Mayo 1891, pp. 210-211.

Periodicals potentially shape their readers' minds¹²²⁷ and promote their particular representation of women.¹²²⁸ In this context, the *Un Bello Sexo* published other essays that discussed preferred traits of the woman as an individual, as well as her role as daughter, sister, spouse, and keeper of the home. A proper female was sweet, strong-willed yet meek,¹²²⁹ who had a heart filled with "love and self-denial".¹²³⁰ She was supportive of her parents in their old age, served as model to her siblings, capable of controlling her emotional brother, and was a nurturing mother, and loving wife.¹²³¹

The *Un Bello Sexo*'s writers glorified motherhood and domesticity. To become a mother was apparently the "most sublime, most admirable state" a woman could attain. By properly educating her child, a woman "prepares society's future men".¹²³² Furthermore, a strong woman poured her efforts into making a happy household. While the man's responsibility was to "fight and conquer" in the outside world, the female's "field of action" remained within the walls of her home. In a sense, the privacy of the home was supposedly the only urban space that a woman could hope to develop and maintain in any settlement.¹²³³ Therefore, her life undertaking was to be a good wife and mother.¹²³⁴ In effect, the magazine's efforts to put the Filipina on a pedestal turned the woman into an individual trapped within a small social and physical space with no rights over her own body. Worse still, this female notion dehumanized her as she became more a social ideal than a human being.¹²³⁵

¹²²⁷ Churchill Ongere, "Asserting the Cartoonist's Place in Kenya's Media Space," https://www.academia.edu/35617718/Asserting_The_Cartoonist_s_Place_in_Kenya_s_Media_Space Date Downloaded: 20 August 2019.

¹²²⁸ Mercy Ette, "Where are the Women? Evaluating Visibility of Nigerian female politicians in news media space," *Gender, Place, and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* vol. 24, no. 10 (2007), pp. 1481-1482.

¹²²⁹ Manuel Ravago, "La Mujer," *Un Bello Sexo*. Año 1, Numero 10, 14 Marzo 1891, p. 130.

¹²³⁰ Pickwick, "Mujeres Fuertes," *Un Bello Sexo*. Año 1, Numero 36-37, 1 Octuvre 1891, pp. 437-438.

¹²³¹ Ravago, "La Mujer," p. 130

¹²³² Manuel Ravago, "La Madre: A La Memoria de Mi Idolatrada Y Desgraciada Madre," *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 17, 8 Mayo 1891, pp. 194-195

¹²³³ Elizabeth Ann Fretwell, "'My Most Beautiful Ornament Is My House': National Womanhood and Urban Modernity in Late Colonial and Postcolonial Senegal, 1956-1968," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 42, no. 5 (2016), pp. 885.

¹²³⁴ Pickwick, "Mujeres Fuertes," pp. 437-438.

¹²³⁵ Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 10.

Imagining the Manileña and her Spaces in Newspaper Illustrations

Historians argue “our consciousness of the past is inextricably bound by pictures” and “historical understanding is like an evocation of images”.¹²³⁶ Visual information offer much insight on a people’s “past relationships, beliefs, and behaviour” from illustrations. Yet they mainly serve as supporting information in texts and not as a means to bolster arguments.¹²³⁷

Several illustrative and satirical newspapers aside from the *Un Bello Sexo*, such as *La Opinion*, *La Ilustracion Filipina*, *Manililla*, *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, *Polichinea*, and the *Manila Alegre*, published issues with various illustrations of women in various contexts and places. Some of these drawings of women in everyday public spaces, at home, or while they worked and played, reflected their ubiquitous presence in Manila’s social life and supported the veracity of descriptions in colonial traveller’s accounts. However, some sketches also reveal what women’s studies academics argue to be the “male gaze” that objectifies women’s bodies, glorifies and normalizes the female physical form that appealed to men, and promotes the notion of female inferiority.¹²³⁸

Drawings of Women in Everyday Public Spaces

Despite exhortations of the *Un Bello Sexo*’s writers that women should usually stay at home, many illustrations feature them as a ubiquitous part of the public domain. One of the preferred themes of artists was of women travelling along roads or waterways, a common occurrence in nineteenth century Philippine social life.¹²³⁹ Some sketches simply portrayed walking in public as a common female activity. This can be understood by looking at Illustrations 8.1 to 8.9 below, which exhibit females moving about, highlighting the female presence in Manila’s landscapes and public life. The first four drawings are benign as they display females who are travelling, usually by themselves, along roads and waterways. However, Illustrations 8.5 and 8.6, sketches of a *mestiza* and her *indio* counterpart, reveal divergent portrayals among females from different races.

¹²³⁶ Brown, “Forum: History and the Web,” p. 253. Please note that the second quotation is attributed to the historian Johan Huizinga.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., p. 254.

¹²³⁸ Ewa Glapka, “Lost in Translation: The Male Gaze and the (In)Visible Bodies of Muslim Women – A Response Article,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, vol. 19, issue 2 (2018), p. 1.

¹²³⁹ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 19.



Illustrations 8.1 and 8.2. “A Philippine Landscape”¹²⁴⁰ and “Travesia de San Pedrillo, Rio de Pasig, Dibujo Natural.”¹²⁴¹



Illustration 8.3. Travelling along the Pasig River.¹²⁴²

¹²⁴⁰ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 10, 14 Marzo 1891, p. 144.

¹²⁴¹ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 25, 7 Mayo 1892, p. 189.

¹²⁴² *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 30, 14 Junio 1892, p. 204.



Illustration 8.4. Feast of San Juan Bautista.¹²⁴³



Illustrations 8.5 and 8.6. “Un Mestiza en el Paseo” and “Una India en el Camino.”¹²⁴⁴

¹²⁴³ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 32, 28 Junio 1892, p. 256.

¹²⁴⁴ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 51, 21 Noviembre 1892, pp. 404-405.



Illustrations 8.7 and 8.8. Woman walking in the rain¹²⁴⁵ and “Una Babae.”¹²⁴⁶

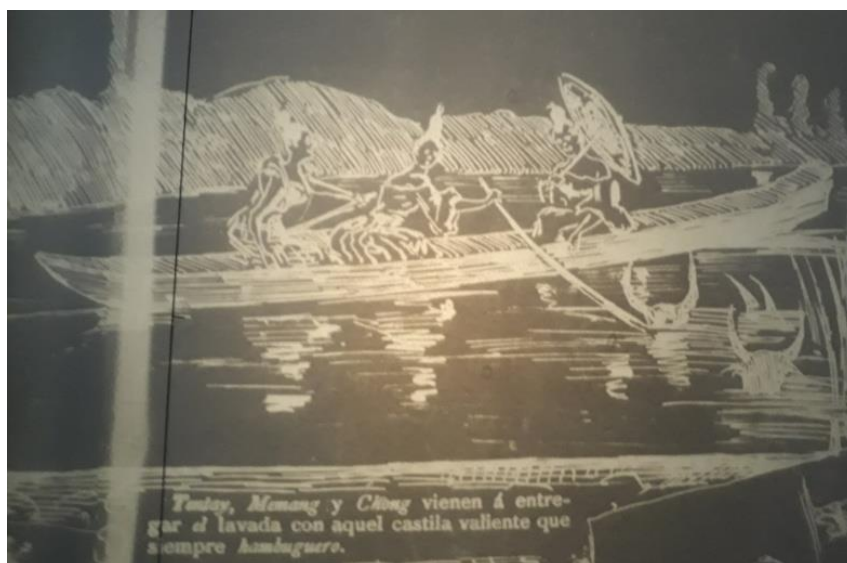


Illustration 8.9. By the Pasig.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁵ *La Opinion*, Año 2, Numero 162, 18 Junio 1892, p. 5.

¹²⁴⁶ *La Opinion*, Año 3, Numero 319, 9 Diciembre 1889, p. 4.

¹²⁴⁷ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 47, 23 Marzo 1889, p. 5.

While both women walked with downcast eyes, a trait observed by European travellers among Manila's women in the nineteenth century,¹²⁴⁸ the depictions of these females still demonstrate slight differences. In terms of attire and accessories, the *mestiza* is better dressed than her *indio* counterpart. Her upper body was also better covered than the *indio*, and she also had a fan. While such differences associated with race and social class¹²⁴⁹ may not be readily discernible, the two women clearly belonged to different social environments. The native woman's illustration depicts her walking along a road, past a hut, a symbol of a working-class environment. The *mestiza*, however, was strolling along a *paseo*, a walkway usually reserved for people of privilege. Thus, the two women belonged to the public scene but engaged in dissimilar spaces. Illustrations 8.7 and 8.8, on the other hand, reveal a male gaze that objectified the female body.¹²⁵⁰ In both pictures, the occurrence of a downpour compelled the women to raise their skirts, thus revealing portions of their otherwise hidden legs. The exposure of skin to protect one's clothes from the rain and mud was accepted practice during the rainy season.¹²⁵¹ However, the emphasis on the curves of the woman's body in Illustration 8.8, with a pose that emphasized her buttocks, was a clear sign of male objectification.

Illustration 8.9 is also comparable to the previous drawing as it accentuates the female form of the two native women rowing strenuously in the Pasig. This time, the illustrator portrays the *india* as a woman who had no qualms exposing her bare shoulders in public, while drawings of Spanish and *mestizo* women were never revealing in this manner.¹²⁵²

There were also other portrayals of women in different situations and social spaces in public. Two drawings below show women in religious spaces. The first picture is of a mother and daughter praying for the intercession of San Vicente Ferrer after a terrible fire that destroyed portions of Sampaloc. The illustration beside it depicts two couples that have just finished attending Christmas midnight mass (See Illustrations 8.10 and 8.11.).

¹²⁴⁸ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 20.

¹²⁴⁹ It should be noted that in various documents in the *Protocolos* and *Contribucion Industrial*, there was a substantial number of *indio* women who were members of the upper class.

¹²⁵⁰ Glapka, "Lost in Translation," p. 1

¹²⁵¹ LeRoy and Stevens. *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 31.

¹²⁵² There is only one image of a *mestizo* woman with exposed shoulders in a cigarette advertisement, which will be discussed in the latter part of the chapter.

One syncretic religious tradition observed by Catholics in the Spanish period was the belief that couples who wished to have a child should participate in a fertility dance in Obando, Bulacan. The town attracted people from different places, and its proximity to Manila made it accessible to men and women from the capital (See Illustrations 8.12 and 8.13.).



Illustrations 8.10 and 8.11. “Plegaria a San Vicente Ferrer”¹²⁵³ and “Despues de Misa de Gallo.”¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁵³ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 24, 28 Avril 1892, p. 181.

¹²⁵⁴ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 3, Numero 103, 21 Diciembre 1893, p. 5.



Illustrations 8.12 and 8.13. “Romereros de Obando”¹²⁵⁵ and “De Romeria.”¹²⁵⁶

Newspaper artists also captured different representations of Manileñas of humbler means, both mundane and unique, as part of the city’s social life. Two such illustrations were street scenes published in the *La Opinion*. One sketch involved a bitter altercation between two household servants fighting over the affections of the house cook, who was walking away (See Illustration 8.14.). The other illustration is of a native woman who engaged the services of a skilled Chinese worker to clean her ears (See Illustration 8.15.).

Other pictures portray Manila’s female social outcasts as a topic of concern. Illustration 8.16 below portrays a male and a female vagrant discussing the food and money they have accumulated after a day of begging. Illustration 8.17, on the other hand, is a comics-like sketch of a dreadful reality – the prevalence of prostitution in Manila. Six sequential drawings are of a man staring at a woman who then follows her along the city’s streets. Realizing this, the woman runs and the latter gives chase. The woman enters an establishment with a signboard in Chinese characters on it, implying that he was about to go inside a

¹²⁵⁵ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 37, 21 Mayo 1892, p. 213.

¹²⁵⁶ *Manililla*, Año 4, Numero 107, 12 Mayo 1890, p. 1.

brothel, a business commonly run by Manila-based Chinese.¹²⁵⁷ Instead of a *casa de prostitucion*, the man actually entered a *panciteria* or noodle house.

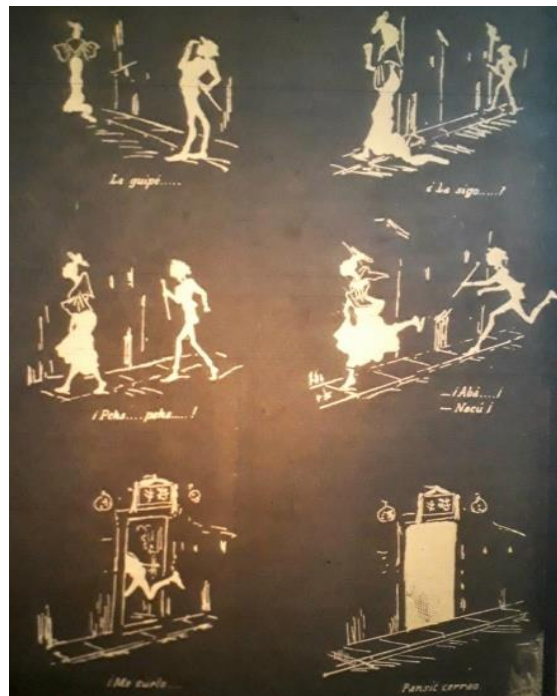


Illustrations 8.14 and 8.15. A fight between two women¹²⁵⁸ and a woman having her ear cleaned.¹²⁵⁹

¹²⁵⁷ Mention of Chinese brothels can be found in the National Archives of the Philippines' *Prostitucion* bundles 1862-1879, 1881-1886, 1887-1897.

¹²⁵⁸ *La Opinion*, Año 3, Numero 76, 13 Mayo 1889, no page.

¹²⁵⁹ *La Opinion*, Año 2, Numero 182, 9 Julio 1888, pp. 4-5.



Illustrations 8.16 and 8.17. “Los Viernes de Manila”¹²⁶⁰ and a man following a woman whom he thought was a prostitute.¹²⁶¹

Women Enjoying Themselves

Newspaper and magazine artists also took notice of moments when women, either alone or with others, were simply enjoying themselves. Some pastimes were solitary pursuits. These included distracting one’s self with a pet, playing the piano, reading a book, or consuming an alcoholic drink alone (See Illustrations 8.18 to 8.22.).

¹²⁶⁰ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 166, 27 Junio 1891, p. 166.

¹²⁶¹ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 1, 1 Julio de 1886, p. 6.



Illustration 8.18. “Distracciones.”¹²⁶²



Illustration 8.19. “Artistas Caseras.”¹²⁶³

¹²⁶² *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 37, 7 Agosto 1892, p. 302.

¹²⁶³ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 159, 9 Mayo 1891, p. 1.



Illustration 8.20. A woman reading a book.¹²⁶⁴



Illustrations 8.21 and 8.22. *Manzanilla* and *Crema de Cacao*.¹²⁶⁵

¹²⁶⁴ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 173, 15 Agosto 1891, p. 4.

¹²⁶⁵ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 171, 1 Agosto 1891, pp. 4-5.

Other female leisure activities in nineteenth century Manila were in the company of other people, including the opposite sex. Events that commonly had a male presence included public dances at *fiestas*, gambling sessions, and a stroll along the Luneta (See Illustrations 8.23 to 8.26.). There is even one picture of a woman enjoying one of the modern technological trappings of the nineteenth century, the *Cosmorama*. This contraption enabled users to view scenic perspectives of world-renowned places and landmarks (See Illustration 8.27.).



Illustration 8.23. Open Air Dancing.¹²⁶⁶



Illustration 8.24. Playing *timba*.¹²⁶⁷

¹²⁶⁶ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 30, 14 Junio 1892, p. 204.

¹²⁶⁷ *La Opinion*, Año 3, Numero 319, 3 Diciembre 1889, p. 5.



Illustration 8.25. Women and men playing *panguingue*.¹²⁶⁸



Illustration 8.26. "La Luneta."¹²⁶⁹

¹²⁶⁸ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 30, 14 Junio 1892, p. 204.

¹²⁶⁹ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 6, 2 Agosto 1886, no page.



Illustration 8.27. "Cosmorama."¹²⁷⁰

Courtship

Given the promotion of modesty and submissiveness as desired female characteristics,¹²⁷¹ a proper woman waited for potential suitors. Scenes of courtship, of men pursuing women, were also a topic of interest among newspaper illustrators. If the work of such artists reflected how wooing was conducted in Spanish Manila, clearly such activities occurred in many different contexts. In a sketch titled *Idilio Cuadro Costumbres* (Idyllic Picture of Customs), a man is shown pursuing a woman in a neighborhood general (*sari-sari*) store. While the woman may have been a customer or the establishment's shopkeeper, she clearly had the attention of the man next to her (See Illustration 8.28.). Other males made their intentions known to both the girl and her family by serenading her while she watched from the window of her home (See Illustration 8.29.). In addition, nineteenth century dating practices included going to dances, a reality observed by an artist who drew the work, *Una Criatura* [See Illustration 8.30.].

¹²⁷⁰ *Manilila*, Año 3, Numero 94, 15 Febrero 1890, p. 1.

¹²⁷¹ Hucapate, "La Mujer de Filipinas," p. 1; Hucapate, "The Obligations of a Woman to her Spouse," pp. 82-83, 98.



Illustration 8.28. “Idilio Cuadro Costumbres.”¹²⁷²



Illustration 8.29. “Serenata de Cumintang.”¹²⁷³

¹²⁷² *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Numero 48, 7 Noviembre 1892, p. 388.

¹²⁷³ *La Ilustracion Filipina*. Ano 2, Num 45, 7 Oct 1892, p. 356.



Illustration 8.30. Una Criatura.¹²⁷⁴

Daily Life within the Home

Manila's womenfolk were part of the city's public life, but the roles and activities socially assigned to them were generally associated with the home. Even enterprising upper class females preferred businesses that afforded them to attend to their domestic affairs,¹²⁷⁵ and the *Un Bello Sexo's* stories often emphasized that the woman's "field of action" was her household.¹²⁷⁶ Several drawings represented the constant female presence in the domestic sphere, including portrayals of women busy with chores, nurturing members of her household, or doing things associated with her gender. The sketch that encapsulated the different types of work women were busy with in their households was called the *Interior de Un Babay, Costumbre Filipinas* (The interior of the home, Philippine customs) [See Illustration 8.31.]. In this scene, the women of the household are doing various chores, such as washing clothes, bringing in food from the market, and taking care of the family's younger members.

¹²⁷⁴ "Una Criatura." *Manililla*, 21 Nov 1891, Año 5, Num 187, pp. 4-5.

¹²⁷⁵ It is for this reason that women who had registered businesses listed in the *Contribucion Industrial* usually owned transports-for-hire as well as home-based *panguingue* tables and small cigar manufacturing operations.

¹²⁷⁶ Pickwick, "Mujeres Fuertes," pp. 437-438.



Illustration 8.31. “Interior de un Bahay, Costumbre Filipinas”¹²⁷⁷

Pictures of women also showed them performing their motherly duties. In Illustration 8.32, a bed-ridden boy’s parents look on while a *mediquillo* or pseudo-doctor, commonly the only medical person in a community, observes him. However, the female parent was invariably closest to her son. In the next picture, an artist conveys his own depiction of a common household scene – a young mother staying near her sleeping baby (See Illustration 8.33).

¹²⁷⁷ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 36-37, 1 Octubre 1891, p. 553.



Illustration 8.32. “El Mediquillo Ante El Trancazo.”¹²⁷⁸



Illustration 8.33. “El Primer Hijo.”¹²⁷⁹

¹²⁷⁸ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Num 28, 28 Mayo 1892, p 219.

¹²⁷⁹ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Num 51, 28 Nov 1892, pp. 413 & 415.

The use of looms in Filipino homes was arguably the most important industry in the Philippines. It was common for women to be involved in sewing, weaving, and embroidering.¹²⁸⁰ This social and economic pastime was illustrated in a sketch of a group of women doing embroidery-work (See Illustration 8.34.).



Illustration 8.34. A group of women doing embroidery.¹²⁸¹

The home was a site where women interacted with and related to others. In some instances, their actions toward household members particularly staff, left much to be desired. In Illustration 8.35, a young woman is trying to eavesdrop on a conversation from the other side of the wall. The following illustration, on the other hand, demonstrates condescending treatment towards house staff. In the said drawing, a young woman reprimands a house boy as she orders him to pull a chair for a guest. A female elder disapproves of the young female's behavior and tells her perhaps she should also place a chair over her mouth (See Illustration 8.36.).

¹²⁸⁰ Le Roy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, pp. 41 and 47.

¹²⁸¹ *Manililla*, Año 2, Numero 12, 31 Julio 1888, p. 1.



Illustration 8.35. A girl eavesdropping on a conversation.¹²⁸²



Illustration 8.36. "Escenas Intimas, Hoy Bata!"¹²⁸³

¹²⁸² *Manililla*, Año 2, Num 238, 3 Setiembre 1888, p. 8.

¹²⁸³ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 80, 9 Noviembre 1889, p. 1.

Despite patriarchal notions discouraging women from exposing themselves to public life,¹²⁸⁴ it did not mean they were not interested in what was occurring outside of their houses. A few illustrations of Spanish women depict their curiosity about occurrences taking place outside of their residence. The first picture depicts two conservatively-dressed Spanish women¹²⁸⁵ seated near their window. It appears that something outside attracted has the ladies' attention (See Illustration 8.37.) In the following drawing, two younger women are comparing details about their fathers' government positions. (See Illustration 8.38.). Moreover, visual artists captured the close relations females had with their neighbors, such as the two women conversing by their respective windows (See Illustration 8.39).



Illustration 8.37. Two Spanish women looking over their window at home.¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁸⁴ Hucapate, "The Obligations of a Woman to her Spouse", pp. 82-83, 98.

¹²⁸⁵ Spanish females were always portrayed wearing clothes that completely covered them from the neck down.

¹²⁸⁶ *Manilla*, Año 4, Numero 128, 11 Octubre 1890, p. 1.

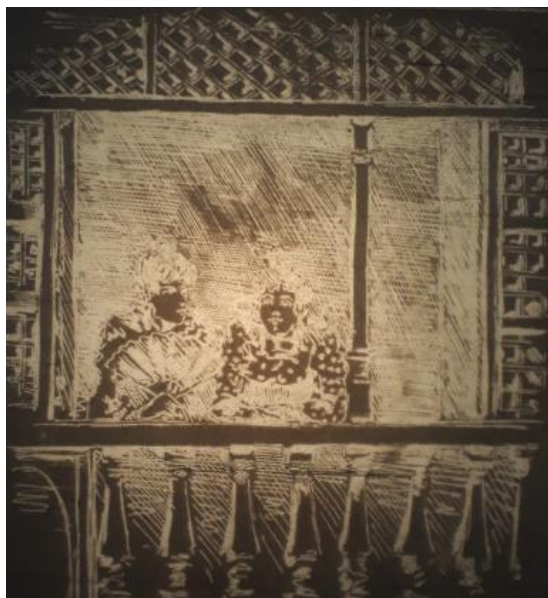


Illustration 8.38. “Categorías.”¹²⁸⁷



Illustration 8.39. Two women talking from the windows of their homes.¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁷ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 154, 4 Avril 1891 p. 1.

¹²⁸⁸ *Manililla*, Año 4 Num 133, 15 Nov 1890, p. 1.

Women at Work

Travel accounts and scholarly work on nineteenth and early twentieth century Manila have consistently emphasized the remarkable presence of women in the city's economic life. Women from different races and socioeconomic backgrounds served as workers in cigar factories,¹²⁸⁹ vendors,¹²⁹⁰ and carriers of produce¹²⁹¹ in public markets, and small business owners,¹²⁹² many of which were home-based.¹²⁹³ It is therefore no surprise that working women were prime subjects of Manila-based magazine and newspaper illustrators in the late nineteenth century. The majority of such drawings portrayed women as ambulant vendors or sellers in markets (See Illustrations 8.40 to 8.45). Other sketches depicted other occupations such as clotheswashers, musicians, a storekeeper, milkmaid, and cook (See Illustrations 8.46 to 8.50.). Illustration 8.40 is a sketch of Eustaquia Reimundo, a 17-year-old orphan from Pasig who supported her grandparents and two younger siblings. Her parish priest was so impressed by her devotion to her family he asked the *Un Bello Sexo* to have a sketch of her done and to print this in one of the issues of the said magazine.¹²⁹⁴ Illustration 8.42, on the other hand, is a representation of a mango vendor or *manguera*, whose practice of carrying her *bilao* or flat basket with her products was a standard practice of rice cake sellers in Manila streets.¹²⁹⁵

¹²⁸⁹ Camagay, *The Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*, p. 21.

¹²⁹⁰ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 30.

¹²⁹¹ MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla*, pp. 107-108.

¹²⁹² John Foreman, *The Philippines*, p. 173.

¹²⁹³ Doeppers, "Migrants in Urban Labor Markets," p. 255.

¹²⁹⁴ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 30, 14 Agosto 1891, p. 415.

¹²⁹⁵ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 15, 21 Febrero 1892, pp. 107.



Illustration 8.40. Eustaquia Reimundo, a self-supporting orphan from Pasig.¹²⁹⁶



Illustration 8.41. A female native water seller in Pasig.¹²⁹⁷

¹²⁹⁶ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 30, 14 Agosto 1891, p. 415.

¹²⁹⁷ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 15, 21 Febrero 1892, pp. 107.



Illustrations 8.42 and 8.43. A mango vendor¹²⁹⁸ and young girl carrying a jug.¹²⁹⁹



Illustration 8.44. A sketch of a market scene with females as buyers and sellers.¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁹⁸ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 9, 7 Enero 1892, pp. 69 and 71.

¹²⁹⁹ *La Opinion*, Año 2, Numero 138, 21 Mayo 1888, p. 4.

¹³⁰⁰ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Num 30, 14 Jun 1892, p. 204.



Illustration 8.45. A woman selling fruits and vegetables along a waterway.¹³⁰¹



Illustration 8.46. Women washing clothes.¹³⁰²



Illustration 8.47. A female storekeeper.¹³⁰³

¹³⁰¹ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 2, Num 32, 28 Jun 1892, p. 256.

¹³⁰² *Manililla*, Año 6, Num 193, 9 Enero 1891, p. 5.

¹³⁰³ *Manililla*, Año 6, Num 209, 23 Avril 1891, pp. 4-5.



Illustration 8.48. “La Lechera.”¹³⁰⁴



Illustration 8.49. Female Musicians.¹³⁰⁵

¹³⁰⁴ *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 12, 23 Diciembre 1877, p. 4.

¹³⁰⁵ *Manililla*, Año 4, Numero 119, 9 Agosto 1890, p. 4.



Illustration 8.50. A female restaurant cook.¹³⁰⁶

Women as Victims of the Male Gaze

Institutions, such as the print media, tend to promote the ideologies or beliefs of the dominant groups.¹³⁰⁷ Print media, in particular, are subjective, hegemonic spaces that support, reinforce, and normalize notions of people.¹³⁰⁸ In the nineteenth century, the Philippine press was dominated by men, and their representation of women reflected their patriarchal values. Specific illustrations published by Spanish era magazines and newspapers circulated its makers' male gaze, which turned women into inferior beings who were objects of men's fantasies and desires.¹³⁰⁹

Illustrations 8.51 and 8.52, reflect men's objectification of women and a clear preference for a particular female form. In the sketch *Ideas de Catequista* (See Illustration 8.51.), a woman wearing a dress that exposed her cleavage and accentuated her buttocks is applying make up in front of her dresser. As if to emphasize the belief that a female should take pains to look beautiful, the illustration's caption says: "No, sir. These Russians do not have my religion, and I don't want to have anything to do with them unless they

¹³⁰⁶ *Manila Alegre*, Año 3, Numero 2, 8 Enero 1887, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁰⁷ Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina*, p. 8.

¹³⁰⁸ Akiv Dawson, "A Space for Countering Color-Blind Discourse: Constructions of Police-Perpetrated Homicides of African-American Males," *Critical Studies of Mass Communications* vol. 35, no. 3 (2018), pp. 300-301.

¹³⁰⁹ Glapka, "Lost in Transition," p. 1; Elyce Rae Helford, "The Stepford Wives and the Gaze," *Feminist Media Studies* vol. 6, no. 2 (2006), p. 148.

become...my worshippers.”¹³¹⁰ The next picture of a man praising a curvaceous and long-legged young woman for losing so much weight (See Illustration 8.52.), which again reinforces both the image of the idealized female body and the belief that women should take great pains to look physically attractive.¹³¹¹



Illustration 8.51. “Ideas de Catequista.”¹³¹²



Illustration 8.52. A man praising a young, attractive woman.¹³¹³

¹³¹⁰ “Ideas de Catequista,” *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 47, 21 Marzo 1889, p. 1

¹³¹¹ Fretwell, “My Most Beautiful Ornament Is My House,” p. 882 .

¹³¹² *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 47, 21 Marzo 1889, p. 1.

¹³¹³ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 41, 9 Febrero 1889, p. 1.

Newspapers served as promoters of popular culture. Such insitutions also encouraged myths about certain groups, especially women. Among females, some were imbued with proper characteristics, while others were considered more sexual and deviant.¹³¹⁴ While there were exceptions, Spanish women were commonly depicted as being formal and more proper than their native or *mestizo* counterparts. Rarely were they shown exposing their bodies in public, especially their shoulders.¹³¹⁵ This, however, was not the case for others. In Illustration 8.53 below, Choleng, likely a native, is presented as losing her bearings and the upper part of her clothes, after ingesting too much amyl, a liquid believed to be an aphrodisiac. The succeeding drawing titled *Efectos de Seismicos*, shows a barefoot woman¹³¹⁶ in a similar state, this time as a result of an earthquake (See Illustration 8.54.).



Illustration 8.53. A woman after ingesting amyl.¹³¹⁷

¹³¹⁴ Katherine Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenword Press, 1982), p. 10.

¹³¹⁵ Satirical newspapers such as the *Manililla* and *Manila Alegre*, have drawings of native women and mestizos with exposed body parts.

¹³¹⁶ As succeeding pictures of this chapter would demonstrate that portrayals of barefoot women were reserved only for members of the native population.

¹³¹⁷ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 50, 13 Avril 1889, p. 4.



Illustration 8.54. “Efectos Seismicos.”¹³¹⁸

The manner in which satirical newspapers characterized women in their drawings also revealed how they were deemed as shallow beings who socially obsessed more with dances than activities of societal importance. In the sketch, *Buena Noticia* (See Illustration 8.55), a man, referring to the situation in Mindanao, asks a woman if she has heard the good news. The latter thought, however, that the wonderful update was about the dance that evening. In the succeeding drawing, *Despues del Baile* (See Illustration 8.56.), a man in a laundry shop is surprised that a house servant who passed by three days ago had again returned with a set of clothes. The domestic explained that, “I have no more clothes for the lady who needs to dance.”¹³¹⁹

Other visual depictions of women reflected male conduct towards their female counterparts that were tolerated by society. This included aggressive sexual advances towards female members of the household. In Illustration 8.57, a young female house servant holding a broom is being seduced by her male employer who implores her to call him a carabao or water buffalo, a draft animal known for its strength.

¹³¹⁸ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 57, 1 Junio 1889, p. 1.

¹³¹⁹ “Despues del Baile,” *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 191, 19 Diciembre 1891, p. 1

Unbenownst to him, his wife sees all that is happening. In the next illustration (See Illustration 8.58), a man is whispering to a young woman that he has a very important secret to tell her (“Although I am already old, you have to know...”).



Illustration 8.55. “Buena Noticia.”¹³²⁰

¹³²⁰ *Manilla*, Año 5, Numero 177, 12 Setiembre 1891, p. 1.



Illustration 8.56. "Despues del Baile."¹³²¹



Illustration 8.57. A male employer harrasses his servant.¹³²²

¹³²¹ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 191, 19 Diciembre 1891, p. 1.

¹³²² *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 37, 12 Enero 1889, p. 1.



Illustration 8.58. A man whispers to closely to woman's ear.¹³²³

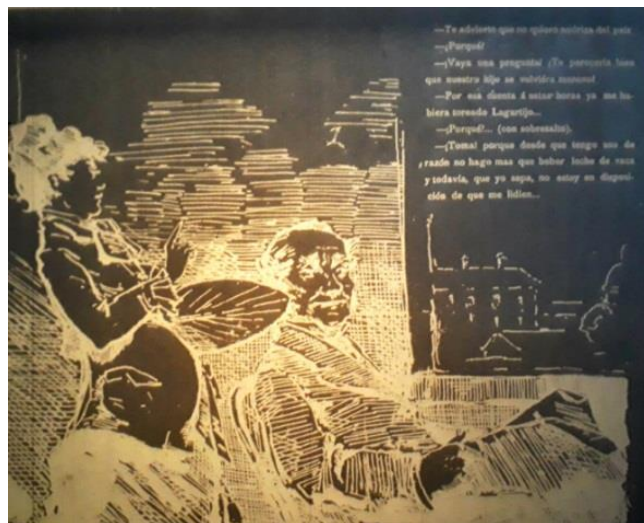


Illustration 8.59. A couple discusses the wet nurse the husband hired.¹³²⁴

One of the more extreme representations of the liberties males had with women in their employ was published in an 1886 issue of the *El Temblor* (See Illustration 8.59 above.) The sketch is of a conversation between a husband and his wife who had recently given birth. The woman asks her spouse why he hired

¹³²³ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 53, 11 Mayo 1889, p. 5.

¹³²⁴ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 6, 2 Agosto 1886.

a *nodriza* or wet nurse when she could nurse their child by herself. Seemingly irritated, the man remarked that now he had no choice to let the wet nurse go despite the fact that he was now no longer used to cow's milk.

Finally several sketches make plain male actions that treat women as objects that could be used and abused. In Illustrations 8.60 and 8.61, men are shown ogling at women and their bodies. In the drawing titled *Año Nuevo* (See Illustration 8.62), its unknown artist recreates the sad reality of domestic abuse, which was said to be a societal custom.¹³²⁵ Moreover, the succeeding picture is that of a young man enjoying the company of women in what looks like a bar or brothel (See Illustration 8.63.).



Illustration 8.60. Three men ogling at an unaware woman.¹³²⁶

¹³²⁵ Nicholas Loney, *Britisher in the Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1964), p. 56.

¹³²⁶ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 96 1 Marzo 1890, p. 1



Illustration 8.61. “De La Ilucion.”¹³²⁷



Illustration 8.62. “Año Nuevo.”¹³²⁸

¹³²⁷ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 118 1 2 Agosto 1890, p. 1.

¹³²⁸ *Manila Alegre*, Año 3, Numero 1, 1 Enero 1887, p. 5.

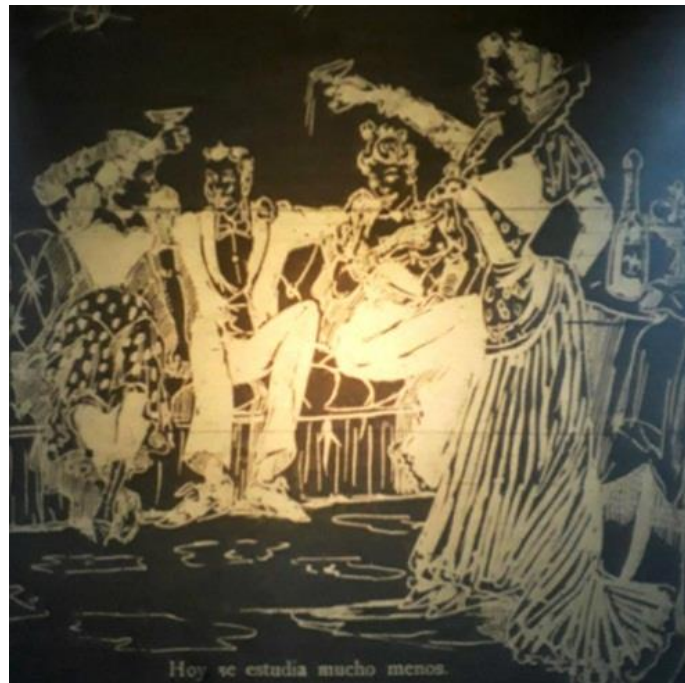


Illustration 8.63. “Hoy se estudia mucho menos.”¹³²⁹

Satirical newspapers likewise took liberties portraying native woman as an unattractive, uncultured yet sexual being. Such representations mirrored how Afro-American women were decried as being more sexual and physically stronger than their white counterparts in the United States.¹³³⁰ These sexualized notions of native women, however, did not occur in a vacuum. Such visualizations of women’s thinly covered bodies and their lack of pretensions with regard to exposing themselves in public were noted in the accounts of visitors of nineteenth and early twentieth century Manila such as Ivan Goncharov,¹³³¹ Karl Von Scherzer,¹³³² Fedor Jagor,¹³³³ James Le Roy,¹³³⁴ Jean Mallat,¹³³⁵ Mary Fee,¹³³⁶ and Margherita Hamm.¹³³⁷

¹³²⁹ *Polichinela*, Año 1, Numero 9, 31 Diciembre 1895, p. 3.

¹³³⁰ Katherine Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 10.

¹³³¹ Ivan Goncharov, *Travel Accounts of the Islands (1854)* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974), p. 170.

¹³³² Karl Von Scherzer, *Travel Accounts of the Islands (1858)* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974), p. 228.

¹³³³ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 20.

¹³³⁴ LeRoy and Stevens. *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 31.

¹³³⁵ Mallat, *The Philippines*, pp. 35 and 39.

¹³³⁶ Fee, *A Woman’s Impressions of the Philippines*, p. 126.

¹³³⁷ Hamm, *Manila and the Philippines*, p. 137.

While there is no denying that native and half-caste women were also portrayed in a flattering manner, some descriptions of them were undeniably negative. The sketch below (See Illustration 8.64) of a conversation between a barefoot native woman with exposed shoulders and poor posture with a well-dressed Spanish woman seeks to emphasize the physical contrasts of the two. The unattractiveness of the *india* was further emphasized in Illustration 8.65 which has a native woman with an extremely squat nose and nearly ape-like features. Not even the stereotyped facial features of a Chinese *mestiza* were spared from the ridicule of newspaper artists. Illustration 8.66 has an image of a well-dressed *mestiza* with the label *La Chata* or “pug-nosed”. Implying that such women should hide their nose from public view, it was stated in the illustration’s accompanying text that “a good mestiza should buy a large handkerchief.”¹³³⁸

Graphic descriptions of native women likewise noted their habits that were deemed uncivilized by westerners. This included their custom of squatting instead of sitting down (See Illustration 8.67).¹³³⁹ Moreover, newspaper artists also observed the practice of the natives to pick lice from each other’s hair. In Illustration 8.68, three women pass away the time grooming and ridding each other’s hair of the said insect, an activity that the illustrator considers as a *pasatiempo* or hobby of locals.

¹³³⁸ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 50, 13 Abril 1889 p. 4.

¹³³⁹ Nineteenth century advertisements also had native women in such poses.



Illustration 8.64. An upperclass woman addressing her working class counterpart.¹³⁴⁰



Illustration 8.65. “Tipos Callejeros.”¹³⁴¹

¹³⁴⁰ *La Opinion*, Año 2, Num 169, 25 June 1888, p. 5.

¹³⁴¹ *Manilla*, Año 3, Numero 72, 14 Setiembre 1889, p. 4.



Illustration 8.66. “La Chata.”¹³⁴²



Illustration 8.67. Two natives conversing in a squat position.¹³⁴³

¹³⁴² *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 50, 13 Abril 1889 p. 4.

¹³⁴³ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 57, 1 Junio 1889 p. 5.



Illustration 8.68. "Pasatiempo."¹³⁴⁴

Finally, sketches of the native woman paid too much attention to her practice of baring her skin or exposing portions of her body while bathing and washing in public (See Illustrations 8.69 and 8.71.). Moreover, even when compared to people of other ethnicities in Manila, such as in Illustration 8.70, the native woman was unmistakably portrayed as someone whose shoulders and upper part of her chest were commonly left bare.



Illustration 8.69 "Receta del Pais."¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴⁴ *Manililla*, Año 4, Numero 99, 22 Marzo 1890 p. 4.

¹³⁴⁵ *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 59, 15 Junio 1889 p. 1.



Illustration 8.70. "Para Todas Las Castas."¹³⁴⁶

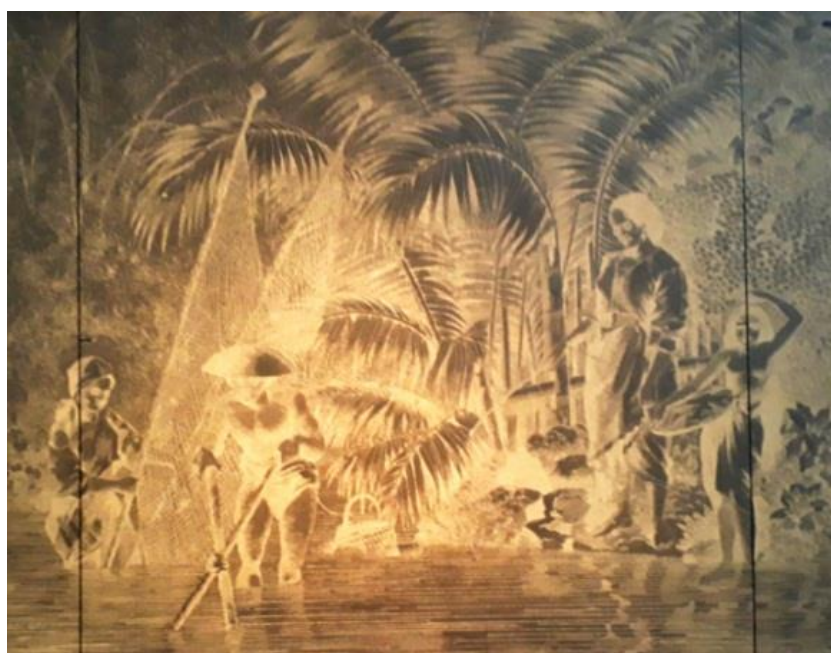


Illustration 8.71. "Costumbres Filipinas."¹³⁴⁷

¹³⁴⁶ *Manililla*, Año 4, Numero 106, 10 Mayo 1890 p. 5.

¹³⁴⁷ *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 9, 2 Diciembre 1877, p. 4.

Print Advertisements as Reflections of the Filipino Woman and her Place in Society

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Manila's rapidly growing diverse population and economy had become a large market for consumption goods. Similar to other progressive colonial cities in Asia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,¹³⁴⁸ Spanish Manila was developing a consumption-based culture. Such a new way of life was signified in advertisements for various products and services in the city's magazines and newspapers, beginning in the 1880s.

At its most basic, advertisements encourage people to acquire a good or service are signs of a capitalist, consumer society or a "hedonistic commercial culture".¹³⁴⁹ Yet visual images, aside from sending messages, offer a window into a society's values and preferences. These mores included standards regarding women, including their proper place in society,¹³⁵⁰ societal functions,¹³⁵¹ appearance and behaviour,¹³⁵² and even allowable male conduct towards them.¹³⁵³ In the case of late nineteenth century advertisements that catered to women, a careful reading of these documents underscore how females in Philippine society were regarded as marketing targets, attractions to boost sales, or objects for male enjoyment. While some print commercials suggested how women should look and behave,¹³⁵⁴ others emphasized male behavior towards them that were considered socially acceptable.

Products and Services for and by Women

Women in capitalist societies are major consumers of goods. As early as the nineteenth century the advertising industry already targetted them in marketing campaigns.¹³⁵⁵ Advertisers in the Philippines during that period were no exception. The majority of products promoted in Manila-periodicals were beauty products such as perfumes, creams, soaps, hair tonics, or accessories associated with beautification

¹³⁴⁸ Yongmei Wu, "Selling Modernity: Housewives as Portrayed in *Yuefengpai* (Calendar Posters) and Magazine Advertisements in Shanghai of the 1920s and 1930s," In *Asian Women and Intimate Work*, eds. Ochiai Emiko, Kaoru Aoyama, and Emiko Ochiai (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2012), pp. 108 and 110; Jeong Min Hyun. "New Women and Modern Girls: Consuming Foreign Goods in Colonial Seoul," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* vol. 5, no. 4 (2013), p. 495.

¹³⁴⁹ Wu, "Selling Modernity," pp. 111.

¹³⁵⁰ Burt, "From 'True Woman,'" *Journalism History*, p. 210.

¹³⁵¹ Wu, "Selling Modernity," pp. 119-124.

¹³⁵² Lynda Klich, "Little Women" The Female Nude in the Golden Age of Postcards," *Visual Resources* vol. 17, no. 4 (2001), p. 436.

¹³⁵³ Wu, "Selling Modernity," pp. 117-118.

¹³⁵⁴ Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina*, p. 31.

¹³⁵⁵ Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 17.

(See Illustrations 8.72 to 8.79) . Encanto pointed out that such products disseminated the impression that among women “the pursuit of beauty” was a “central occupation”¹³⁵⁶ and that they were akin to property meant for display. Advertising, from the beginning, promoted the notion that women should take great pains to keep their partners.¹³⁵⁷

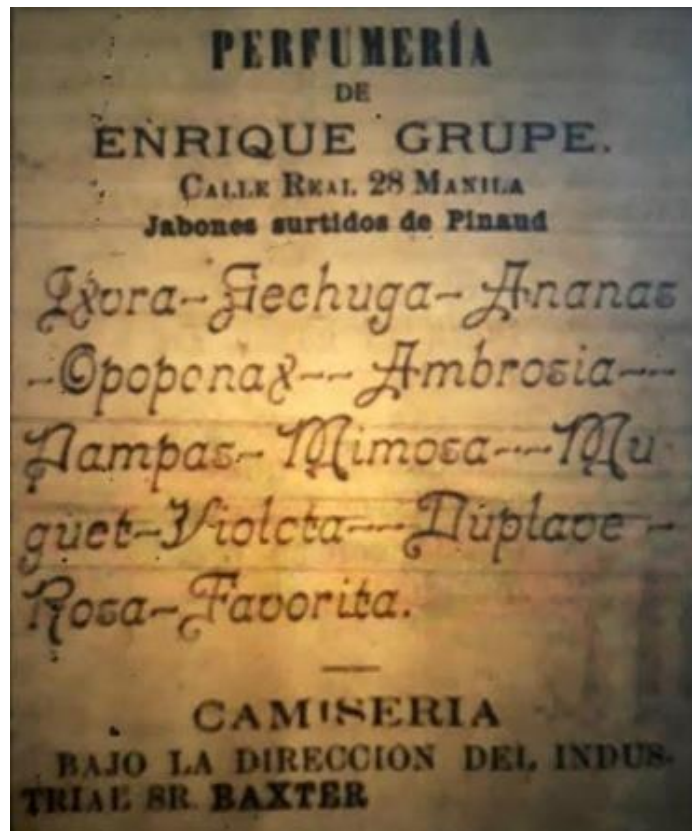


Illustration 8.72. The Enrique Gruppe Perfumery.¹³⁵⁸

¹³⁵⁶ Encanto, *Constructing the Filipina*, p. 31.

¹³⁵⁷ Fishburn, *Women in Popular Culture*, p. 161.

¹³⁵⁸ *Manila Alegre*, Año 3, Numero 9, 1 Marzo 1887, p. 1.



Illustration 8.73. Perlas de Barry Cream for wrinkles, freckles and toasted and sun-tanned skin.¹³⁵⁹



Illustration 8.74. Burboyne Burbidges Carbolic Acid Soap.¹³⁶⁰

¹³⁵⁹ *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 1, 7 Octubre 1877, p. 11.

¹³⁶⁰ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 1, 1 Febrero 1891, p. 79.

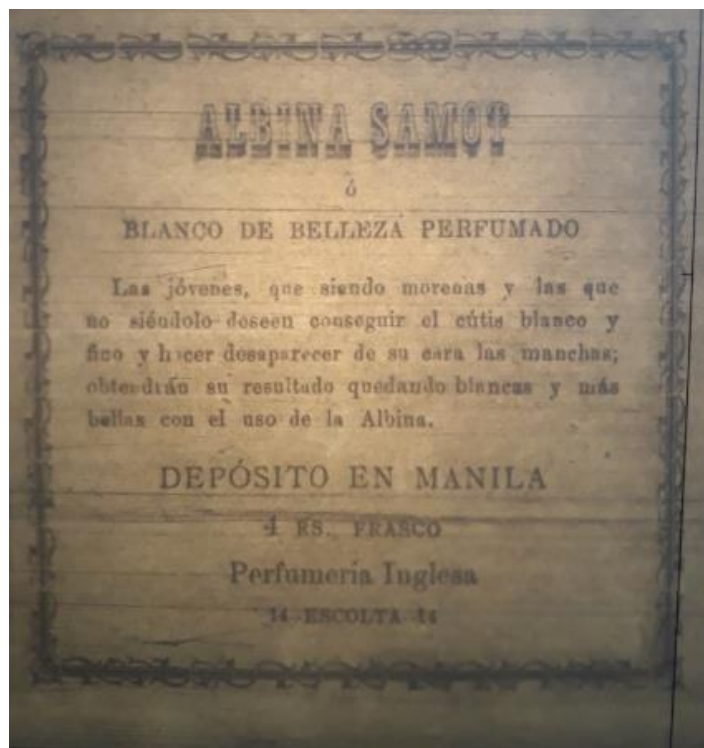
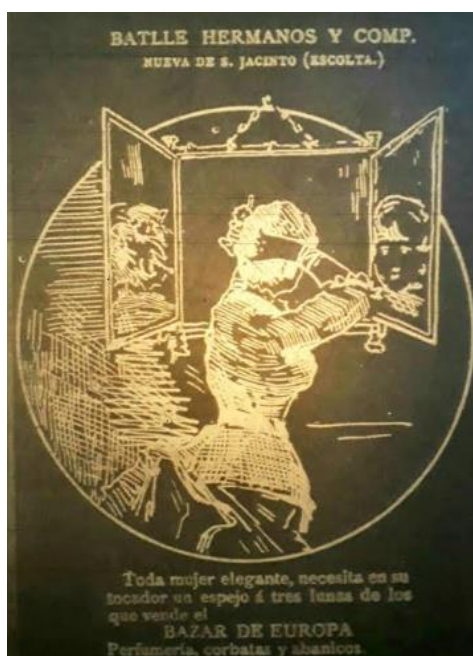


Illustration 8.75. Albina Sambot Skin-Whitening Soap. ¹³⁶¹

¹³⁶¹ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 13, 7 Avril 1891, p. 206.



Illustration 8.76. Filipino Hair Tonic at Botica Inglesia.¹³⁶²



Illustrations 8.77. Three-mirror beauty set from a luxury shop¹³⁶³.

¹³⁶² *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 79, 2 Noviembre 1889, p. 8.

¹³⁶³ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 7, 3 Agosto 1886, p. 4.

Other products catered to women's needs such as clothes and textiles, health care, and sewing machines. While clothing and health products were essential items, irrespective of gender, sewing machines were commonly associated with women's activities. Illustrations 8.78 and 8.79 feature ads of shops that provided for the fashion needs of women from the upper classes, such as local, Japanese, and Chinese textiles, blouses, handkerchiefs, and French-designed hats. The next advertisement features J. Climent's the hypophosphite syrup that supposedly addressed health issues such as dysmenorrhea (See Illustration 8.80.).

Sewing was regarded as a common skill among Filipino females during the Spanish period.¹³⁶⁴ Commercial firms recognized this as they competed to entice women, their spouses, or parents to purchase sewing machines that increased household productivity while expending less effort and time. The Relojeria Valdezco claimed a wide assortment of cheap and accredited sewing machines to choose from (See Illustration 8.81), while a Singer Sewing Machine distributor along Escolta Street in Binondo appealed to female independence and productivity with their advertisement that had a woman standing next to the printed line, "Because I have a Singer machine, I can make my own clothes." (See Illustration 8.82.).



Illustration 8.78. La Filipina Textile Shop.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁶⁴ LeRoy and Stevens, *The Philippines Circa 1900*, p. 41.

¹³⁶⁵ *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 2, Numero 3, 20 Enero 1878, p. 36.

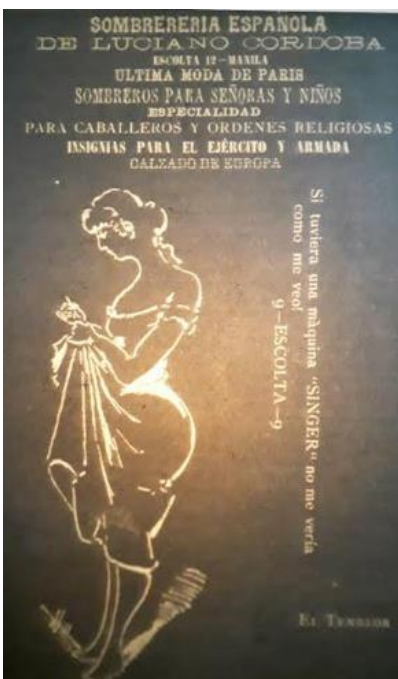


Illustration 8.79. Luciano Cordoba Millinery.¹³⁶⁶



Illustration 8.80. A hypophosphite syrup advertisement.¹³⁶⁷

¹³⁶⁶ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 1, 1 Julio 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁶⁷ *El Temblor*, Año 3, Numero 217, 19 Agosto 1889, p. 8.



Illustration 8.81. The Valdezco Watch-Making Store selling sewing machines.¹³⁶⁸

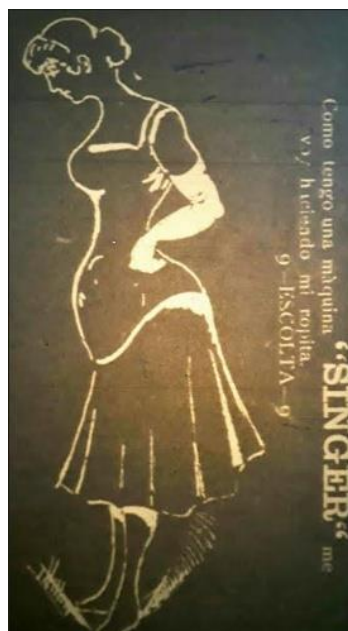


Illustration 8.82. Singer Sewing Machine advertisement.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶⁸ *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 2, Numero 3, 20 Enero 1878, p. 36

¹³⁶⁹ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 2, 2 Julio 1886, p. 8.

Aside from firms marketing commodities to women, there were also females who put out print advertisements to promote their services to the larger public. One of them was a *modista* or clothes designer named Francisca Borri. Her shop, located at 12 Escolta Avenue, Binondo, provided stylish fashion apparel for both ladies and girls as well as decoration and repair services for hats and hoods. In her ad, Ms. Borri promised to provide elegant, prompt, and economical service to her clients (See Illustration 8.83).¹³⁷⁰ As a sign that refined women were encouraged to hone their singing and musical skills, J. Massaguer's *La Bella Filipina Danza* provided voice and piano lessons to those interested (See Illustration 8.84). Finally, a bakery named *Panaderia del Carmen Primitiva del Santulan* in San Sebastian Street, also had its own print commercial in an 1892 issue of the *La Ilustracion Filipina* (See Illustration 8.85).

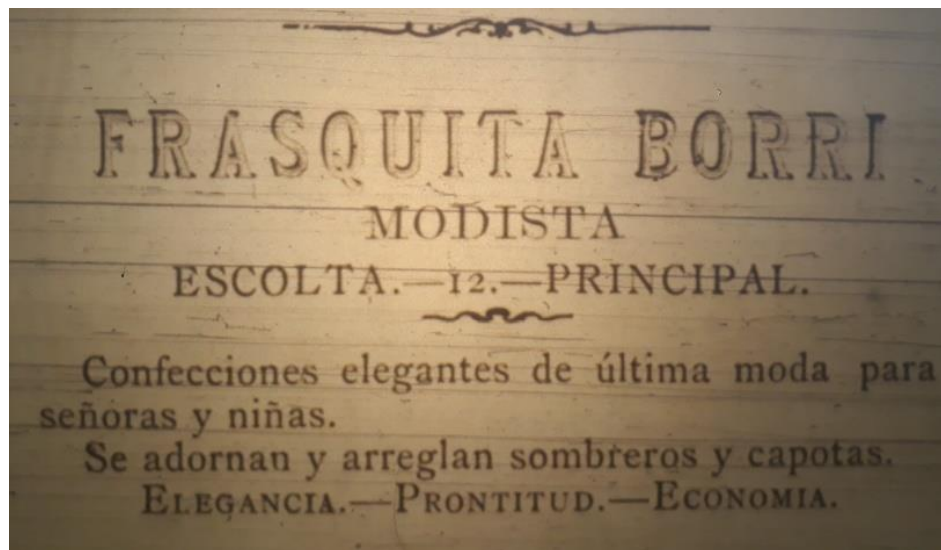
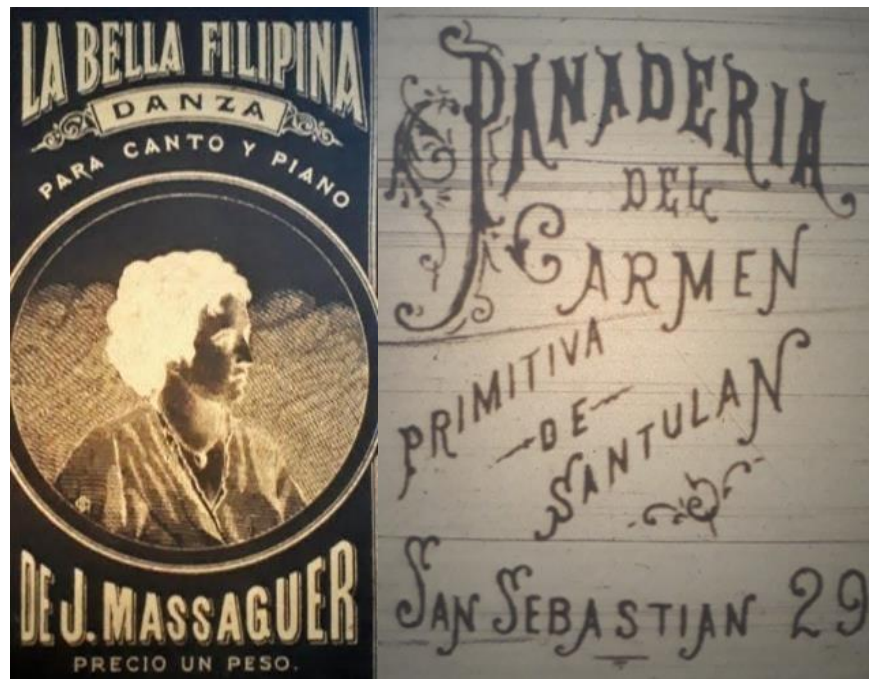


Illustration 8.83. Frasquita Borri offering her services as a *modista* or clothes designer.¹³⁷¹

¹³⁷⁰ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 2, 14 Enero 1891 p. 24.

¹³⁷¹ *El Temblor*, Año 1, Numero 2, p. 24.



Illustrations 8.84 and 8.85. Advertisements for voice and piano lessons¹³⁷² as well as a female-owned bakery.¹³⁷³

Accepted Behavior among Women

Some newspaper and magazine advertisements that marketed products for women subliminally sent the message that females were predisposed to be more emotional, impulsive, vain, and even shallow compared to their more rational male counterparts. At times, these commercials portray them as the feminine Other¹³⁷⁴ whose inferior characteristics should be accepted as a source of male amusement. Such representations are underscored in two Singer Sewing Machine advertisements in the *Un Bello Sexo* exhorting men to buy the said contraptions for their women.

The 14 July 1891 issue of the magazine had an illustration of a woman with her arms raised. Next to her is the line: “She would be beside herself if her husband arrives with a Singer Machine that Abad (Escolta 9) sells for 10 reales a week!” (See Illustration 8.86.)¹³⁷⁵ Two months later, Singer again put out a

¹³⁷² *La Ilustracion del Oriente*, Año 1, Numero 1, 7 Octubre 1877, p. 12.

¹³⁷³ *La Ilustracion Filipina*, Año 1, Numero 22, 21 Avril 1892, no page number.

¹³⁷⁴ See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Group, 2003).

¹³⁷⁵ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 26, 14 Julio 1891, p. 464.

commercial, but this time with a young woman who is crying. Below her likeness is the following statement: “Poor girl! Buy now that Singer machine! You only have to spend 10 reales per week.” (See Illustration 8.87)¹³⁷⁶



Illustration 8.86. Singer Sewing Machine Commercial.¹³⁷⁷

¹³⁷⁶ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 31 to 34 and 35, 21 Setiembre 1891, p. 560.

¹³⁷⁷ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 26, 14 Julio 1891, p. 464.



Illustration 8.87. An emotional woman who wants a sewing machine.¹³⁷⁸

There were commercials for jewelry and clothing establishments that supported the idea that women needed accoutrements to attract the admiration of men and women alike. Two Manila-based stores involved in the sale of jewelry employed such an advertising tack. The House of Ullmann used a drawing of a rather unattractive woman wearing a pair of bright earrings and a shiny necklace. To emphasize the effect such ornaments had on the wearer, it was made known that prior to purchasing these items from the store, no one gave her any notice, but now she had many admirers (See Illustration 8.88.).¹³⁷⁹ A luxury item store named *Estrella del Norte* also claimed its precious charms had the same effect on its wearers through its advertisement of a woman at a ball who remarked: “If it were not for the diamonds that I bought from *Estrella del Norte*, I would have been an eclipsed star.” (See Illustration 8.89.)¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁷⁸ *Un Bello Sexo*, Año 1, Numero 31 to 35 and 35, 21 Setiembre 1891, p. 560.

¹³⁷⁹ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 35, 16 Setiembre 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁸⁰ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8



Illustration 8.88. Ullmann Jewelry Store Advertisement.¹³⁸¹



Illustration 8.89. La Estrella del Norte Luxury Store advertisement.¹³⁸²

Advertising graphic arts label as modern individuals who consumed civilization's commodities. Despite the proliferation of negative images regarding innate female traits, nineteenth century print commercials

¹³⁸¹ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 35, 16 Setiembre 1886, p. 8

¹³⁸² *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8

give the impression that women became modern once they consumed particular products.¹³⁸³ In nineteenth century Philippines, such modern products included cigarettes and alcoholic drinks. Two advertisements employed female images as sophisticated product endorsers. Illustration 8.90 is a promotion of the Los Andaluces shop along Calle Victoria of a woman looking at a glass she is holding. Below the image is the following line: “Whoever wants to drink legitimate and good Jerez wine can look for it in this house.”¹³⁸⁴ The advertisement of the *La Exportadora* cigarette, alternatively, sends the message that a woman frees herself from material needs and expectations imposed on her gender once she consumes the company’s products. In the ad, a *mestizo* woman comfortably seated cross-legged leisurely smokes a cigarette. To emphasize her contentment, the commercial argues: “This mestiza does not need a boyfriend, dances, a bath, nor a carriage or bibingka.”¹³⁸⁵ All she needs to make her happy is a box of *La Exportadora* tobacco (See Illustration 8.91.).¹³⁸⁶



Illustration 8.90. Los Andaluces Wine commercial.¹³⁸⁷

¹³⁸³ Wu, “Selling Modernity,” pp. 108-110; Hyun, “New Women and Modern Girls: Consuming Foreign Goods in Colonial Seoul,” *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, p. 494 and 496.

¹³⁸⁴ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 4, 8 Setiembre 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁸⁵ A native cake made of rice flour, egg yolks, salted duck egg, cheese, and desiccated coconut.

¹³⁸⁶ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁸⁷ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 4, 8 Setiembre 1886, p. 8.



Illustration 8.91. La Exportadora Cigar commercial with a *mestizo* as endorser.¹³⁸⁸

Racial Stereotyping

The stereotyping of particular groups is supposedly based on an observer's cultural experience.¹³⁸⁹ The firms that portrayed native women in a specific manner and the artists tasked to render such impressions were likely influenced by their personal experiences with the *india*. A review of newspaper advertisements that employed the likenesses of native women who were either as an uncouth female or a seductive being. Her alleged backward nature was highlighted by her preference to squat rather than sit. *Mestiza* and Spanish women were never depicted in such a manner. Illustrations 8.92 and 8.93 below are commercials for tobacco products and animal feeds, respectively. Both have native women conversing with their male counterparts while in a squatting position.

¹³⁸⁸ Manila Alegre, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁸⁹ Burt, "From 'True Woman,' p. 208.



Illustration 8.92. A tobacco advertisement depicting natives conversing while in a squatting position.¹³⁹⁰

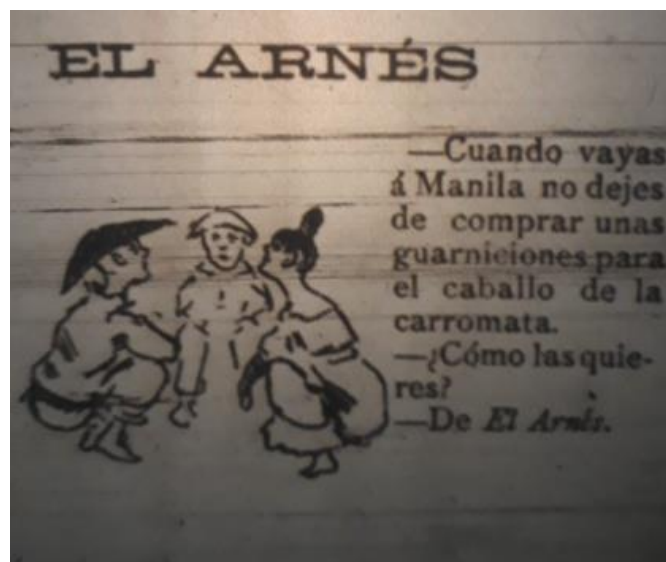


Illustration 8.93. An El Arnes Feeds advertisement.¹³⁹¹

¹³⁹⁰ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 30, 8 Agosto 1886, p. 8.

¹³⁹¹ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Num 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8.

As most of them worked for a living, it was but natural that the *india*'s clothes provided comfort and allowed for ease of movement. This meant less covering for their bodies. Yet, as western travel accounts of the Philippines demonstrate, men from patriarchal backgrounds had a more sexualized opinion of the native woman's comfortable clothing. Similar to what has been noted in travel accounts, the *india* ended up being depicted as sensual, revealingly-dressed beings in advertisements. A clear example of the seductive *india* is the commercial of the *Tabaqueria de Filipinas* that has the likeness of a native woman with an off-shoulder blouse exposing her skin from the neck to the upper part of her chest. (See Illustration 8.94.). Ads for a clothing shop and a French restaurant employ the same image of the *india*, but this time as ambulant vendors (See Illustrations 8.95 and 8.96.).

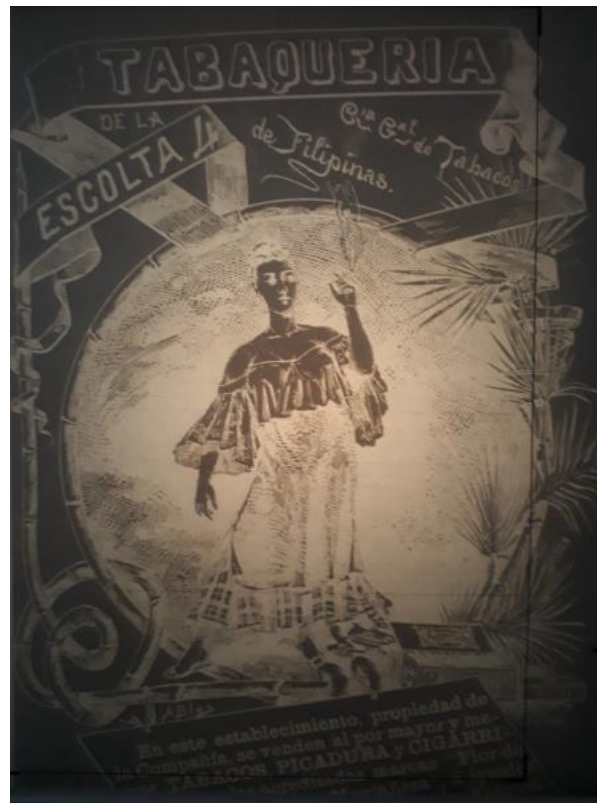


Illustration 8.94. "La Competidora" Cigarettes Advertisement.¹³⁹²

¹³⁹² *Manililla*, Año 3, Numero 82, 23 Noviembre 1889, p. 8.



Illustrations 8.95 and 8.96. Female vendors in two separate advertisements.¹³⁹³

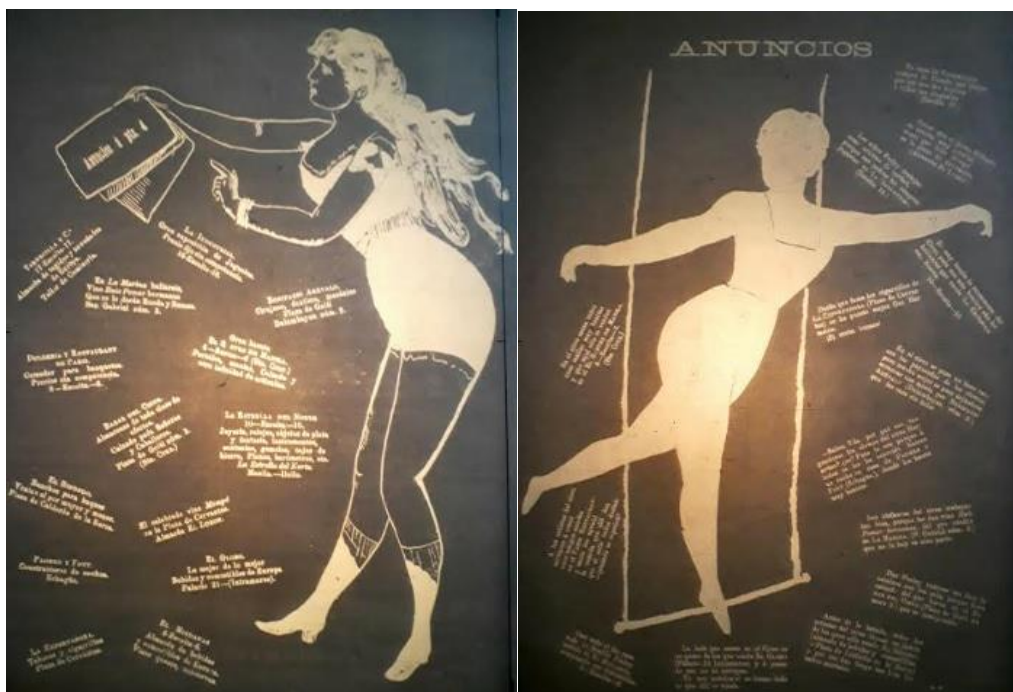
The Male Gaze and other Forms of Misogyny

The male gaze is a practice by which men in patriarchal societies privilege themselves by treating women as objects for their viewing pleasure.¹³⁹⁴ Nineteenth century newspaper advertisements in Manila were rife with such a misogynistic worldview. Successive issues of the *El Polichinea* in January 1893 featured curvaceous and scantily clad females distributing announcements from various commercial establishments (See Illustrations 8.97 and 8.98). Illustrations 8.99 and 8.100 likewise promote the male preference for women endowed with voluptuous bodies and wasp-like waists. The first image is of a lady with large breasts and hips who encouraged people to smoke *La Exportadora* cigars and cigarettes. The next portrayal is an enhanced figure of woman wearing a corset from an establishment named *Las Novedades*. It even contains the following passage, “The hyperboloid shape. The form that you see in the body of a pretty girl who uses corsets from Las Novedades.”¹³⁹⁵

¹³⁹³ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8

¹³⁹⁴ Ewa Glapka, “Lost in Translation,” pp. 1 and 5.

¹³⁹⁵ *Manililla*, Año 5, Num 172, 8 Agosto 1891, p. 8



Illustrations 8.97 and 8.98. Scantily-clad women as part of a group of text advertisements.¹³⁹⁶



Illustration 8.99. La Exportadora commercial.¹³⁹⁷

¹³⁹⁶ *El Ponichinela*, Año 2, Numero 11, 14 Enero 1893, p. 8; *El Ponichinela*, Año 2, Numero 12, 21 Enero 1893, p. 8.

¹³⁹⁷ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 29, 1 Agosto 1886, p. 8



Illustration 8.100. The hyperboloide body emphasized as a desirable female form.¹³⁹⁸

While the male gaze promotes the ideal physical traits of a female, it also denigrated women whose facial and bodily forms were considered hideous and objectionable.¹³⁹⁹ While men covet women with a hyperboloide body, those with a paraboloide or cow-bell shaped likeness were not just visually unappealing, but they should be hidden from public view (See Illustration 8.101.). In another *La Exportadora* promotion, it is argued that one reason why the woman in the ad has remained ugly was because she did not smoke the company's products. It was further claimed that if an unattractive woman used their cigarettes, she immediately became Venus-like (See Illustration 8.102.).

¹³⁹⁸ *Manililla*, Año 5, Numero 172, 8 Agosto 1891, p. 8

¹³⁹⁹ Glapka, "Lost in Translation," p. 1.



Illustration 8.101. The unattractive paraboloide body type.¹⁴⁰⁰



Illustration 8.102. La Exportadora cigarette advertisement with unattractive woman.¹⁴⁰¹

The misogyny in ads are likewise embedded in different examples of permitted male conduct towards women. For instance, the clothing store *Los Catalanes* sponsored a newspaper commercial that insulted

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Manililla*, Año 5, Num 172, 8 Agosto 1891, p. 8

¹⁴⁰¹ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 35, 1 Setiembre 1886, p. 88.

Chinese traders and claimed their own establishment's wares were cheaper. But the more disconcerting aspect of the ad was the image of a young, attractive woman being stared at by a Caucasian male (See Image 8.103.).

Other commercials underscore how normal it was to treat women in a sexually suggestive manner. A Quiapo, Manila-based photography studio, *Pertierra Fotografo*, claimed that while they were open everyday, they could also make arrangements at night for beautiful women (See Illustration 8.104).¹⁴⁰² While such a statement was sexually provocative, a promotion for a cutlery product was downright lewd. The said commercial shows a woman in an off-shoulder blouse carrying a piping hot bowl standing beside the following line: "This cook goes well with all the dishes. Do you know why? Because she uses La Villa Paris utensils." (See Illustration 8.105.)¹⁴⁰³ Just as misogynistic was another *La Exportadora* promotion that had a an image of a *mestiza* smoking a cigarette while a part of her shoulder is exposed. The company was so confident of its product that it provided the following claim: "This mestiza is so fond of La Exportadora cigarettes, that just because you tried them, she would give you a blow (she is sure that you would not smoke another tobacco) [See Image 8.106]."¹⁴⁰⁴



Illustration 8.103. A man leers at a woman.¹⁴⁰⁵

¹⁴⁰² *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 31, 16 Agosto 1886, p. 8

¹⁴⁰³ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886 p. 8

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 30, 8 Agosto 1886, p. 8

¹⁴⁰⁵ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 35, 16 Setiembre 1886, p. 8



Illustration 8.104. Pertierra Photography.¹⁴⁰⁶



Illustration 8.105. An advertisement for utensils.¹⁴⁰⁷

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 31, 16 Agosto 1886, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 42, 8 Noviembre 1886, p. 8



Illustration 8.106. A mestiza smoking cigarettes.¹⁴⁰⁸

Manila Print Media and the Woman's Place, Presence, and Status in Spanish Colonial Society

The articles, illustrations, and advertisements published by Manila-based newspapers and magazines in the late nineteenth century reveal how the colony's dominant patriarchal ruling class promoted notions about the proper place of women in society, the roles expected of them, the personal characteristics they were meant to cultivate, and in what manner could they be treated by men. The print media's articles on women idealized their confinement to the home, a social space that was separate from the public sphere that belonged to men. As queens of their domestic kingdoms, they were expected to fulfill their roles as supportive wife, nurturing mother who shaped society's future citizens, compassionate and doting sister, as well as the obedient and selfless daughter. Moreover, they were responsible for managing the household

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Manila Alegre*, Año 2, Numero 30, 8 Agosto 1886, p. 8.

and cultivating inner beauty, as reflected in their Christian virtues, while keeping themselves physically attractive for their partners.

Despite her supposed restriction to private life, newspaper illustrations underscored the woman's ubiquitous presence in Manila's urban landscape. The Manilaña was very much part of city's street and market scenes, recreational areas, workplaces, and even its dreadful underside. However, at times, published illustrations represented women as objects, whose faces, bodies, and perceived sexuality, satisfied men's desires. Worse, some portrayals reflected accepted male behaviour towards their female counterparts, that range from sexual harassment, prostitution, and domestic assault.

Like other urban centers of the nineteenth century, Manila was a site of growing consumerism, and the Manilaña was a target of many marketing campaigns. Beyond the products and services they were enticed to consume, these advertisements emphasized female societal expectations and assumptions. They were encouraged to go to great lengths to make themselves physically attractive and to purchase products that made them more sophisticated and modern (i.e., jewellery, cigarettes, alcohol). Print commercials of products, such as sewing machines, also promoted the message that women were supposed to make productive use of their time at home. Unfortunately, print ads perpetuated characteristics supposedly innate in the "inferior" female such as vanity, pettiness, and emotional fragility.¹⁴⁰⁹ These commercials likewise reflected popular notions of Filipino women as being uncivilized and more sexual than her *mestiza* and Spanish counterparts. Moreover, late nineteenth century advertisements revealed misogynistic behavior that was deemed humorous and even normal in Spanish Manila's patriarchal society.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Arezki and Mahmoudi, "American Women of the Colonial Period," p. 1.

Chapter 9. On Women as Victim and Perpetrator of Crimes: “Violence”, its Nature, and their Legal Standing in Nineteenth Century Manila

Crime exists in all societies. Yet not all places are comparable, as some settlements and cities have conditions and social circumstances that make its inhabitants more prone to run afoul of the law. Unlawful acts are more prevalent in places experiencing widespread economic, social, and political change, and cities are historically associated with such transformations.¹⁴¹⁰

Nineteenth century Manila had all the ingredients necessary for crimes to flourish. It was the first Philippine settlement to urbanize and transition to a capitalist economy, conditions that increased the area’s crime rate.¹⁴¹¹ Manila in the 1800s also had features observed in other crime-ridden modern cities. This included a population with a diverse composition and high residential turnover¹⁴¹² and a workforce mainly employed in low-paying, low-skilled service sector work with little opportunities for advancement.¹⁴¹³ The city was also a site of weakened social bonds, an outgrowth of urbanization,¹⁴¹⁴ as well as anonymity, isolation, and mobility.¹⁴¹⁵ Similar to other nineteenth century European cities, Manila’s colonial bureaucracy developed an increasing interest in recording more information about and policing its inhabitants, including criminals.¹⁴¹⁶

In line with many aspects of Manila’s social and economic life, women were also involved in criminal acts, especially during the last decades of Spanish rule. Using court announcements published in the *Gaceta de Manila* in selected years from 1860 to the 1896 and *Asuntos Criminales* cases from 1848 to 1900, this chapter provides a geographic and demographic analysis of criminal incidents concerning women as plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses. The examination of such events discussed in the Courts of First Instance of Manila’s districts also sheds light on the patterns of illegal activities involving females and the lives they

¹⁴¹⁰ Lesley Reid, *Crime and the City: A Political and Economic Analysis of Urban Crime* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2003), p. 2.

¹⁴¹¹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 3-4, 88.

¹⁴¹² Brian Jordan Jefferson, “Cities, Crime, and Carcerality,” *Journal of Planning Literature* vol. 32, no. 2 (2017), p. 103.

¹⁴¹³ Reid, *Crime and the City*, p. 8.

¹⁴¹⁴ Robert Park, “The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in an Urban Environment,” *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 20, no. 5 (1915), pp. 593-594.

¹⁴¹⁵ Jefferson, “Cities, Crime, and Carcerality,” p 105.

¹⁴¹⁶ John Walliss, “Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics? Nineteenth Century Crime Statistics for England and Wales as a Historical Source?” *History Compass* vol. 10, no. 8 (2012), p. 574.

led. Moreover, by utilizing concepts from violence studies, this chapter argues that all criminal actions, irrespective of whether they caused pain or death, are violent acts whose punishments, as recommended in both the Spanish Penal Code and court verdicts, reflected the patriarchal and increasingly capitalist nature of colonial society.

Crimes Involving Women and their Geographic Distribution

Crime distribution in Manila's Districts

The Courts of First Instance in Binondo, Tondo, Quiapo, Sta. Cruz, and Intramuros were sites for deliberating criminal cases. Of the 480 incidents reviewed from 1860 to 1896, the most common offenses in Manila that involved women were theft, injuries,¹⁴¹⁷ *estafa*,¹⁴¹⁸ robbery, and abduction (See Chart 9.1 below. For a list of selected criminal cases that were announced in the *Gaceta de Manila*, please refer to Appendix 15.). Theft, robbery, and *estafa* are property crimes, and over half (52%) of all female-related misconduct in the city involved an individual or group of individuals stealing resources. This situation in late 1800s Manila corroborates the observation that higher levels of urbanity and prosperity resulted in more property crimes.¹⁴¹⁹

¹⁴¹⁷ Injuries are not necessarily physical in nature. Some cases in the Asuntos Criminales dealt with defamation or insults hurled by a person against another.

¹⁴¹⁸ A term commonly used in Philippine legal circles, the term *estafa* was not mentioned in the Spanish Penal Code used in colonial Philippines. The term closest to *estafa* in the said Code was “swindling and other false pretenses”, actions that would have led to another person losing money or assets.

¹⁴¹⁹ David Cohen and Eric A. Johnson, “French Criminality: Urban-Rural Differences in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. 12, no. 3 (Winter 1982), pp. 478.

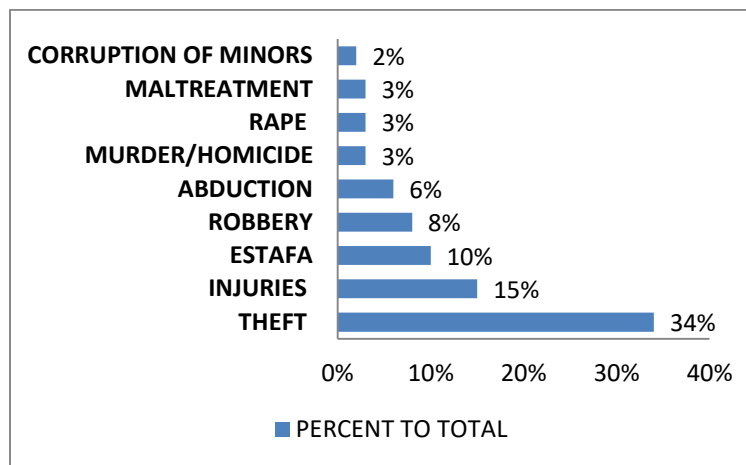


Chart 9.1. Types of Criminal Cases in Manila involving Women by Percentage Share.¹⁴²⁰

As people tend to live in close proximity to each other in urban areas, it is not surprising that conflict resulting in physical injuries and verbal abuse and maltreatment of women accounted for almost one out of every five cases (18%) heard in Manila's courts. While crimes against persons in Manila rarely led to death, a significant percentage of the city's criminal deeds involving women as either victim or perpetrator were of a sexual nature. Cases of abduction, corruption of minors, and rape resulted in the sexual abuse of females, a reality confirmed by witnesses in numerous reports. Such violations accounted for one out of every 10 (11%) court cases in Manila involving a woman.

As the Binondo and Intramuros courts handled the majority of incidents associated with women, the most common cases in these districts followed Manila's general trend of being sites for theft, injuries, *estafa*, robbery, and abduction (See Charts 9.2 and 9.3.). The kind of incidents discussed in the courts in Tondo, Quiapo, and Sta. Cruz, however, showed slight variations (See Charts 9.4 to 8.6.). In the working-class community of Tondo, robbery was a rare occurrence (4% of total), but the more violent and sexual crimes of rape, corruption of minors, and abduction (17%) accounted for almost one out of every five cases before its court. Compared to other districts, Quiapo had significantly higher rates of abduction (12%), including murder and homicide cases (8%) with a female either as perpetrator or victim. In the

¹⁴²⁰ National Archives of the Philippines, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

Court of First Instance of Sta. Cruz, more than a quarter (26%) of litigations dealt with accusations of rape (15%), adultery (7%), and abduction (4%).

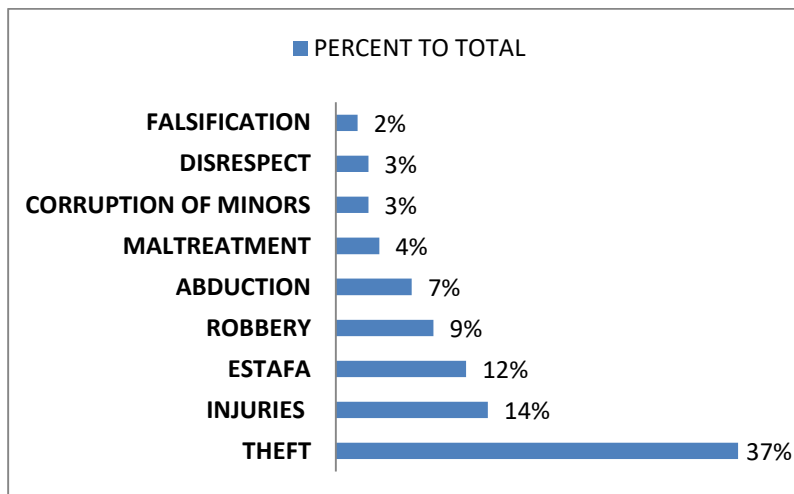


Chart 9.2. Most frequently heard cases involving women, Binondo.¹⁴²¹

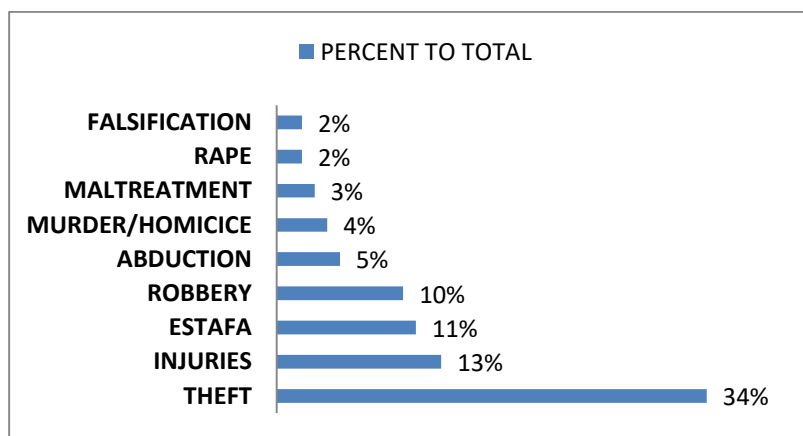


Chart 9.3. Most frequently heard cases involving women, Intramuros.¹⁴²²

¹⁴²¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

¹⁴²² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

While it would be difficult to explain the prevalence of recorded sexual offenses in Sta. Cruz, there is a possible explanation for the more violent nature of crimes in both Tondo and Quiapo. Cities provide environments for the proliferation of personal crimes,¹⁴²³ and communities with populations that change constantly generally have weak social relations among its inhabitants.¹⁴²⁴ Tondo, in the late 1800s, was a preferred destination for migrants from the Tagalog provinces,¹⁴²⁵ while 45% of Quiapo's inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60 years during the 1880s were born outside of Manila.¹⁴²⁶

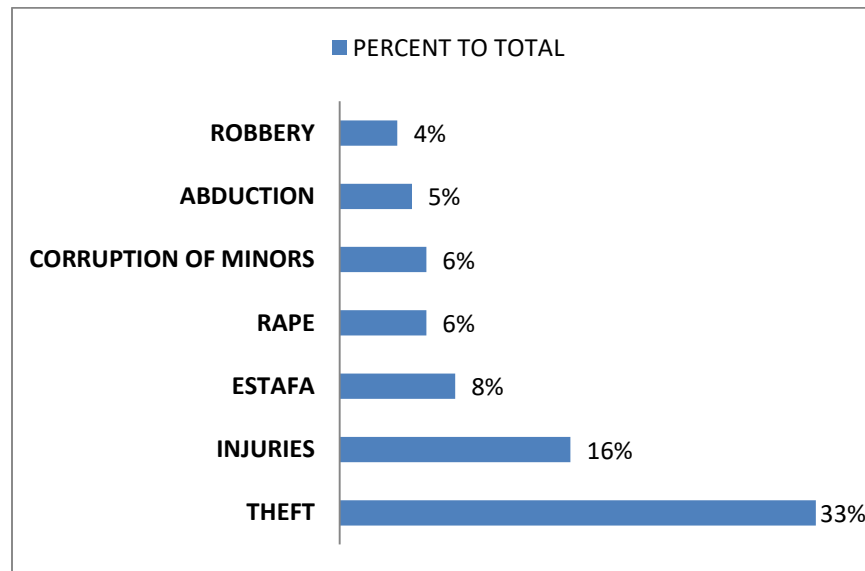


Chart 9.4. Most frequently heard cases involving women, Tondo.¹⁴²⁷

¹⁴²³ Ibid.

¹⁴²⁴ Reid, *Crime in the City*, p. 11; Brian Jordan Jefferson, "Cities, Crime, and Carcerality," *Journal of Planning Literature*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2017), p. 104.

¹⁴²⁵ Doeppers, "Migration to Manila," p. 141.

¹⁴²⁶ Marco Stefan B. Lagman, "Assessing the Demographic and Spatial Characteristics of Migrant Workers in Selected Districts of Nineteenth Century Manila Using Archival Records and Geographic Information Systems," *Journal of Asian Network of GIS-Based Historical Studies* vol. 3 (2015), p. 40.

¹⁴²⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896

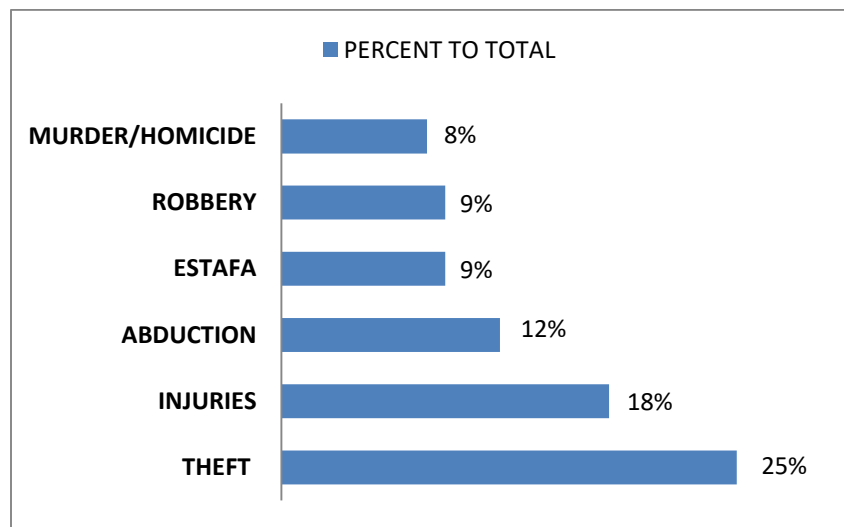


Chart 9.5. Most frequently heard cases involving women, Quiapo.¹⁴²⁸

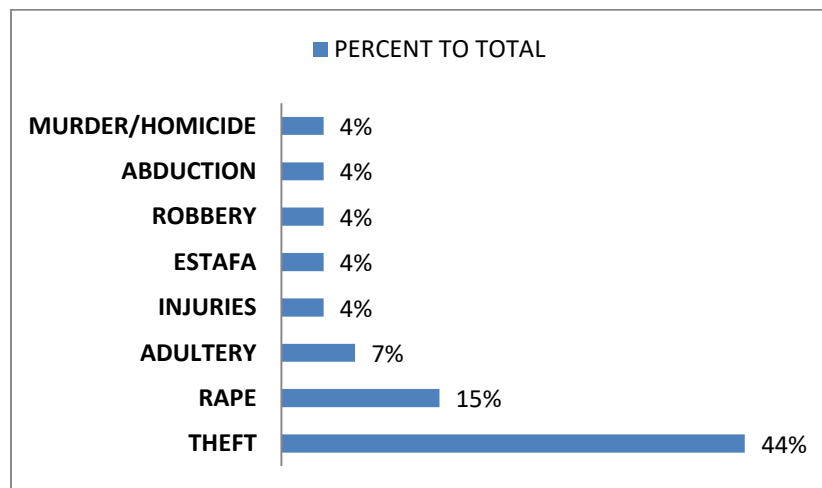


Chart 9.6. Most frequently heard cases involving women, Sta. Cruz.¹⁴²⁹

The illegalities concentrated in the areas of Binondo and Intramuros, involving women, included property crimes (i.e., theft and robbery), injuries, as well as non-violent “white collar crime”. They were

¹⁴²⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴²⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896

committed by upper class and respectable people¹⁴³⁰ through deception, concealment, falsification, and violation of trust (i.e., *estafa*, fake money and lottery tickets, fake seals, falsification of documents) [See Charts 9.7 to 9.9.]. The focus of such crimes in these two districts was not surprising. Binondo was the commercial center of the city,¹⁴³¹ while Intramuros, the Philippines' capital, served as the administrative heart of the colony,¹⁴³² and main residential area of the upper class for much of the nineteenth century.¹⁴³³ Tension between employers and servants was at its worst in Intramuros where most native residents were servants.¹⁴³⁴ Both settlements had households where money and valuable items were readily available for those who coveted them. Moreover, the high population densities of these communities led to more living in stressful conditions that then led to frequent altercations.

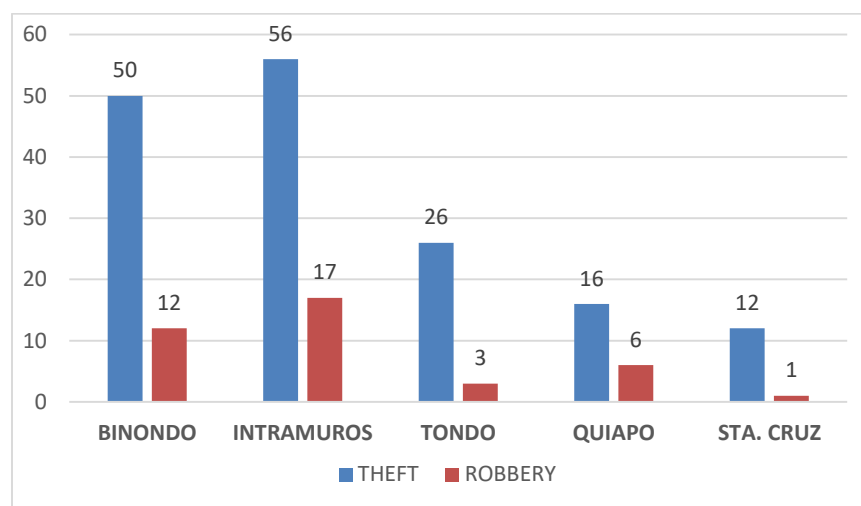


Chart 9.7. Distribution of Theft and Robbery Cases by District.¹⁴³⁵

¹⁴³⁰ Arjan Reurink, "'White Collar Crime': The Concept and its Potential for the Analysis of Financial Crime," *European Journal of Sociology* vol. 57, no. 3 (2016), pp. 387-388.

¹⁴³¹ Wilkes, "Manila in 1842," p. 460; Foreman, *The Philippines*, p. 347; Deviana, *Three Centuries of Binondo Architecture*, p. 48.

¹⁴³² Huetz de Lemp, "Shifts in the Meaning of Manila," p. 220.

¹⁴³³ Huetz de Lemp, "Materiales Ligeros vs. Materiales Fuertes," pp. 162 and 166.

¹⁴³⁴ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴³⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

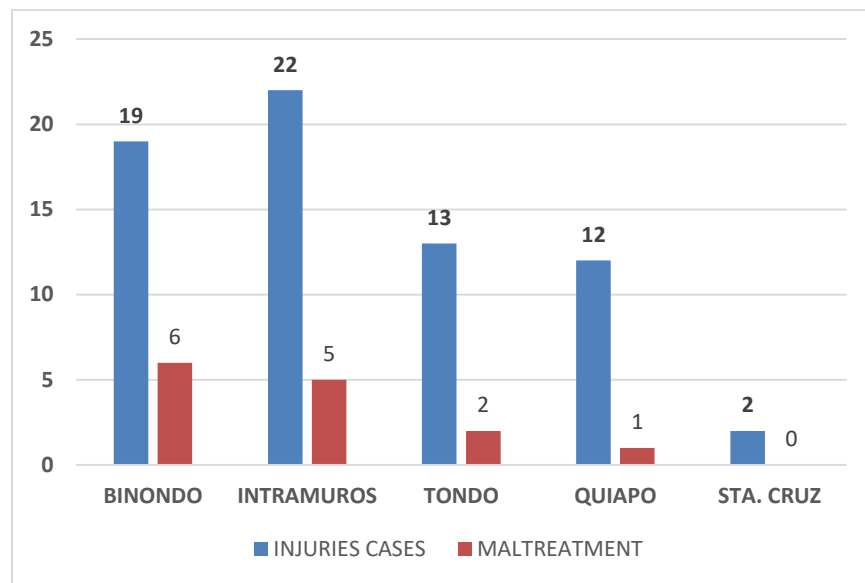


Chart 9.8. Distribution of Injuries and Maltreatment Cases by District.¹⁴³⁶

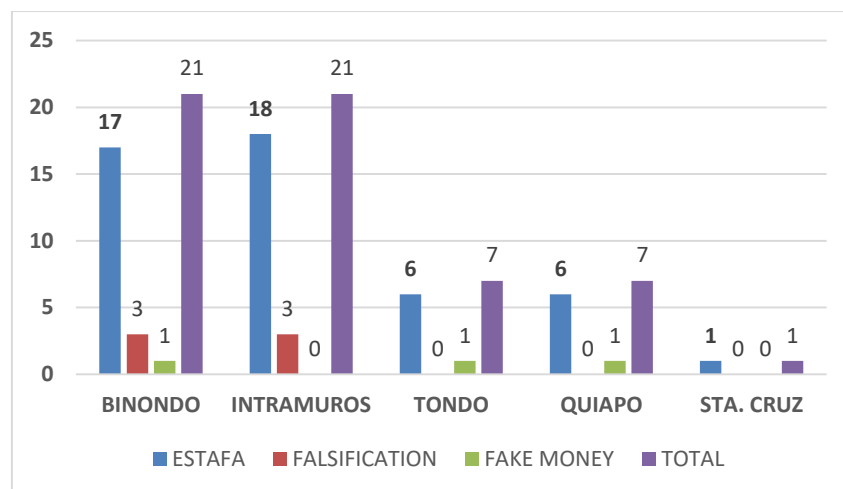


Chart 9.9. Distribution of White Collar Crimes by District.¹⁴³⁷

¹⁴³⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

¹⁴³⁷ Ibid.

Women as Complainants, Defendants, and Witnesses for Different Crimes

Aside from listing criminal cases docked for trial in the city's various courts, *Gaceta de Manila* announcements also provide information concerning complainants, defendants, and witnesses. Of the almost 500 scheduled hearings, 65 were the consequence of women filing charges, some against female suspects (See Chart 9.10.). Fifteen women claimed to be victims of theft. In four of these cases, the defendants were also female. These included Benigna Galves¹⁴³⁸ and Olivia Marmol¹⁴³⁹ in 1871, Luisa de los Angeles in 1889,¹⁴⁴⁰ and Crispina Rivera in 1890.¹⁴⁴¹

Twenty percent of female complainants claimed they were victims of injurious acts and maltreatment. Six cases involved female complainants, but only one woman, Eulogia Domingo, was accused of injuring another in Binondo's Court of First Instance on 25 May 1889.¹⁴⁴² One of the plaintiffs, Ines Punsalan, purportedly suffered corporal punishment.¹⁴⁴³ Of the three women who declared they were maltreated, Maria de los Angeles,¹⁴⁴⁴ and Andrea Arcadia Beltran¹⁴⁴⁵ claimed it was also a woman who beat them. Ms. Beltran and Gregoria de Jesus,¹⁴⁴⁶ on the other hand, stated their employers injured them.

Six women filed *estafa* charges in court. In two of those cases, the defendants were female. In 1869, in the Court of First Instance in Intramuros, Laureana Fernandez accused Cirila Galvez of *estafa*.¹⁴⁴⁷ Twenty-one years later, Maria Alarcon faced the same charges for allegedly swindling Andrea Peñalosa.¹⁴⁴⁸ Seven women, on the other hand, sought justice against those who robbed them. These women included Maria

¹⁴³⁸ National Archives of the Philippines, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 115, 27 Abril 1871, p. 794.

¹⁴³⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 267, 26 Setiembre 1871, p. 655.

¹⁴⁴⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 197, 20 Julio 1889, p. 1226.

¹⁴⁴¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 143, 25 Mayo 1890, p. 960.

¹⁴⁴² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 141, 25 Mayo 1889, p. 878.

¹⁴⁴³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 106, 18 Abril 1890, p. 760.

¹⁴⁴⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 5, 5 Enero 1890, p. 28.

¹⁴⁴⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 66, 6 Marzo 1896, p. 264.

¹⁴⁴⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 63, 3 Marzo 1896, p. 252.

¹⁴⁴⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 9, No. 12, 12 Enero 1869, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 121, 3 Mayo 1890, p. 844.

Peñuero,¹⁴⁴⁹ Fulgencia Gregorio,¹⁴⁵⁰ and Eucebia Santiago. The latter alleged that Felipa de la Cruz was one of those who threatened and stole from her.¹⁴⁵¹

Women were the sole victims of sexual aggression. Nine rape charges were deliberated in Manila's courts. While most complainants were working class individuals, even privileged women were victims. One of them, Tomasa Cuson, was a *Doña* and member of the elite. She filed rape accusations against Quintin Tiobengco in Santa Cruz in June 1871.¹⁴⁵² Twenty-five years later, in Intramuros, it was a member of the elite, Don Antonio Navarro, who was indicted for violating an unidentified woman.¹⁴⁵³ One rape victim, Maria Merced, was only 13 years old when Salvador Adaña allegedly attempted to force himself on her.¹⁴⁵⁴ Making a formal accusation must have been an emotional, if not, embarrassing, experience for some, as one woman who claimed Don Ramon Verzosa raped her in 1890, only identified herself as the daughter of Don Jose and Dña. Pilar Delgado.¹⁴⁵⁵

Eight women maintained they were kidnap victims, a crime commonly associated with sexual violation,¹⁴⁵⁶ while there were 10 corruption of a minor cases lodged in the courts of Intramuros (1), Binondo (4), and Tondo (5) in 1889, 1890 and 1896. In two separate cases, Juana Alejandra¹⁴⁵⁷ and Vicenta Sanchez¹⁴⁵⁸ alleged they were victims of abduction in 1871 and 1889, respectively. Of the corruption incidents that were examined, only one provided the identities of the complainants, 11-year-old Cornelia San Buenaventura and Cristina Tabquinto.¹⁴⁵⁹

¹⁴⁴⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No. 219, 8 Agosto 1868, p. 288.

¹⁴⁵⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 102, 14 Avril 1889, p. 642.

¹⁴⁵¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 292, 31 Octuvre 1896, p. 2113.

¹⁴⁵² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 158, 9 Junio 1871, p. 1086.

¹⁴⁵³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 78, 18 Junio 1896, p. 311.

¹⁴⁵⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 237, 29 Agosto 1889, p. 1474.

¹⁴⁵⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 35, 4 Febrero 1896, p. 188.

¹⁴⁵⁶ This is based on general patterns noted from abduction cases in the *Asuntos Criminales*.

¹⁴⁵⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 166, 17 Junio 1871, p. 1144.

¹⁴⁵⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 174, 27 Junio 1889, p. 1094.

¹⁴⁵⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 121, 29 Octuvre 1890, p. 564.

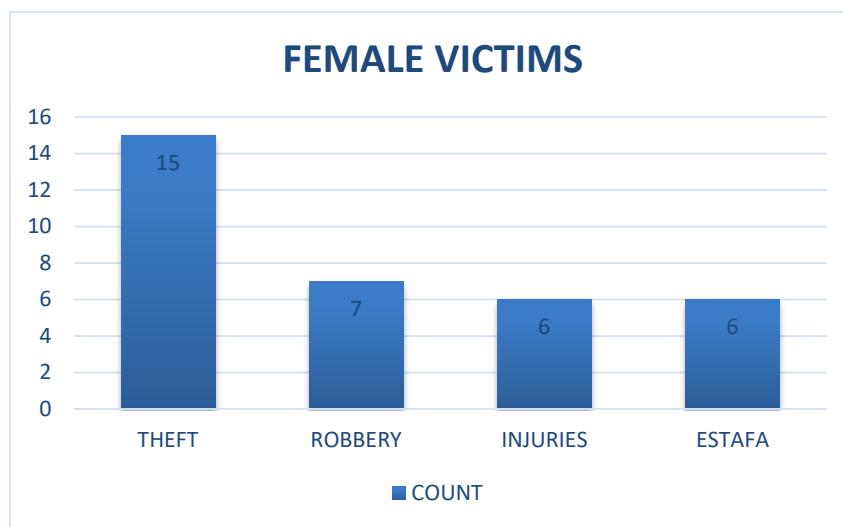


Chart 9.10. Criminal cases filed by women.¹⁴⁶⁰

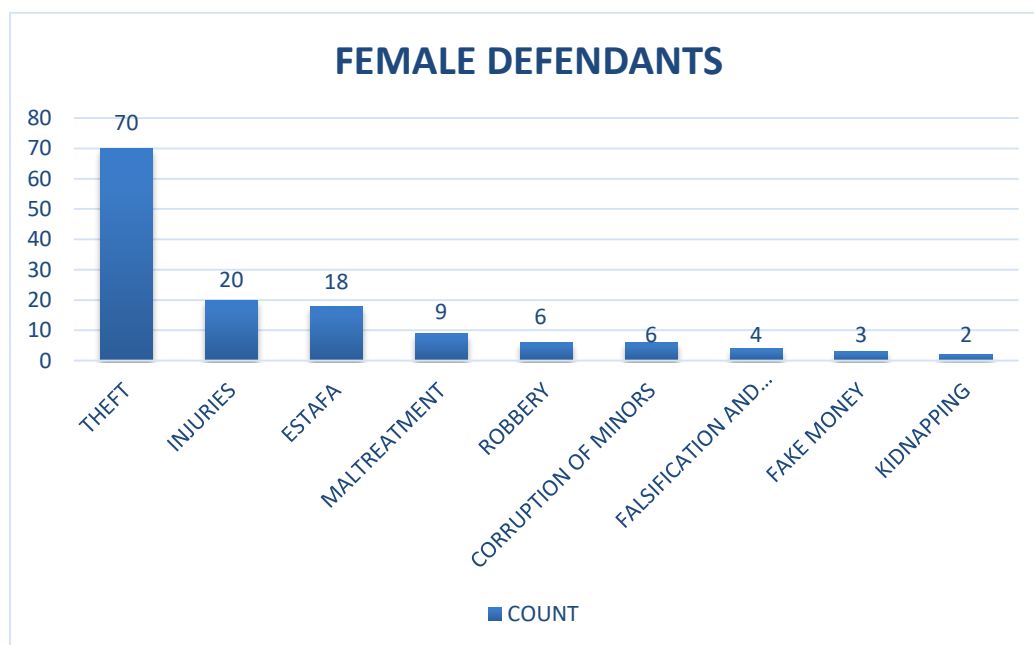


Chart 9.11. Criminal cases with female defendants.¹⁴⁶¹

¹⁴⁶⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

¹⁴⁶¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

Nearly half (44%) of all female defendants were charged with theft, but rarely were they accused of robbery (4%). Almost one out of every five cases (18%) with a female suspect involved a plaintiff who was physically or psychologically injured (See Chart 9.11.). Rarely were defendants' names mentioned in such cases. One case, however, involved a Chinese man, Ong-Pangco, who took Margarita Reyes to court for injuring him.¹⁴⁶²

More than one out of every 10 cases with a female defendant involved swindling (26) or falsification (3). Since duping people out of their money and resources were more complex undertakings, women accused of *estafa* usually had accomplices. Examples of pairs indicted for swindling include Ignaciana Arginia and Nicario Alday,¹⁴⁶³ Carolina Fernandez and Jose Alvarez,¹⁴⁶⁴ Bonifacia Pili alias Pasia and Mariano Palilco,¹⁴⁶⁵ Maria Mañocca and Ciriaco Aquino,¹⁴⁶⁶ and Eustaquia Caballera and Engracio Caballero.¹⁴⁶⁷

Nine of 14 recorded maltreatment cases involved a female defendant who hurt her victim by herself or with the assistance of a companion. Matea Valdez,¹⁴⁶⁸ Filomena Yapque,¹⁴⁶⁹ Lorenza Luna,¹⁴⁷⁰ Flora Choco,¹⁴⁷¹ and Dorotea de la Cruz¹⁴⁷² all stood as sole defendants in their respective cases. On the other hand, Dionisia and Victoria Bacani,¹⁴⁷³ the couple Josefa de la Cruz and Tomas Recaido,¹⁴⁷⁴ Catalina de los Santos and Francisca Santiago,¹⁴⁷⁵ and Dña. Carmen Mañalac and Don Mariano Jacinto¹⁴⁷⁶ were all pairs accused of abusing individuals under their authority.

¹⁴⁶² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No. 133, 14 Mayo 1868, p. 3.

¹⁴⁶³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No. 213, 30 Julio 1868, p. 219.

¹⁴⁶⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 5, 5 Enero 1890, p. 28.

¹⁴⁶⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 124, 6 Mayo 1890, p. 856.

¹⁴⁶⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 107, 18 Abril 1896, p. 432.

¹⁴⁶⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 267, 6 Octubre 1896, p. 2007.

¹⁴⁶⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No. 266, 24 Setiembre 1868, p. 632.

¹⁴⁶⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 5, 5 Enero 1890, p. 28.

¹⁴⁷⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 66, 6 Marzo 1896, p. 264.

¹⁴⁷¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 168, 18 Junio 1896, p. 676.

¹⁴⁷² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 216, 5 Agosto 1896, p. 870.

¹⁴⁷³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 268, 29 Setiembre 1889, p. 1639.

¹⁴⁷⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 300, 31 Octubre 1889, p. 1823.

¹⁴⁷⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 92, 30 Setiembre 1890, p. 424.

¹⁴⁷⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 121, 29 Octubre 1890, p. 564.

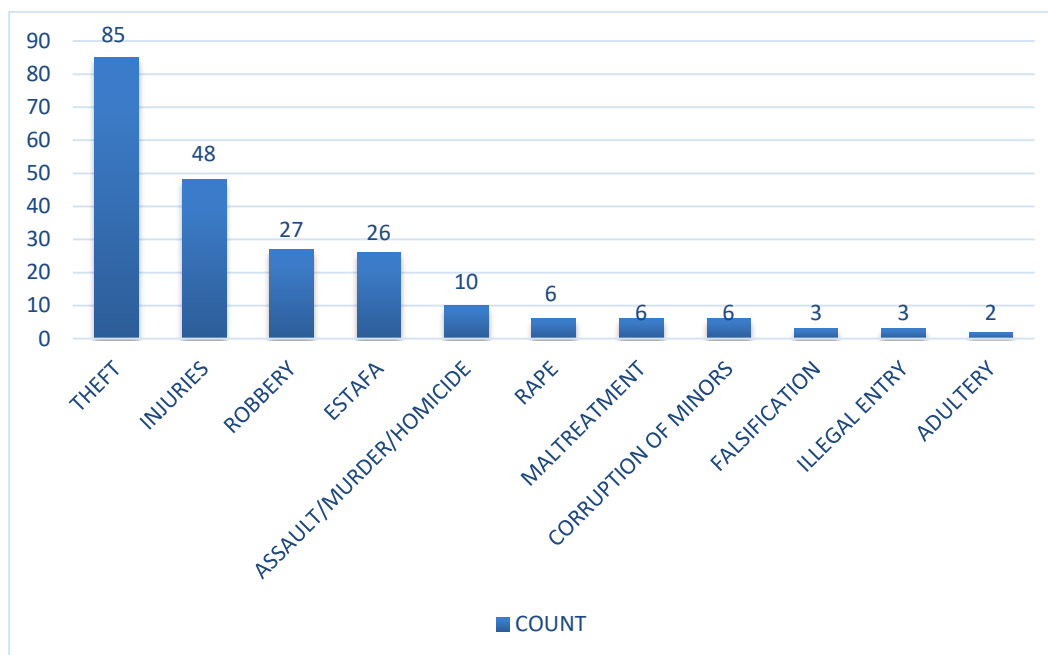


Chart 9.12. Criminal cases where women were called to testify.¹⁴⁷⁷

The *Gaceta de Manila* announced the hearing of 265 cases that required the presence of female witnesses (See Chart 9.12.). In more than half (51%) of the cases a woman was called to testify about property crimes, and some of these witnesses were upper class females. This included Dñas. Paula de la Cruz,¹⁴⁷⁸ Pilar and Nemesia Arechevala,¹⁴⁷⁹ Vicenta Acuña,¹⁴⁸⁰ and a woman known only as Dña. Saturnina,¹⁴⁸¹ who was to testify for separate theft complaints in Intramuros' Court of First Instance. Some judges called for the presence of the mothers of those accused of theft. This included Gregoria Gloria who appeared for her son Felipe Ricacho's trial in 1889¹⁴⁸² and Raymunda Maon for her daughter Telesfora's hearings in 1896.¹⁴⁸³

¹⁴⁷⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Enero-Diciembre 1862, Enero-Diciembre 1868, Enero-Abril 1869, Febrero-Diciembre 1871, Marzo-Diciembre 1889, Enero-Diciembre 1890, Enero-Diciembre 1896.

¹⁴⁷⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 43, 12 Febrero 1871, p. 298.

¹⁴⁷⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 126, 8 Mayo 1890, p. 868.

¹⁴⁸⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 117, 28 Abril 1896, p. 472.

¹⁴⁸¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 159, 6 Diciembre 1890, p. 755.

¹⁴⁸² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 301, 1 Noviembre 1889, p. 1827.

¹⁴⁸³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 126, 7 Mayo 1896, p. 507.

One out of every five cases with a female witness involved charges of robbery or *estafa*. Maria Galves,¹⁴⁸⁴ Marcela de los Santos,¹⁴⁸⁵ and Marcelina Morales¹⁴⁸⁶ were to testify in separate robbery cases, while Luisa Pemaña (3),¹⁴⁸⁷ Eusebia Santiago (2),¹⁴⁸⁸ and Dña. Margarita Madrigal (1)¹⁴⁸⁹ were called in as witnesses along with their companions.

Nearly a quarter of the women who appeared in court did so to shed light on the injury or maltreatment of another individual. Maria Mendiola served as witness in a mutual injuries case involving Mariano Rosales and her relative, Juan Mendiola.¹⁴⁹⁰ The siblings Dña. Maria and Don Jose Rodriguez testified in an injuries complaint against *Doña* Carmen Rodriguez and Don Gonzalo Mentecino in Binondo,¹⁴⁹¹ while Modesta del Castillo and two men provided testimonies in the injuring and maltreatment of an unnamed employee in Binondo.¹⁴⁹²

Four percent of cases required women to serve as witnesses in an alleged assault, homicide, or murder. Martina Sapurna and a *Teniente*¹⁴⁹³ Fernando provided statements in an assault and robbery case against Remigio Tangan and his companions in Intramuros in 1868.¹⁴⁹⁴ The Court of First Instance in Quiapo in 1889 requested the presence of Maria de la Cruz and Mariano Palacio regarding an assassination involving Adriano de la Cruz,¹⁴⁹⁵ while two women known only as Vegeng and Eleuteria were eyewitnesses in a homicide with theft and abduction case against unnamed defendants.¹⁴⁹⁶

Swindling incidents usually involved large amounts of money or items of significant value. Not surprisingly, of the 26 *estafa* cases that required the presence of female witnesses, six of them, Josefa

¹⁴⁸⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 355, 25 Diciembre 1889, p.2151.

¹⁴⁸⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 90, 31 Marzo 1890, p.676.

¹⁴⁸⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 124, 6 Mayo 1890, p.856.

¹⁴⁸⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 355, 25 Diciembre 1889, p.2151.

¹⁴⁸⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 134, 15 Mayo 1896, p.540.

¹⁴⁸⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 48, 17 Febrero 1896, p.192.

¹⁴⁹⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 351, 21 Diciembre 1889, p.2127.

¹⁴⁹¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 108, 15 Octubre 1890, p.496.

¹⁴⁹² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 257, 26 Setiembre 1896, p.1071.

¹⁴⁹³ A Lieutenant in both Spanish and Tagalog.

¹⁴⁹⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No.268, 26 Setiembre1868, p.651.

¹⁴⁹⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No.230, 22 Agosto 1889, p.1430.

¹⁴⁹⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 30, No. 46, 15 Febrero 1890, p.247.

Morillo,¹⁴⁹⁷ Rufina Saguinsing,¹⁴⁹⁸ Carmen Pozuelo,¹⁴⁹⁹ Rosario Cabafa,¹⁵⁰⁰ Bonifacia Felix,¹⁵⁰¹ and Spanish woman Carmen Alonso,¹⁵⁰² were upper class women.

Thirty-two or 60 percent of court hearings requiring the presence of a female witness dealt with sex crimes such as rape, the corruption of a minor or adultery. Defendant Cirilio Principe allegedly abducted Vicenta Sanchez in Binondo in 1889.¹⁵⁰³ Agapito Tolentino's rape case in August 1889 had female witnesses known only as Ninay, Rosa, and Antonia,¹⁵⁰⁴ while Barcelina Pacheco¹⁵⁰⁵ and a girl named Francisca¹⁵⁰⁶ testified against Leoncio Arcangel and several others accused of corrupting minors in 1896.

Women as Victims and Perpetrators of Crimes: Stories from the *Asuntos Criminales*

Bankoff argues that acts deemed criminal reveal a society's dominant values and its popular culture, while providing a window into people's lives.¹⁵⁰⁷ Given that women appear either as casualties or committers of crime in the *Asuntos Criminales*, such cases and stories also support Mary Hartmann's assertion that crimes reflect particular aspects and patterns of women's lives.¹⁵⁰⁸ Moreover, criminal narratives, whether involving offenses against properties or persons, revealed how a society regarded its female members and the way they were supposed to behave.¹⁵⁰⁹

¹⁴⁹⁷ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 8, No. 145, 26 Mayo 1868, p.6.

¹⁴⁹⁸ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 11, No. 238, 28 Agosto 1871, p.440.

¹⁴⁹⁹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 120, 4 Mayo 1889, p.746.

¹⁵⁰⁰ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No.67, 5 Setiembre 1890, p.320.

¹⁵⁰¹ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 174, 21 Diciembre 1890, p.860.

¹⁵⁰² NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 239, 8 Setiembre 1896, p.999.

¹⁵⁰³ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 182, 5 Julio 1889, p. 1142.

¹⁵⁰⁴ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 29, No. 230, 22 Agosto 1889, p.1430.

¹⁵⁰⁵ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 102, 13 Avril 1896, p.411.

¹⁵⁰⁶ NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*, Año 34, No. 108, 19 Avril 1896, p.436.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Mary S. Hartmann, "Crime and the Respectable Woman: Toward a Pattern of Middle Class Criminality in Nineteenth Century England and France," *Feminist Studies* vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1, 1974), p. 39.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Simona Trombetta, "Public Vices, Public Remedies in Nineteenth Century Italy: Giulia Falletti di Barolo Colbert and Le Forzate," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* vol. 7, no. 1 (2002), pp. 56-58.

Property Crimes: Theft and Robbery, Estafa, Debt Defaults, and Falsification

1) Theft Cases

Theft and robbery are criminal acts that involve the stealing of someone else's property. The only distinction is that the latter involves the use of intimidation or force against the victim.¹⁵¹⁰ There are three times more theft than robbery cases in the *Asuntos Criminales*. Moreover, while the accuser and accused in robberies rarely knew each other, the protagonists in theft disputes were more likely to be neighbors or had some form of kin relationship. Thus, proximity, familiarity, and opportunity often combined with necessity and greed, provided the perfect conditions for thievery to occur.

The majority of those accused of stealing were servants or individuals who had access to the most personal areas of people's homes. Dña. Mercedes Villalon, in March 1868, claimed that her domestic, Fabiana Salazar, and her mother, Tomasa Esguerra, stole her ring and a precious comb. Mercedes trusted Fabiana as she left the ring, with her 13-year-old *criada* for safekeeping. However, Ms. Villalon lamented the fact that Fabiana's mother influenced the girl to steal it. Tomasa, a native of Morong Province, was tried *in ausencia*,¹⁵¹¹ while her daughter, standing before the court, claimed her mother forced her to steal items from her employer.¹⁵¹²

Parental pressure was a common excuse given by servants who stole. In December 1891, Segunda Ynola had just arrived home from a religious procession when she realized her servant Gregoria Samaniego had absconded. Also missing was a box hidden in her closet containing P8.50 of silver, a hair palette with gold fittings, a pair of gold earrings, two gold pins, and documents proving that various individuals, including D. Macario Aloas (P50), Hermenigildo Estrella (P100), D. Bernabe (P102), and even Segunda herself owed her money. The total value of the assets lost was P90. Dña. Segunda believed that Gregoria's father, a native of Hagonoy, Bulacan, goaded her *criada* into taking those items.¹⁵¹³

Households periodically acquired the services of individuals for tasks conducted in the most private portions of the home. In 1871, Rafael Sanches hired a 60-year-old midwife Estefania Cortes, to help his

¹⁵¹⁰ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code*, pp. 101 and 104.

¹⁵¹¹ Literally means, "in absence".

¹⁵¹² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 3, Folder 2, Images 469-590.

¹⁵¹³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26 Folder 4, Images 582-631; 530-631.

wife Ursula deliver their child. Cortes then returned to the Sanches residence to help clean her patient's post-natal wound. It was after one of Estefania's visits that Rafael's mother claimed that a piece of cloth containing a piece of jewellery in Ursula's room went missing. Witnesses claimed that, on the night of the theft, Estefania was seen in a store where she purchased and consumed wine. The storekeeper noticed a piece of jewellery on the midwife's arm, which she claimed she was to sell. Ms. Cortes strongly denied the allegations and the case against her was dropped due to lack of evidence.¹⁵¹⁴

Some law-abiding individuals believed that people deserve a second chance. Dña. Gertrudes Ponce still hired Nicomedes Adriano, a 32-year-old *mestizo* carpenter from Tondo, to do repair work in her home in 1848, despite the latter admitting to stealing from her in the past. Ms. Ponce's continued trust in Nicomedes, however, was misplaced. The 40-year-old unmarried merchant claimed that when she woke up at dawn and proceeded to the room where her household's daily clothes were kept, she found three of her trunks empty, including one *tampipi*, or box-like container made of strips of bamboo. The windows facing west were open. A witness claimed that she saw Adriano, who had been doing carpentry work in the Ponce house, holding on to the structure's straps at around 5:00 AM. Adriano was allegedly inebriated when he robbed his employer a second time.¹⁵¹⁵

Engagements at work also led to accusations of theft. In May 1898, Arcadia Flores, a 30-year-old unmarried *india* from Pandacan, was working as a cashier at an opium house in Tondo, when an 18-year-old opium trader named Co-Pungco arrived. After buying some opium, Arcadia claimed that Co allegedly teased her that her sister was a prostitute. Angered by this, she claimed to have left the premises to report him to the police. When she returned, the money in the cash box containing P55 was missing along with the young Chinese opium trader. She argued that Co was the thief as he was the only client at that time.¹⁵¹⁶

Another Manileña with similar issues brought against a Chinese migrant was one Perfecta Sta. Maria, a servant of D. Bernardo Maganti in Sitio Uli-Uli, San Miguel. In her testimony, Perfecta was awakened by a noise in the early morning of 24 September 1861. When she tried to find its source, the servant saw the Chinaman Cocheco Ylig, known locally as "Panot", a former client during her days as a *lavandera*, in front

¹⁵¹⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 2, Images 795-953.

¹⁵¹⁵ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 4, Folder 5, Images 178-195.

¹⁵¹⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 3, Folder 5, Images 193-268.

of the main door of her master's house. Perfecta stated Panot fled after she began shouting. Not long afterwards, she realized that her box that contained P70, a pin, and two gold rosaries were gone. During the subsequent investigation, the police determined that Coheco was innocent and Ms. Sta. Maria was the one who had committed a crime by falsely accusing Coheco of theft.¹⁵¹⁷

Some individuals charged that people they were close to, in terms of residence or marriage, victimized them. On 3 April 1888, Teodora Siochi, a *mestiza* from Tambobong, accused her neighbor, Juana Martin of stealing her ornamented silver hairpin. While Teodora was searching for her missing hairpin, she saw through her window that Juana, who operated a neighboring store, already wore the needle on her hair. When Teodora asked Juana who made the needle, the latter said she bought it from a silversmith named Julio from *Barrio Dujat* in Tambobong. Teodora then confronted Julio who claimed he never made such a hairpin. Juana then countered that she bought the needle for P1.50 from Ana, a tobacco cutter from *Barrio Dujat*.¹⁵¹⁸

Dña. Maria Ochoa, in 1881, charged D. Valeriano de Borja of selling without permission her two cows that were under the care of Gervacia Flores. D. Valeriano admitted to peddling the livestock, but he claimed that he did so only after getting the consent of Dña. Maria's husband. Apparently, Mr. de Borja was the father-in-law of Ms. Ochoa! The judge of this case stated that the individuals could not press criminal charges against their relatives, but they could claim civil liabilities. Thus, D. Valeriano de Borja was to pay her daughter-in-law P5 as indemnity.¹⁵¹⁹

The only theft case encountered with a suspect and victim who may not have known each other involved Oliva Preysler, a 17-year-old Spanish *mestizo* seamstress, accused of stealing P110 from Captain E.A. Derwechter, the head of the American military hospital in Manila, in October 1899. Captain Derwechter testified that he was walking in Camba Street in Binondo when, upon the request of an unknown individual, he attended to a sick woman who happened to be Ms. Preysler. He claimed that, after treating her, he inadvertently left a bag that contained P110 on the ground floor of the house where Ms. Preysler, a native of Quiapo, was staying with several companions. His allegations led to American soldiers arresting

¹⁵¹⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 3, Images 418-453.

¹⁵¹⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 1, Images 729-754.

¹⁵¹⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 3, Folder 5, Images 95-175.

Oliva and two of her male housemates. Ms. Preysler and her co-accused denied they stole the money from Derwechter's bag. They even claimed not knowing who the American soldier was when he entered their home in an allegedly drunken state.¹⁵²⁰

Beyond its original use as a record of facts, archival documents also serve as a window into the personal lives and preferences of individuals.¹⁵²¹ The lost possessions of women in different incidents provides a glimpse of the types of possessions privileged women owned. In December 1866, D. Pedro Mariano Consunji reported that Feliciano Salcedo stole items belonging to his wife, Dña. Paola Lauchengco. These included 14 blouses, 10 skirts, two jackets, and handkerchiefs, as well as a piece of tapestry, a rosary, and a hairpiece.¹⁵²²

In 1857, Dña. Cornelia Nuñez of Gunao, Quiapo alleged that her domestic Fragedes de la Cruz and the latter's lover of four months, a blacksmith named Sinforoso Legaspi, ran away with her jewellery and personal items. The stolen goods comprised a ring with precious stones valued at P20, a P40 rosary made of gold, an imported gold pendant with green stones valued at P8, imported embroideries worth P24, five skirts, three of which were made of silk, and two embroidered handkerchiefs.¹⁵²³

While most invested in clothes and jewellery, a woman named Dña. Luisa was more interested in acquiring furniture and investing in wealth-producing activities. She, however, lost most of her fortune when several individuals broke into her home in Sampaloc, one evening in 1891. She stated that these thieves carried away with them the following: a) 18 horses and several *quiles* or carriages that were likely for rent; b) two dressing tables made of varnished wood; c) two candlesticks made of bronze; d) a pair of fine slab spouts, two vienna chairs with arms and backrests made of *rattan*; e) 6 vienna chairs with no arm rests, a pair of wall hangers, and f) a table made of ordinary lumber. The complainant claimed to have become destitute due to the incident and was compelled to represent herself in court.¹⁵²⁴

¹⁵²⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 2 Images Aaekag01- Aaekag77.

¹⁵²¹ Jean Gelman Taylor, "Inventory and Testimony"; Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, pp. 138-142.

¹⁵²² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 1, Image 1488.

¹⁵²³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 2, Images 662-696.

¹⁵²⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 23, Folder 1, Images 85-100.

2) *Robberies*

Unlike theft incidents, robberies had perpetrators threatening or inflicting violence on their hapless victims and, at times, they entailed more planning. In 1865, Dalmacio de la Cruz was part of a group of five men who robbed unsuspecting homes in Sitio Bilaran in Sampaloc. One of the homeowners, Estevan Fajardo, was the victim of an inside job as Dalmacio pretended to court Estanislava, one of Mr. Fajardo's daughters, before the robbery occurred.¹⁵²⁵

Given the risks involved, robbers usually dealt with victims who had valuable assets. At around 10:30 PM on 20 June 1878, Ysabelo Baterno and Leoncia Noguiera were in front of their house when two armed men accosted them, one of whom held a knife against Leoncia's chest. The four then proceeded to enter the house after which the robbers fled with a pearl comb and a couple of gold earrings with diamond stones valued at around P170.¹⁵²⁶

Robberies were not limited though to expensive portable items. One of the commodities most highly valued in Manila in the 1800s were draft animals, such as carabaos, that fetched between P50 to P70 per head.¹⁵²⁷ The high urban demand for livestock led to provincial farmers losing their water buffalo to robbers who supplied the Manila market with stolen cattle.

Two individuals victimized by carabao robbers were the spouses Pedro and Teresa Tequia of Baliwag, Bulacan. In June 1900, while travelling to their home, the couple surrendered their water buffaloes valued at P70 each, to three bolo-wielding men. Recognizing that stolen animals often ended up being sold in the markets of Manila, they sought help from their Binondo-based townmate Juan Talabera. Using the descriptions of the carabao given to him, Mr. Talabera discovered the animals in a facility owned by D. Esmegardo Carreon, an Intramuros-based businessman. Mr. Carreon was charged with purchasing stolen goods, but he denied having any prior knowledge that the carabaos were stolen goods.

¹⁵²⁵ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 1, Images 1083-1219.

¹⁵²⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 2, Image 1158.

¹⁵²⁷ NAP, *Memorias de Manila*, S73B and 80.

3) *Embezzlement, Extortion, Forgery as White Collar Crimes*

Women in late nineteenth century Manila were also involved in what the Criminology literature calls *white collar crime*. These are offenses involving deceit, concealment, or the violation of trust that are often carried out by merchants and professionals motivated by financial gain.¹⁵²⁸ The more popular white collar crimes include extortion, counterfeiting, forgery, and embezzlement.¹⁵²⁹

In the Philippines, even today, such swindling activities are known by the all-encompassing term, *estafa*. While the Spanish Penal Code does not include the term, the Law defined a swindler. Articles 534 and 535 of the Code described a swindler as “a person who shall defraud another in the substance, quantity, or quality of things he may deliver to him, by virtue of an obligation”. These individuals included those who falsely claimed to have influence, assets, and properties, as well as silversmiths and jewellers who altered the quality and weight of ornaments and jewellery.¹⁵³⁰

The most common form of *estafa* was embezzlement, a situation where individuals suddenly disappear along with the items entrusted to them.¹⁵³¹ In January 1896, Macaria Francisco filed a complaint against Engracia Jacinto. Macaria entrusted her fellow Binondo resident with a pair of earrings worth P42 and a roll of *sinamay*¹⁵³² valued at P5, a P3 diamond needle, and 25 pairs of Japanese slippers worth P6. These goods had to be sold and repaid within 24 hours. Ms. Francisco was compelled to press charges of *estafa* after Engracia had already gone missing for four days. The judge, however, found Jacinto not guilty. But she was soon confronting a robbery case against Francisco.¹⁵³³

D. Calistro Peña was also a victim of a similar *modus operandi*. Mr. Peña knew Carmen de los Santos and Anastacia Bautista. Thus, when the pair claimed to know people who could buy his jewellery, he found

¹⁵²⁸ “What We Investigate – White Collar Crime,” Federal Bureau of Investigation Website. <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/white-collar-crime>. Date accessed: 23 September 2019; Brian K. Payne. *White Collar Crime: The Essentials*, 2nd edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2016), p. 31.

¹⁵²⁹ “National Check Center: Types and Schemes of White Collar Crime,” <http://www.ckfraud.org/whitecollar.html>. Date accessed: 23 September 2019.

¹⁵³⁰ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal*, pp. 107-108.

¹⁵³¹ “National Check Center: Types and Schemes of White Collar Crime,” <http://www.ckfraud.org/whitecollar.html>. Date accessed: 23 September 2019.

¹⁵³² A local fabric in the Philippines made of Manila Hemp or *Abaca* fiber.

¹⁵³³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 2, 309-498.

no reason to doubt them. D. Calistro entrusted them with pearl, gold, and diamond jewellery, rosaries, rings, and combs valued at P141.25. The women offered to return the items immediately if there were no buyers so as not to waste each other's time. After three weeks of patiently waiting, Mr. Peña finally decided to take the pair to court.¹⁵³⁴

Even an employee who held a high position and derived benefits from the profitability of a business could betray an employer's trust. Filomena Mariana, also known as *Cabo*¹⁵³⁵ Minang, enjoyed the trust of *Doña* Ciriaca Pascual who owned a cigar and cigarette factory in Tondo, Manila. Unfortunately, it came to *Doña* Ciriaca's attention that her floor leader had pilfered P100 worth of tobacco from the factory's stocks in November 1890. Filomena, a 30-year-old married *india* from Angat, Bulacan, however, was able to elude arrest as she received word that the police were searching for her.¹⁵³⁶

Given the limited number of people with expertise in producing, maintaining, and altering jewellery, it is not surprising that people accused silversmiths and jewellers of embezzlement. In 1872, *Dña.* Victoriana de la Vega entrusted a quantity of gold and pearls to the silversmiths Martina del Prado and her husband Pablo. The precious items though soon became a source of a conflict to the point where Victoriana's husband, D. Juan Aguilar, accused the pair of *estafa*.¹⁵³⁷

Such personal ornaments made of precious metals and gems were always deemed valuable. They became a similar source of conflict between two businesspeople – D. Juan Abraham and *Dña.* Agustina Medel. *Dña.* Agustina accused D. Juan of replacing the precious stones of her pair of earrings with inferior ones that the latter was to sell in Batangas. Abraham worked as an agent for a jewellery firm, and to prove his innocence he suggested that Ms. Agustin visit the company where he works. His defense, however, went for naught as the court found Mr. Abraham guilty of *estafa*.¹⁵³⁸

¹⁵³⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 4, Folder 1, Images 795-905.

¹⁵³⁵ Head or leader in both Spanish and Tagalog.

¹⁵³⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 5, Folder 2, Images 24-264

¹⁵³⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 1, Images 1171-1175.

¹⁵³⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*. CD 66, Folder 4, Images 1174-1355.

Some individuals also cheated others by reneging on agreements. In exchange for 90 cavans of *palay*,¹⁵³⁹ D. Joaquin de Gusman agreed to allow Dña. Basilia de Lara to store unhusked rice in his warehouse. However, when it was time for Ms. De Lara to collect her *palay*, the merchant claimed he did not owe her anything. Mr. de Gusman was guilty of extortion, or of illegally obtaining property from another under the guise of an official right.¹⁵⁴⁰ Dña. Basilia sued Mr. de Gusman. The ensuing investigation revealed that D. Joaquin had previously been found guilty of several crimes, one of which saw him flogged. D. Joaquin spent 10 months in prison for *estafa* and was required to return all Dña. Basilia's *palay* stocks.¹⁵⁴¹

Estafa also included the act of failing to remit collected rent money. Dña. Maria Mendoza and Romualdo Enriquez lodged a complaint in court that their rent collector Juan Teodoro embezzled the land rent from their property in Sitio Bancaso, Tondo. Ms. Mendoza was a 60-year-old widowed *cigarrera* and absentee landowner. One of the witnesses, the fisherman Eugenio Santos, was a tenant who knew she was the owner of the land where he resided, but he only had contact with Juan. The court compelled Mr. Teodoro to settle his case by paying back Ms. Mendoza and Mr. Enriquez P25.¹⁵⁴²

Asuntos Criminales cases also graphically demonstrate the capacity of people to dupe and cause harm to others. Two specific *estafa* cases dealt with real estate transactions. By far the most cunning embezzler was Veronica Enriquez. She defrauded Dons Domingo Barretto, Ramon Rivera, Agapito Enriquez of various sums of money in 1876. Enriquez claimed to be a resident of Malolos, Bulacan who was selling her lands straddling the towns of Malolos and Paombong. She came to Manila to borrow money to defray various expenses (i.e. paperwork, *carromata* rentals) incurred, so that the sale of her properties could commence. As proof, she showed Mr. Barretto, a 25-year-old unmarried Spanish-Filipino bookkeeper, what seemed like certified copies of the properties' original title deeds.

Whether convinced by her statements or smitten by her charms, Mr. Barretto soon served as Veronica's guarantor to other upper-class males. Ms. Enriquez was even able to obtain a skirt, heron blouse, and a *piña* scarf from Barretto's sister that was valued at P8, which she promised to pay once her property sales

¹⁵³⁹ Unhusked rice grains in Tagalog.

¹⁵⁴⁰ "National Check Center: Types and Schemes of White Collar Crime," <http://www.ckfraud.org/whitecollar.html>. Date accessed: 23 September 2019.

¹⁵⁴¹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*. CD 1, Folder 1, Images 1206-1345.

¹⁵⁴² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales* CD 3, Folder 4, Images 921-982

were finalized. Veronica was never heard from again and left D. Domingo with a significant amount of debt.¹⁵⁴³

In 1863, Leocadia Granado paid Ciriaco Garcia P1000 for a residential property in *Barrio Sibacon*, Sta. Cruz. She paid Garcia by selling her limestone house to a Chinese man, Vicente Uy Sangco, for P2800. As she had nowhere to store her furniture, she transported them to her newly bought property, thinking it was the prudent thing to do. The property she bought already had tenants, all of whom paid her 0.75 *pesos* a month, while a woman named Potenciana Bilalon paid her a *peso* monthly.

Leocadia, however, eventually discovered the property she purchased was not transferred to her name. Mr. Garcia produced a document stating that Ms. Granado had actually mortgaged the Sibacon, Sta. Cruz to him for P600 and therefore she had to pay him back his money at a rate of 5% monthly interest.¹⁵⁴⁴ While the court considered this conflict between the two parties to be a case of *estafa*, the possibility that the document Mr. Garcia produced to substantiate his claims may have been fake meant that he had most likely committed forgery.¹⁵⁴⁵

Forgery, or the act of intentionally passing off an instrument or item as real with a clear intent of defrauding another,¹⁵⁴⁶ was a transgression carried out by a person or individuals against other parties, including the State. One recorded incident involved a Chinese tricked into buying fake lottery tickets. In October 1893, Caloocan-based storeowner Sy Chongco was persuaded by a woman he identified as Filomena Morante to spend P24 on lottery tickets that he could sell in his shop. He eventually realized the tickets sold to him were fake.

When he filed his complaint in court, Sy Chongco had two individuals who vouched seeing Ms. Morante sell the bogus tickets to Sy Chongco. The authorities quickly formed a search party to arrest Filomena.

¹⁵⁴³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 1 Folder 3, Images 1444-1468.

¹⁵⁴⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 1, Images 122-159; 535-539.

¹⁵⁴⁵ "National Check Center: Types and Schemes of White Collar Crime," <http://www.ckfraud.org/whitecollar.html>. Date accessed: 23 September 2019.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

They eventually nabbed a woman named Filomena Morante, but, unfortunately, her facial and body features were the exact opposite of the descriptions provided by the plaintiff and his witnesses.¹⁵⁴⁷

In 1886, a Spanish naval station filed falsification of document charges against Dña. Juana Goco and several others. Ms. Goco and her companions were paid P9.75 to deliver 20 kilograms of *Yakal Angat*¹⁵⁴⁸ lumber. However, the naval station argued that the timber they received instead was plain firewood. An argument then transpired between the station's representative and Dña. Juana's group. In the ensuing altercation, the naval lawyer was the recipient of a barrage of insults, as well as a slap on the face. Consequently, Ms. Goco's group received a guilty verdict, and she and her companions spent 6 months in jail.¹⁵⁴⁹

The most intricate case of forgery involved a predominantly female group that forged and sold counterfeit government telegraph seals. This case was lodged by the State against Maxima Guerrero and 11 others, including Manuela Tanguco, Restituta Mariano, Placida Carreon, Fulgencia Tuazon, Pacuala Tuanengco, and Leonora Villareal. According to witnesses, Manuela Tanguco, who sold cigarettes in a store in Sta. Cruz, would receive green seals from a woman and then take them to the backroom of her shop located along Plaza del Padre Moraga. The backroom had a trap door leading to a hidden room where individuals made counterfeit seals. The counterfeit group acquired copies of these green-colored stamps from a government officer. This operation enabled the women to make a sizeable profit selling these fake telegraph stamps rather than simply retailing legal government-issued ones. Among the companies victimized by Ms. Tanguco and Guerrero's group were Ker and Company, Brittle and Bell, and a tobacco company.¹⁵⁵⁰

4) *Eviction and Debt Cases*

Despite its transition to a capitalist economy in the nineteenth century, the Philippines never developed a mature banking sector during the Spanish period.¹⁵⁵¹ This gap in financial services led people to borrow cash from moneylenders. Some of the borrowers were women going through difficult times.

¹⁵⁴⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 3, Images 154-411.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Yakal is a type of Philippine hardwood, while Angat is a town in Bulacan.

¹⁵⁴⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 1, Folder 2, Images 491-520.

¹⁵⁵⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 2, Images 1268-1484; Folder 3, Images 45-158.

¹⁵⁵¹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 93-94. See also Benito J. Legarda, *After the Galleons*.

Unfortunately, there were those who were unable to pay back their debts, which led to them being charged in court. For example, two of those accused of renegeing on their debts were the spouses Estanislao Ignacio and Romualda Sanchez. The Gagalangin, Tondo-based couple borrowed P25 from Dña. Concepcion Leyva as Dña. Adela Escasi agreed to serve as their guarantor.

Apparently, Estanislao and Romualda used the money to pay a previous debt. Dña. Concepcion soon had no choice but to press Dña. Adela to pay back the P25 as the couple failed to return what they owed. This compelled Ms. Escasi to file charges against her *Barrio* compatriots who were ordered by the court to pay back Dña. Concepcion.¹⁵⁵²

In October 1892, Tondo's Court of First Instance similarly ordered Raymundo Lontoc and Juliana de los Santos to settle the P40 they owed Dña. Hermogena Avelino. Raymundo, a 64-year-old had incurred gambling debts, and his wife, a seamstress, promised to pay the 25-year-old Avelino within a year. They intended to clear their debt but were insolvent.¹⁵⁵³

Dña. Teresa de los Reyes also sent a demand letter in the same year to Tutuban resident Felipe Chua Bon Pin who owed the Intramuros-based businesswoman P50. The debt was already five months overdue. Sadly, Chua Bon Pin had borrowed money from Teresa to pay his debt to D. Anastacio Vistan who already held his house and lot as collateral.¹⁵⁵⁴

Strained relations between proprietors and their tenants due to non-payment of rent or breach of lease terms often led to eviction cases. In one instance, two of these property-owners were women. Dña. Raimunda Chuidan, along with her husband Felipe Rojas, filed a complaint in 1890 against their tenant D. Benjamin Bernardez who was staying in one of their rental houses along Escolta Street. Bernardez signed a two-year lease whereby he agreed to pay P260 a month for a guesthouse. But the couple decided to terminate the agreement as D. Benjamin was already two months in arrears (P520) with his rent.¹⁵⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 1, Folder 1, Images 301-320.

¹⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, Images 373-382. The amount detail provided in the *Asuntos Criminales* documents vary from case to case. With respect to this particular file, there was no information as to why the spouses Raymundo Lontoc and Juliana de los Santos accumulated a debt.

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Images 342-349.

¹⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Images 424-428.

A tenants' failure to pay was also the reason why Dña. Ciriaca Cobarrubias filed an eviction notice against Carlito Rubio and Dña. Sotera Leño in 1853. The couple was renting Dña. Ciriaca's home in *Barrio Santo Cristo*, Binondo for P24 a month but had been behind in their payments. Their outstanding balance had already reached P320 – 15 months' worth of rent – when Ms. Cobarrubias took them to court.¹⁵⁵⁶

Finally, in November 1893, Lawyer D. Arcadio Enriquez also filed an eviction case against Felipa Palma Rodrigues, who was staying in one of his *accesorias* in 26 Victoria Street. Mr. Enriquez argued that Ms. Rodrigues broke the terms of her lease.¹⁵⁵⁷

Sexual Crimes: Rape, Corruption of Minors, and Abduction

Rape, abduction, and the corruption of minors are crimes against a person. These offenses are of the same order of wrongdoing as assault, injuries, homicide, or murder as they involve violence or grievous bodily harm being inflicted on an individual. However, the above offenses dealt with here involve transgressions of a sexual nature against women.

Rape was defined in the Spanish Penal Code as the act of lying with a woman through an act of force or intimidation. A man, however, who had had consensual sex with a female was still guilty of raping her if she was under 12 years old.¹⁵⁵⁸ Any person who used his authority and trustworthiness to facilitate prostitution of underage girls was considered a corruptor of minors.¹⁵⁵⁹ The Spanish Penal Code made it clear that the act of abducting a female adult against her will carried the same punishment, regardless of the victim's age. However, the abduction of a virgin over the age of 12 and under 23 years old, carried a different punishment.¹⁵⁶⁰

In some of these types of cases, the accused was also charged with seducing his victim. Article 443 of the Penal Code specified seduction as an act where a man had sexual relations through fraudulent means with a virgin female whose age was over 12 but under 23 years. Persons of authority or those responsible for

¹⁵⁵⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 5, Folder 1, Images 379-382.

¹⁵⁵⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 4, Images 608-611.

¹⁵⁵⁸ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

the welfare of young women, such as priests, public officials, guardians, and servants, received sentences that were twice as harsh. Moreover, any male who had sex with a female relative, regardless of age, committed both incest and seduction in the eyes of the law.¹⁵⁶¹

1) Rape

There are two observable patterns from available files dealing with rape. In most cases, the alleged perpetrator of the crime was not a stranger to the victim. In addition, the court usually tried to ensure that, in case of a guilty verdict, the woman would be compensated for her harrowing experience.

In 1893, Agapita Ramires accused her employee, the 25-year-old tailor Victoriano Ligdao, of raping her 17-year-old daughter Blasica. Mrs. Ramires explained that her daughter left home by herself, on the morning of 8 January 1893 to attend mass in Tondo's parish church. She, however, did not return home that day. Agapita stated that Victoriano, a married man, met her daughter on the road and declared his love for Blasica. Mr. Ligdao then suggested to the young woman that they could go hear mass at the Binondo Church instead by taking a *carromata*. While they did ride in such a vehicle, their horse and carriage travelled straight to a house in the town of Tambobong. There Victoriano threw Blasica on a bed, forced himself on her, and stayed with her in Tambobong for three days.

Froilan, the father of Blasica, insisted that his wife Agapita had visually confirmed that Blasica was raped. However, Blasica refused to have herself inspected by a medical doctor. This placed the court in a quandary as there was no documented proof that Victoriano had indeed committed rape. Surprisingly, charges against Victoriano were dropped.¹⁵⁶²

Some men, however, were not so lucky as Mr. Ligdao. Dionicio Feliciano, a 25-year old Chinese *mestizo*, was charged by Maria Josefa del Rosario of seducing, abducting, and raping her 19-year-old daughter, Filomena. Based on personal accounts, the Tondo-based broker took a liking for Filomena. The latter soon fell in love with Dionicio, cohabited with him, and became pregnant with his child.

¹⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 3, Images 643-644, 910- 1182. In Article 448 of the Penal Code, charges of rape ceased to exist if the violated person or her parents pardoned the guilty party.

Filomena, however, soon sadly found out her partner was already married. Worse, she was even publicly humiliated as Dionicio once claimed that Ms. Del Rosario was only his servant or *muchacha*. But fearing that he would soon be the subject of a court case, he offered to give Filomena a weekly pension of P2 to settle his personal predicament. Unfortunately, the del Rosarios could not be readily bought. He consequently spent eight months in prison and was assigned as a laborer to the public works.¹⁵⁶³

The workplace was also a site where constant proximity between males and females provided an environment for potential sexual transgressions to occur. In 1887, a 13-year-old servant of Tambobong's head of the *gremio de mestizos*,¹⁵⁶⁴ D. Eulalio Tiburcio, Rosa Gutierrez, accused 28-year-old coachman Gregorio Bautista of raping her. Rosa stated that she went to the market to buy fish one evening when a man she did not know approached her and suddenly declared his love. She tried to avoid him, who she allegedly later found out was Mr. Bautista, but he followed her and took her to a place near a Chinese man's residence. It was there that she claimed the rape occurred.

Gregorio, however, disputed Rosa's story. Not only did Rosa know him as he was D. Eulalio's *cochero*,¹⁵⁶⁵ he also claimed they were lovers! He admitted that they had consensual sex at their master's stables and claimed he did not rape her. Mr. Tiburcio's version of the incident corroborated Mr. Bautista's statement. The employer of both the accuser and accused testified that he happened to pass by his stable and saw the pair having sexual intercourse. He was upset by what he witnessed but decided not to interfere. He explained that he had Gregorio jailed not because the Bulacan native was guilty of violating Rosa, but rather that he felt his position in the community demanded he should not employ a person who had an expired *cedula*. Gregorio was absolved of the charge brought against him after a doctor who determined that Rosa bore no injury to her vagina.¹⁵⁶⁶

In 1893, Saturnina Manabat, also a servant, was alleged to have been raped by her employer, Manuel Galit. Saturnina recounted that while she was sleeping one night, she suddenly felt someone touching her. When

¹⁵⁶³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 4, Images 1004-1086.

¹⁵⁶⁴ The term literally means "council of mestizos."

¹⁵⁶⁵ Coachman in Tagalog and Spanish.

¹⁵⁶⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 1, Images 1309-1378.

she awakened, she saw that Mr. Galit was raising her skirt. She believed her subsequent shouts awakened other people and saved her from an attempted rape.

Manuel naturally disputed Ms. Manabat's statement. He claimed to have witnesses who would vouch that at 5:00 AM on the morning of the supposed incident, he was sleeping beside his wife. Moreover, he argued that Saturnina's accusation was simply meant to cover-up her stealing P10 from him. In fact, he further said that Ms. Manabat even owed him money.¹⁵⁶⁷

A suitor who felt jilted could sometimes turn to despicable acts. In 1888, Venancio Morales was charged with violating Ursula Mariano. The 15-year-old was on her way to say confession in a mission house in Calle San Marcelino, Dilao when she encountered Venancio on the Ayala Bridge at 7:00 PM. Morales had been pestering her since 3:00 PM, and he suggested to take Ursula with him to San Felipe Nery never to return. When the girl rejected him, Venancio tried to force himself on her with much struggle. Ursula's torn *camisa*¹⁵⁶⁸ was her proof of the unfortunate incident.¹⁵⁶⁹

Sadly, charges of rape could also turn into a family affair. In August 1854 in Quiapo, Macario Alitactac lodged a rape case against his brother-in-law, D. Ciriaco Ubero, who he accused of violating his 14-year-old sister, Jacinta. Macario claimed the incident occurred a month and a half earlier while Jacinta was staying with her sister Macaria and brother-in-law D. Ciriaco. Jacinta's sister was working in a cigar factory the night the former was supposedly raped by D. Ciriaco. He was said to have made a servant run an errand, after which he threatened to kill Jacinta and her older sister Macaria if she did not accede to his sexual demands. Jacinta claimed to have been taken advantage of only once.

Mr. Ubero relied upon testimonies from two midwives and the doctor who delivered Jacinta's still born baby. Given the age of the infant and the date of the alleged rape, the child could not have been his. He also argued that it was Macario and Jacinta who had a sexual relationship that Jacinta tried to hide, claiming

¹⁵⁶⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 4, Images 647-741.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Blouse in the Tagalog and Spanish.

¹⁵⁶⁹ National Archives of the Philippines, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 5, Folder 1, Images 860-898.

she was a servant in Macario's household. Based on the Law, if such relations had occurred between the siblings, Macario would have been guilty of both incest and seduction.¹⁵⁷⁰

The geographer James Tyner notes that, while there are acts that are clearly violent, violence is an abstraction defined by and specific to particular societies.¹⁵⁷¹ He uses marital rape as an example. While this specific form of rape is considered a transgression in many contemporary societies, such a crime did not exist in earlier centuries, as sexual intercourse was considered an obligation among spouses. Hence, in the past, rape could rarely occur within a marriage.¹⁵⁷²

Two particular cases exemplify how the present-day notions of marital rape, child rape, and violence against women were not yet part of the societal consciousness and legal code of Spanish Manila. In October 1864, D. Potenciano de los Reyes, instructed his 16-year-old wife, Maxima Guarino, to purchase some rice in Tondo. Maxima never returned home, and soon, her mother, Dña. Agapita Fernandez, and her sister who was staying at a *beaterio* in Tondo, frantically searched for her.

In the subsequent court proceedings, D. Potenciano was charged with abduction, and it was learned that Mr. de los Reyes hid Maxima for at least a year. D. Potenciano also admitted that he kidnapped and forced himself on his wife. It was, in fact, public knowledge that Maxima became pregnant and soon delivered a child.¹⁵⁷³

In 1855, a sailor from Dumaguete, Negros Oriental named Pedro Jacinto disembarked from the Brigantine Dolores that docked in the Port of Manila. He proceeded to an area in Tondo to visit a friend, but at around 8:00 PM, he chanced upon a house with a grandmother and three children, who included a five-year-old girl named Marciana. As Pedro took Marciana by the hand, her grandmother Bibiana thought Marciana knew Pedro. Soon after, Pedro brought Marciana to a beach where he proceeded to rape her. Mr. Jacinto had committed a clear-cut case of child rape, but the term did not yet exist at that time.¹⁵⁷⁴

¹⁵⁷⁰ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code in Force in the Philippines*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁷¹ James A. Tyner, *Violence in Capitalism*, pp. 9 and 32.

¹⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁵⁷³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 1, Images 761-1005.

¹⁵⁷⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 2, Images 580-650.

2) *Corruption of Minors*

The corruption of minors commonly involved individuals finding ways to trick provincial women under the age of majority (23 years of age) into the sex trade. One case that demonstrated the deception and sexual abuse of young girls involved Cornelia San Buenaventura, the daughter of Cristina Cabalquinto. The latter agreed to allow Cornelia to migrate from Bulacan to work in the household of Antonia Vazquez and Agapito Tolentino. Shortly after her arrival, Agapito allegedly raped Cornelia.

Things soon got much worse for Ms. San Buenaventura. Antonia routinely peddled the young girl in Manila's Chinese-owned establishments. Cornelia also provided sexual services to Antonia and Agapito's Spanish clientele at the couple's residence. Ms. San Buenaventura's physical and mental torment only ended when she managed to escape while being transported to customers in Sampaloc and recognized her grandmother's residence.

Soon after Cornelia reached her grandmother's home, her mother pressed charges. However, Vazquez and Tolentino, who was a *carabinero* of Tondo, eluded arrest. The medical doctor who inspected Cornelia confirmed she had old and new vaginal wounds and had contracted syphilis. Despite the fact that Cornelia clearly suffered sexual abuse, there was not sufficient proof to convict Ms. Vazquez and Mr. Tolentino of peddling her for sex.¹⁵⁷⁵

Under-aged women, who were not duped into prostitution, were often victims of organized gangs and traffickers. In Tondo's Court of First Instance in 1887, Alejandra de la Cruz of Baliwag, Bulacan filed abduction and corruption of minors charges against Marcelina Gimenes and other individuals who remained at-large. In December of that year, a washerwoman named Benita abducted Leonor Paquito, the complainant's daughter. It took almost four years for the authorities to locate and capture Gimenes.¹⁵⁷⁶

A particular case that further reveals aspects of sex trafficking involved a police raid on the hut of Barbara Domingues. When state agents entered Domingues's home, they rounded up three girls - Sinforosa de los Reyes, Yluminada Avila, and Leoncia Patacio – who worked as prostitutes in a nearby *case de prostitucion*

¹⁵⁷⁵ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 2, Images 316-619.

¹⁵⁷⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 3, Images 1277-1335.

operated by a woman named Andeng. Also arrested was Adriano Guevarra, a well-built middle-aged man, known by the alias “Barco” (ship). For doing sex work, the three minors each received a salary of P6 a month, an amount double that of a well-paid servant.¹⁵⁷⁷ While one would think these women were well paid, due to the inconvenience of travelling back and forth from Manila to Calumpit, Bulacan to recruit other women, their traffickers received cash advances between P20-P50.¹⁵⁷⁸

3) Abduction

Abduction cases in the *Asuntos Criminales* records involved the kidnapping of women by men who wanted to force themselves on their victims. Based on complainants’ accounts, perpetrators of such acts employed various means to fulfil their intentions. Antonio Cruz, a 21-year-old baker and Pasig resident, claimed Fermin Sillano gave the impression he was interested in courting his cousin Adriana. Instead, the 30-year-old *mestizo* boatman, who had a previous record of robbery and theft, coveted his wife Ignacia Eugenio.

Ignacia recounted that on the day Fermin sexually assaulted her – he had passed by her residence and asked if she could help his friend Antonia clean a piece of linen. However, once they reached Antonia’s home, she claimed that Fermin punched her and proceeded to rape her twice.

As guarantee that the complainants were indemnified in the event of a conviction, Fermin and Antonia, as an accessory to the crime, were required to surrender to the court P200 and P100 worth of assets, respectively. Whether they were able to raise the bail proved immaterial, as the court acquitted the two of the charges brought against them.¹⁵⁷⁹

Some abduction cases underscored both the patriarchal nature of the law imposed on women in society as well as the values of its members. In what was then *Barrio* Novaliches in present-day Quezon City, an unidentified witness stated he visited his cousin’s stockpile one evening to check on the *malagquit*¹⁵⁸⁰ *palay* deposited in a building. There, he witnessed Fulgencio Austria attempting to have sex with a young female, 18-year-old Valentina Biglang-Awa.

¹⁵⁷⁷ NAP, *Prostitucion, 1887-1897*, S236-237B.

¹⁵⁷⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 1, Folder 4, Images 128-196.

¹⁵⁷⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 1, Folder 3, Images 198-481.

¹⁵⁸⁰ A variety of sticky rice used in making porridges and cakes.

Valentina had declared she was in love with Fulgencio three months before the incident occurred, but the latter wanted more than her affection. One evening, Fulgencio took Valentina by surprise, covered her mouth, and threatened to hack her with his bolo if she resisted. He then proceeded to drag the helpless girl into the woods where he had his way with her.

Strangely, however, the pair soon surrendered to the *Barrio* lieutenant of Maybiga, Novaliches to report what had transpired. They admitted having sexual relations that evening, and Fulgencio even informed Valentina's parents of what had occurred between him and their daughter. The situation became even more bizarre when Valentina, according to the parish priest, wanted to marry Fulgencio, a member of the local *principalia*.¹⁵⁸¹

Abduction charges against him no longer mattered the moment the pair was legally married. The Spanish Penal Code provided for such a course of action in Article 448 of the said Code as "the express or implied pardon of the offended party shall extinguish...the penalty" and further that "the pardon shall never be assumed, except by the marriage of the offended party to the offender."¹⁵⁸² Clearly, only a society that considered unmarried non-virgins as damaged goods could allow male perpetrators to get away with such violent acts.

Robert Park of the Chicago School of Sociology argued that urbanization resulted in the diminished socialization and influence of families and related institutions.¹⁵⁸³ Two abduction cases support this contention. Toribia de la Cruz, in October 1888, accused Gabriel Martinez of kidnapping her daughter Ygnacia. Martinez, who spent two months in jail while on trial, denied the allegation. He recounted that Toribia herself asked him to take Ygnacia to church in Obando, Bulacan. Therefore, he was surprised that the authorities suddenly arrested him in his home in *Barrio* Tinajeros, Tambobong. Gabriel added that he had been involved in an illicit relationship with Toribia for the past 16 years and believed Ygnacia was his daughter.¹⁵⁸⁴

¹⁵⁸¹ The Spanish and Tagalog term for "local elite".

¹⁵⁸² USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code in Force in the Philippines*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁸³ Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation," pp. 577-612.

¹⁵⁸⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 2, Images 222-287.

Another case that details the social breakdown of family and the ill effects of isolation in the city¹⁵⁸⁵ was an abduction case involving Miguela Nicolasa of Sta. Cruz in March 1873. Miguela, the child of Castora Concepcion and an unknown father, was living with her grandmother, 60-year-old Gabriela Celidonio. Ms. Celidonio recounted that her granddaughter was at the *silong*¹⁵⁸⁶ of their house when she suddenly disappeared. Fortunately for her, a maid of the lieutenant commander of the area's *guardia civil* reported that the young girl was abducted by a 70-year-old migrant from Pangasinan, and a current San Miguel resident, named Francisco Marcos. The police immediately arrested Marcos in his home and saved Miguela from social and sexual abuse.¹⁵⁸⁷

Crimes against Persons: From Injuries to One's Honor and Body to Death

Some crime studies indicate that city environments are more conducive for the commission of crimes against persons, including murder and assault.¹⁵⁸⁸ Crimes against persons were less likely to occur than other wrongdoings in nineteenth century Manila.¹⁵⁸⁹ However, from 1865-1885, such acts were on the rise.¹⁵⁹⁰

1) Harm to One's Honor, Threats to One's Person

Harm inflicted on an individual, however, is not always solely of the physical kind. In some *Asuntos Criminales* files, the injury that a complainant experienced included the sully of his honor and dignity. These cases reflect the importance that colonial society at that time placed upon to one's reputation and honor.

Several incidents of verbal injury reveal how people, living in confined spaces led to conflict. For example, such was the case in 1887, involving a married *costurera* named Isabel Lopez and Ignacio de la Cruz, a

¹⁵⁸⁵ Jefferson, "Cities, Crime, and Carcerality," p. 105.

¹⁵⁸⁶ The downstairs portion of a house.

¹⁵⁸⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 5, Folder 2, Images 1342-1376.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Cohen and Johnson, "French Criminality," pp. 477-501.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 91.

¹⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-5, 133. Bankoff explains that a surge in criminal activity in a society is associated with factors such as a shift more capitalist economy, periods of social disorder, population increase, rational decision-making among the urban poor, well as the emergence of law enforcement units. All of these conditions existed in late nineteenth century Manila.

student, who both resided in the same house. Ms. Lopez accused Ignacio of shouting damaging invectives at her, such as “*puta*” (whore), “*jodida*” (fucker), and “*sin educacion*” (uneducated). The issue was apparently an *arinola*¹⁵⁹¹ that became a nuisance in the household. Mr. de la Cruz explained the object of his insult was a house servant and not his housemate Isabel. Perhaps too embarrassed to attend the hearing, Ms. Lopez’s spouse, D. Jose Villareal claimed that he had appointments at that time. As there was insufficient evidence to support the accusation, it was decided that Mr. de la Cruz was not at fault.¹⁵⁹²

Like Ms. Lopez, Dalmacia Reyes filed a verbal injuries case against D. Ramon Montejo and Asuncion Nieva. Ms. Reyes’s decision to take the pair to court was symptomatic of a trend among working class individuals in late nineteenth century Manila to use the colonial justice system to seek redress.¹⁵⁹³ Dalmacia claimed that when she accidentally broke a *quinque*¹⁵⁹⁴ and *banga*¹⁵⁹⁵ in the household of the above couple in Ermita, the two shouted, “*sin verguenza*”, or “without shame” at her. Dalmacia was a tenant of the couple, and she did not appreciate how Asuncion ordered her about like a servant to remove items from a window to shield them from the rain. While this was already extraneous to the case, Ms. Reyes added that Asuncion was allegedly the mistress of Ramon.¹⁵⁹⁶

In communities where every individual knew their fellow members, it was important that a person made an effort to keep their reputation untarnished.¹⁵⁹⁷ Manila at the end of the nineteenth century was still an agglomeration of neighborhoods where, one’s personal standing was a form of social capital. It was his reputation that D. Manuel Villaba sought to protect when he alleged that Dña. Josefina Aguirre called him “shameless”, a “thief”, and “land usurper” for tethering his horse on a particular parcel of land. While Ms. Aguirre did admit to defaming D. Manuel’s name in public, she stressed that she never called him a ‘usurper.’¹⁵⁹⁸

¹⁵⁹¹ Chamber pot in both Spanish and Tagalog.

¹⁵⁹² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD7, Folder 4, Images 730-760.

¹⁵⁹³ Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State*, pp. 135.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Oil lamp in Spanish.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Jar in Tagalog.

¹⁵⁹⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 4, Images 780-800.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Farge, *Fragile Lives*, pp. 13-14, 19.

¹⁵⁹⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 7, Folder 4, Images 1010-1039

Verbal insult cases also shed light on the people who were frequently stigmatized in colonial society. Previous cases indicate how it was the social norm for servants to be insulted or brusquely ordered around. The use of the term “prostitute” was clearly a label considered injurious to an ordinary self-respecting woman. It is for this reason that Dña. Eulalia Cruz brought D. Jose Armano to court, for purportedly calling her a *puta*, *puñetera*, and *patutot*, all of which are synonymous with ‘prostitute’.¹⁵⁹⁹

While it was bad enough to be labelled a prostitute or whore, it was even worse if a woman primarily dealt with Chinese clientele. The marginalized status of the Chinese and the adverse effects on one’s personal reputation if one had business relations with them was highlighted in an August 1894 altercation between Carmen Pascual and a *lavandera* named Martina. Martina was delivering washed clothes to Carmen and was billing her for services rendered when Carmen called Martina a *puta con chino* or a “prostitute of the Chinese” before she and her friends proceeded to maltreat and abuse Martina and her younger female companion.¹⁶⁰⁰

The Spanish Penal Code also considered the threat of violence as a form of injury. In June 1893, the siblings Dña Rita and D. Domingo Papa purportedly threatened D. Adriano Marcelo, a 56-year-old widower from Tondo right outside of his home. Rita held a stone in her hand, while her younger brother wielded a bolo. Fearing for his life, Adriano ran inside his home and found a way to request assistance from the *guardia civil*. The court upheld Mr. Marcelo’s complaint and ordered the siblings to pay him P12 in damages.¹⁶⁰¹

2) Physical Injuries

As noted earlier, it was common for alleged victims and perpetrators of physical injuries to know each other, as most of these incidents occurred, either in households or in daily regular activities. Many of these cases occurred while either the defendant or accuser was at work. One such incident involved two middle level employees of a cigar factory – D. Jose Molino, the factory’s warehouseman, and Dña. Cresencia Resato, a head of one of the firm’s departments. The problem started when Mr. Molino noticed a mistake in the distribution of bales of tobacco among the factory’s different units. He went to Cresencia

¹⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., Images 1155-1160

¹⁶⁰⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 2, Images 1117-1154.

¹⁶⁰¹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 3, Images 70-82

and told her to cease production in her unit until the issue was resolved. Ms. Resato, however, refused and argued that such an order was not his to make. This upset D. Jose to the point that he physically abused and threatened Dña. Cresencia. The latter then filed charges against Mr. Molino which he admitted committing.¹⁶⁰²

Operating a store could even be a dangerous proposition as the Chinese man named Tan Tanco and Juana Lavadero learned. The two suffered injuries in separate incidents with medical reports as proof. On 11 September 1893, 36-year-old Tan Tanco claimed that 28-year-old Gregoria Benedicto physically maltreated him. The event occurred in Divisoria market where the Chinese immigrant had a stall and sold vegetables. While he did not mind Ms. Benedicto buying from him, he was concerned that the coins he received from her were counterfeit. This angered Gregoria who struck Tan Tanco with her umbrella, causing what the medical doctors classified as a “cut-contusion” on his head that required six days to heal. To make matters worse, Ms. Benedicto reportedly called Tan Tanco a *hijo de puta* (son of a bitch). Gregoria subsequently admitted to all the charges raised against her and spent seven days in jail.¹⁶⁰³

The injury Tan Tanco suffered, however, paled in comparison to what Cipriano Sevilla and Pilar Mendoza allegedly inflicted on a storekeeper named Juana Lavandera in October 1894. During that month the 50-year-old Juana, a migrant from Subic, Zambales, had a customer named Laureana who tried to buy two *cuartos* worth of abaca from her. She, however, refused to give Laureana any abaca because she felt the money given to her was fake. Pilar, who was Laureana’s employer then went to Juana’s store, shouted at her, and hit her with a slipper. Cipriano, who was a member of Tondo’s *Cuerpo de Carabineros*, joined in and beat her with a cane. According to a doctor’s report, Ms. Lavandera had to spend eight days in the hospital for the following wounds: a) a four centimeter long longitudinal cut on the left side of her face; b) a first grade contusion¹⁶⁰⁴ on right jaw; c) a slight *edema*¹⁶⁰⁵ on her left elbow joint; d) a slight *edema* on her left carpal,¹⁶⁰⁶ and e) a first grade contusion on her left intrascapular. Juana recovered from the

¹⁶⁰² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 2, Images 566-583.

¹⁶⁰³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 3, Image 100.

¹⁶⁰⁴ An area of tissue or skin that has been bruised.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Excess watery fluid on particular tissues of the body.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Bones associated with the wrists.

contusions after six days and her cuts a week later. The court no did not have to decide on the case as the contending parties soon reached a settlement.¹⁶⁰⁷

Disdain and discrimination against the Chinese¹⁶⁰⁸ manifested itself in newspaper articles as well as in advertisements.¹⁶⁰⁹ Such derision towards Chinese immigrants also resulted in beatings, even at the hands of women. Physical violence seemed to have been a work hazard as, beside Tan Tanco, another compatriot, an ambulant meat vendor named Sy Ap, suffered injuries to his eye while selling his wares in Manila's streets. On 18 August 1891, the 21-year-old native of Amoy was walking along Calle Asuncion when a woman in an *accesoria*, later identified as Dionicia Ronca, called him over to inspect his meat. Sy claimed that after mentioning that his two pieces of pork went for 10 *cuartos*, Ms. Ronca, a 21-year-old migrant from Apalit, Pampanga, suddenly grabbed the meat from him. This caused him to kick the woman with his big toe, an act that led Dionicia to slap the vendor's face and throw a stone at him. The hospital reported that Sy Yap suffered a wound on his face that would take eight days for him to recover.¹⁶¹⁰

The practice of unrelated families sharing a house would naturally result in occasional tension. There were cases, however, when living proximately with other people led to marital violence and mutilation. Lino Cabigao suspected that his wife, Vicenta de los Santos, was having an affair with their housemate, Martin Dayao. Out of extreme anger, Lino attacked Vicenta with a bolo on the evening of 2 April 1896, inflicting seven wounds. The medical report indicated that Ms. de los Santos suffered two oblique-shaped cuts on the right side of her forehead measuring seven and 10 centimeters, respectively, while another similarly shaped 10-centimeter cut was found on the left side of her forehead. Worse, Vicenta's middle and index fingers on her right hand were chopped off, while her left hand suffered a deep cut that extended from her palm to her thumb, as she defended herself. Lino was found guilty of injuring his wife and was sentenced to two years and four months in jail.¹⁶¹¹

¹⁶⁰⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 71, Folder 1, Images 643.

¹⁶⁰⁸ The immigrant Chinese were victims of discrimination throughout the period of Spanish colonization. For a more thorough understanding regarding examples of discrimination against the Chinese, see the following: Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*; Richard T. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); .

¹⁶⁰⁹ The satirical newspaper, *Manililla*, was particularly critical of the Chinese; John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).

¹⁶¹⁰ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66, Folder 3, Images 1454-1473.

¹⁶¹¹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD17, Folder 1, Images 210-353.

Emotionally distraught and mentally disturbed individuals also harmed loved ones, fellow household members and even strangers. In 1882, 19-year-old Antonio Clemente of Malate was angry that his 15-year-old sister Josefa supposedly courted the attentions of a soldier from the colonial army's Fifth Regiment. Antonio confronted his sibling about this matter, slapped and injured her with a knife, and then ran away towards a nearby beach. As he was still a minor, his mother and aunt were able to have him released from prison.¹⁶¹²

Four years earlier, a man with a mental disorder went berserk, injuring a loved one, his two household staff, and even an altar boy passing by in the street. Juan Cabana worked as a telegraphist for the government. A competent employee, his office assigned him to several telegraph stations until he suffered a head injury. His workmates at the Malacanang office soon noticed that Juan began making elementary mistakes and sometimes uttered incoherent words. Mr. Cabana's wife also observed he was quite melancholy eight days prior to his violent outburst.

In September 1878, Cabana was accosted by the police after hitting a *sacristan*,¹⁶¹³ Maximo Lorenzo, on the back with an object while Maximo and his parish priest were en route to the home of a person in need of the last rites. The authorities soon discovered there were also injured individuals in Mr. Cabana's home. The *guardia civil* found his cook Marcelo de Mesa, who had been pistol-whipped by his *amo*, while the family's house servant Paula de los Santos was lying on the kitchen floor when the *guardia civil* arrived. They also found Juan's wife Leonora nursing an injury on the stairs of their home. Medical doctors quickly diagnosed Cabana as having serious mental health issues.¹⁶¹⁴

3) *Murder and Homicide*

Nearly three out of every 10 offenses committed in Manila in the nineteenth century were crimes against persons, and up to a tenth of all wrongdoings committed were acts of murder.¹⁶¹⁵ The majority of those accused of deliberately taking the life of another individual knew their victims. Engracio Tupas was such

¹⁶¹² NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD1, Folder 1, Images 811-836.

¹⁶¹³ Altar boy who assists the priest in both the mass and the administration of the sacraments.

¹⁶¹⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 2, Folder 2, Images 993-1153.

¹⁶¹⁵ Bankoff. *Crime, Society, and the State*, p. 28.

a case. He seriously assaulted his live-in partner Anacleta de Guia and killed her mother, Sotera Calixto, in August 1886. Tupas assaulted the mother and daughter in their house along Magdalena Street in Trozo where he and Anacleta had been living with her parents for the previous three months.

It seemed Anacleta's parents' efforts to have the pair married provoked Engracio to run amok, and the crime scene he left was quite horrible. A witness, Francisco Aguilar, mentioned that Sotera Calixto, who was wearing a white checkered *sinamay*¹⁶¹⁶ shirt, a white saya, black *tapis*,¹⁶¹⁷ and a yellow scarf, was lying on her stomach with a fatal stab wound between the upper back and abdomen region of her right side. Anacleta, on the other hand, was lying face up with wounds that had deformed her appearance yet she would only take two days to recover. Engracio was tried *in ausencia*.¹⁶¹⁸

Romantic relations were once again the reason for the death of Eugenio Anastacio of *Sitio* Balintatao, Caloocan on the evening of 15 August 1882. Anastacio left his home to check his carabao that was making an unusual noise. He encountered two individuals in the process and, in the ensuing altercation, was stabbed and hacked eight times. He died at the Hospital de San Juan de Dios. One of the suspects, Pedro Fulgencio, 37, was the lover of Anastacio's 42-year-old wife, Severina Santa Ana. Three witnesses claimed that Pedro was staying with Severina in the latter's residence prior to the murder.

It was later learned that Pedro, who was still at-large when his trial began, had been involved with Severina for four years in *Sitio* Diliman, Sampaloc until his eventual capture. A 38-year-old farmer of short and robust constitution, Mr. Fulgencio constantly moved residence. He used the surname "Dilibarco" in Sampaloc but used his real last name when he resided in both Tondo and Caloocan. When sentenced in 1884, he was to spend four years in jail and pay Eugenio Anastacio's kin a P100 indemnity. After his arrest, however, the court extended Pedro's jail sentence to 1892.¹⁶¹⁹

¹⁶¹⁶ A local cloth made from abaca.

¹⁶¹⁷ A decorated cloth used as a hanging on to or covering on a woman's upper garment.

¹⁶¹⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD7, Folder 4, Images 593-673.

¹⁶¹⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 26, Folder 3, Images 1485-1491; Folder 4, Images 1-49.

Penalties Imposed for Violent Acts and the Valuation of a Victim's Dignity

Punitive and exploitative systems, both capitalism and colonialism promote the proliferation of violence.¹⁶²⁰ While individuals mainly understood it through experience, the social construction of violence is also an abstraction subject to various forms and definitions.¹⁶²¹ Johan Galtung, an eminent scholar in violence research, and the geographer James Tyner both argue that violence can be visible and directly experienced. They also assert, however, that various indirect processes and practices can also harm or injure people.¹⁶²² Violence can be structural as reflected in people's unequal access to resources, power, and life opportunities that are built into the fabric of society.¹⁶²³ It can also be cultural, for example, when patriarchal notions promoted by religion and social norms restrict women to a marginalized role and status.¹⁶²⁴

Like much of any society's rules and regulations, the Philippine ruling class determined which actions were violent and qualified as crime. Defining such crimes lead to the imposition of tougher penalties for offenses that were considered a serious threat to their interests. Such punishments also reflected how the lives and dignity of the perpetrator and victim were valued.¹⁶²⁵ The determination of crimes and the corresponding punishment for specific transgressions become more institutionalized as the society becomes increasingly more colonial-capitalist.¹⁶²⁶ In the late nineteenth century Philippines, the imposition of penalties for various acts of direct violence that underscored the social and economic values of both the State and ruling class were embedded in the Spanish Penal Code (SPC).

The SPC classified crimes into four types: offenses against the State, person, property, and minor wrongdoings, or misdemeanors. The Code defined each crime, provided situations wherein the offense was committed, and stated the appropriate jail term and/or fine. An examination of penalties rendered for offenses involving female victims or perpetrators in the *Asuntos Criminales* reveals that, aside from

¹⁶²⁰ Andrew Dilts, Yves Winter, Thomas Biebricher, Eric Vance Johnson, Antonio Y. Vazquez-Arroyo, and Joan Cocks, "Revisiting Galtung's Concept of Structural Violence," *New Political Science* vol. 34, no. 2 (2011), p. 193.

¹⁶²¹ Tyner, *Violence in Capitalism*, p. 9.

¹⁶²² Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 27, no. 3 (1990), pp. 292-294; Tyner, *Violence in Capitalism*, p. 4.

¹⁶²³ Dilts, Winter, Biebricher, Johnson, Vazquez-Arroyo, and Joan Cocks, "Revisiting Galtung's Concept," pp. 192-193.

¹⁶²⁴ Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research*, pp. 291-292, 294-295, 296-298.

¹⁶²⁵ James Tyner. *Violence in Capitalism*, p. 44.

¹⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

taking the life of another person, crimes that jeopardized an individual's economic assets and economic productivity, acts that denied the State revenue, were accorded severe sentences.

For example, regarding property, the jail terms and fines for theft convictions depended largely on the value of the items stolen. An offender spent up to six months in jail if the value of the property stolen was between P5 to P50 and up to two years if the stolen items lost were worth between P250 to P1250. Any missing articles whose value exceeded P1250 resulted in a maximum prison sentence of six years.¹⁶²⁷ A robbery conviction against the accused, led to an average jail time of six to 10 years in 1900. This increased to 12 to 20 years if a burglary also caused the death of an individual.¹⁶²⁸

Perpetrators of theft and robberies were mainly lower-class individuals, while it was often those who were better off who swindled others of their money and assets. Those who committed such violations were all guilty of stealing. However, those who committed “white collar crime” such as extortion and embezzlement¹⁶²⁹ only suffered a maximum jail term similar to a theft conviction (six years), and those who swindled properties valued at less than P50 only spent, at most, a month jail.¹⁶³⁰

Economic crimes with the worst punishments were those that deprived businesses and the State of its resources and revenue. A prison term between six months to four years was the direct consequence of forging company seals and tickets, but forgery of State seals and tickets landed an individual 12 to 20 years in jail. Those who produced, distributed and used counterfeit money faced 10 days of incarceration plus a P3 to P25 fine if the fake money was between P14 to P65. Those who aided the proliferation of counterfeit coins of up to P650 spent six years behind bars. Far worse, though, was the fate of those found responsible for encouraging the use of counterfeit currency. They faced lifetime incarceration.¹⁶³¹

Punishments for crimes against property and the State were far worse than non-economic crimes that besmirched the dignity of a person. In addition, gender-specific crimes imposed harsher penalties on

¹⁶²⁷ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁶²⁹ National Check Fraud Center.Types and Schemes of White Collar Crime, <http://www.ckfraud.org/whitecollar.html>. Date Accessed: 15 October 2019.

¹⁶³⁰ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal*, pp. 107-108.

¹⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

women. A woman who committed adultery against her husband faced between two to six years in jail, but a man who kept a mistress received a lighter sentence, ranging between six months to four years. Moreover, only the phrase “the husband who keeps a concubine...with scandal” was explicitly stated in Article 437. Terms such as “bigamy” or “concubinage”, which properly define a husband’s marital infidelity, were glaringly absent in the SPC.¹⁶³²

In reality, recommended punishments for marital infidelity were not too harsh. The only bigamy or *amancebiamiento* case found in the *Asuntos Criminales* files reviewed by myself involved D. Jose Yatco who left his family and lived with a young woman named Lucrecia who worked in a hat shop he once visited. In 1876, the court found Mr. Yatco guilty of bigamy and sentenced him to a year in jail, only a quarter of the maximum punishment for such an offense.¹⁶³³

The Law assigned the crime of rape a heavy penalty – 12 to 20 years. However, rape convictions sometimes led to prison terms that were a mere fraction of the legally endorsed period. On 27 April 1863, in Sta. Cruz district’s Court of First Instance, Epifanio Morales was found guilty of raping Martina Pascual, but his punishment was only eight months’ imprisonment with hard labor.¹⁶³⁴ Another rape case involved a Visayan sailor named Pedro Jacinto who raped a four-year-old girl named Marciana on a Tondo beach in November 1855. Despite the horrible act, Mr. Jacinto spent only a year in prison with hard labor.¹⁶³⁵

It is made plain in Articles 443 and 444 that only females were considered victims of seduction and the corruption of a minor. Any individual who seduces or corrupts a girl between 12 but below 23 years of age – the age of majority – faced a mere 31 days to six months of incarceration. Only when a perpetrator was in a position of authority, a guardian, or domestic would such an individual face a jail term of six

¹⁶³² *Ibid.*, pp.89-90. The disadvantaged position of women with respect to crimes of infidelity persists in the Philippines up to the present. For a woman to be guilty of adultery, her husband needed only to prove that she had sexual intercourse with another man. Convict her husband of concubinage, however, a woman has to prove that her spouse has committed at least one of the following: that her husband had sexual intercourse under scandalous circumstances (i.e., caught in the act of sexual intercourse); had kept another woman in their conjugal home; and/or had lived with his mistress in another site. See *Refworld*, Philippines: Information on adultery laws, including enforcement (2014-June 2017). <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5ad5c6c64.html>. Date accessed: 21 April 2020.

¹⁶³³ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66 Folder 4, 1088-1109.

¹⁶³⁴ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 1, Images 1022-1031.

¹⁶³⁵ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70, Folder 2, Images 580-650.

months and a day to up to six years.¹⁶³⁶ Clearly, the value of a young female's dignity and honor and the sexual trafficking of minors were considered of lesser consequence than economic transgressions and crimes. Such uneven treatment of women and their rights are further manifestations of patriarchy legitimized through law.

The recommended penalties for abduction were also a clear reflection of violence against women and their marginalized status, which was legitimized through the Law. Usually accompanied by acts of seduction or rape, a person who kidnapped a woman received a sentence of between six months and one day to six years in prison, if the act was with the female's consent, and 12 to 20 years' incarceration, if undertaken without.¹⁶³⁷ Again, judges rarely imposed the maximum penalties. In 1880, Antonio Lao Chengco aka "Changa" and Calistra de Leon aka "Yntang", were convicted of kidnapping an unnamed female. Changa, who was still at-large, was to spend only 18 months in prison with hard labor and indemnify his victim P50 in damages. Yntang, on the other hand, faced only four months of jail time.¹⁶³⁸ In 1875, a 25-year-old married and well-off Chinese *mestizo* from Tondo, Dionicio Feliciano, was convicted of abducting, and raping 19-year-old Filomena del Rosario. He was assigned to eight months of public works and was required to support the child that he had with Filomena.¹⁶³⁹

The worst case of abduction I examined in the *Asuntos Criminales* records involved a man who abducted and forced himself upon his wife. In 1864, a Tondo court found D. Potenciano de los Reyes of Tondo guilty of kidnapping his then 16-year-old wife Maxima Guareno after he ordered her to buy some rice in the market. By 1865, Maxima's mother had already pressed charges against her abusive son-in-law. Mr de los Reyes eventually admitted to abducting his wife and hiding her from her family for over a year. He also admitted to forcing her to have sex with him, which led to her becoming pregnant and giving birth. For his transgressions, Don Potenciano, whom the court noted deserved corporal punishment for his acts, was to spend 20 months in the *presidio*¹⁶⁴⁰ and required pay his wife Maxima P200 in damages.¹⁶⁴¹

¹⁶³⁶ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code* p. 91.

¹⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁶³⁸ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 71, Folder 2, Images 1125-1126.

¹⁶³⁹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 66 Folder 4, Images 1012-1389.

¹⁶⁴⁰ A penitentiary.

¹⁶⁴¹ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70 Folder 1, Images 761-1005.

Unfortunately, child and marital rape did not yet exist in the legal statutes at that time. Even in the American colonial period, there was no legal term for marital rape.¹⁶⁴² Yet such a transgression was the subject of a poem of a renowned Filipina poet named Angela Manalang Gloria, who took offense that the Law at the time did not give a woman the option to decline having sex with her husband, as such an act was considered a man's marital right.¹⁶⁴³ This situation reveals that while violence may be a concrete act, in the eyes of particular societies and at specific points in its history, certain types of violence were conceptually non-existent, and, as such, violence was an abstraction with no universal quality.¹⁶⁴⁴

A review of recommended punishments for other forms of violence against persons, such as physical injuries and maltreatment reveal that penalties imposed on perpetrators depended on how far their actions may have impaired the present and future productivity of their victims. Thus, how individuals are valued reflected the capitalist emphasis on economic utility of individuals above all else. A person physically injured by another to the point wherein they are unable to work for 30 days meant that the perpetrator of the crime could spend anywhere from 31 days to two years and four months in prison. If a victim was incapable of working for 90 days, the perpetrator could suffer up to four years and two months of incarceration.¹⁶⁴⁵

Penalties for physically maltreating an individual depended on the gravity of the act temporarily or permanently compromising the productivity of the victims. If such maltreatment led to the permanent loss of an eye or a commonly used body part, the guilty party could spend between two to six years in jail. A person faced shorter jail time, six months to two years, if his victim suffered deformation or was temporarily unable to function normally. If a victim of maltreatment could not work for more than 30 days due to injuries incurred, the wrongdoer could spend as much as four to six months behind bars.

A physical injuries case that highlights the nature of the brutal violence inflicted by an individual on another person involved Lino Cabigas. Cabigas viciously attacked his wife Vicenta de los Santos with a bolo. He believed she was having an affair with Martin Dayao, whose family shared a home with the

¹⁶⁴² Edna Z. Manlapaz, *Angela Manalang Gloria: A Literary Biography* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1993), pp. 54-56.

¹⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴⁴ Tyner, *Violence in Capitalism*, pp. 7, 28, and 32.

¹⁶⁴⁵ USDCIA, *Translation of the Penal Code*, pp 85-86.

couple in Tondo in 1896. Vicenta suffered two to four inch cuts on both sides of her head. Worse, she lost her middle and index fingers on her right hand. Given the permanent damage inflicted on her and her inability now to work, her husband was sentenced to two years and four months in jail, a punishment similar to that imposed on a person whose victim could not work for 30 days.¹⁶⁴⁶ The punishment levied on Mr. Cabigas, was in fact at the lower end for his offense, as he could have spent a maximum of six years in a penitentiary because his wife nearly lost the use of one of her hands.

Another case that exposes the Law's bias against women during the late Spanish period, allowing men to get away with mere wrist slaps for their violent behaviour involved Dña. Paula Tayson. The 22-year old *costurera's* failure to inform her husband, D. Jacinto Fernandez, that she visited her older sister led to her suffering major injuries in May 1893. When she arrived home, D. Jacinto began to punch and kick Paula on various parts of her body, and caused facial and neck injuries. Worse still, Jacinto prevented her from leaving the house. Despite the severe beating that she sustained, the court only imposed a 21-day jail sentence on Mr. Fernandez,¹⁶⁴⁷ despite his despicable behaviour amounting to a case of maltreatment, a charge that merited at least four months' incarceration in a penitentiary.¹⁶⁴⁸

Archival Documents and the Law as Windows into the Lives, Social Spaces, and Status of the Manileña

Theft, injuries, *estafa*, robbery, and abduction were the type of cases that commonly involved nineteenth century Manila's women. Property crimes accounted for more than half of these incidents. Nearly a fifth of criminal events had to do with women as either a perpetrator or recipient of injurious acts, and at least one out of every 10 cases concerned a female who was an alleged victim of a sexual crime.

While the four aforementioned crimes were the most frequently heard in the Courts of First Instance in Binondo and Intramuros, Manila's other district courts reflected slight differences in the cases they reviewed. The court in the working class community of Tondo dealt with the largest share of rape, abduction, and corruption of minors incidents, while Quiapo, one of the Manila districts that had the largest percentage of migrants, experienced higher rates of abduction and homicide cases involving

¹⁶⁴⁶ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 17, Folder 1, Images 210-353.

¹⁶⁴⁷ NAP, *Asuntos Criminales*, CD 70 Folder 3, Images 34-51.

¹⁶⁴⁸ USDCIA, War Department, *Translation of the Penal Code*, pp. 119-121.

females. On the other hand, one out of every four cases heard in Sta. Cruz's court pertained to allegations of rape, adultery, and abduction.

Women often stood as the accused rather than the victim (13%) in most cases reviewed for Manila. One out of every five female complainants alleged that they were victims of injuries or maltreatment, while a similar percentage of women claimed that they were victims of robbery or swindling. Fourteen percent of female complainants, some of whom were well-to-do, argued that they were victims of a sexual crime.

There were times when Manileñas behaved poorly. Nearly half of all female defendants were booked for theft but rarely for armed robbery. Twenty percent of accused women appeared in court for supposedly injuring another person, while a tenth were allegedly swindlers. Almost seven out of every 10 persons accused of maltreatment was a woman.

Criminal cases revealed patterns of wrongdoing. Those accused of theft normally were familiar with their alleged victims either as people whom they worked for or lived with in close proximity. Servants, service providers, neighbors, and even relatives were common suspects. While women rarely took part in robberies, some were involved in swindling individuals, businesses, and the State by running away with jewelry and other commodities they promised to sell, pilfering company inventories, marketing fake lottery tickets, or even producing fake telegraph seals. Females were also just as likely to be the complainant or the defendant in debts and eviction cases.

Crimes against persons such as rape, seduction, abduction, and corruption of minors were usually connected, but in all cases, the casualties were women. Those accused of rape and seduction were familiar to their victims as co-workers, employers, relatives, frequent visitors, suitors, and acquaintances.

Wrongdoings against persons, particularly injuries cases, signify the importance that people put on their personal reputations and their sensitivity to verbal insults. Such verbal assaults against a person's character also underscored the difficulties of sharing cramped living spaces with unrelated individuals, the prevalence of gossip in Manila's communities, and the stigmatization of particular individuals in society, for example, prostitutes and the Chinese. Physical injuries, on the other hand, also reveal how the workplace, markets, stores, and thoroughfares were sites of violent confrontations and accidents involving

women. Moreover, emotional distress, tension, racism directed against the Chinese, undiagnosed mental conditions, and marital infidelity resulted in violent encounters, sometimes even death.

Regardless of the type of case, such occasions involving women as defendant or accused reflected their ubiquity, activity, as well as the space and freedom allowed them in Manila's everyday life. They went to church alone, managed businesses, drank alcohol in public, sold and bought goods in marketplaces, walked freely in the city's streets, as well as fraternized and flirted with men.

Despite their constant presence in the city's life and legal cases, a review of recommended punishments in the Spanish Penal Code and the decisions rendered in court cases expose how patriarchal and capitalist values led to a legitimized bias against women in the dispensing of justice. Sterner punishments were assigned to economic offenses compared to those that injured a person's dignity, incidents of which women were commonly victims. Despite both being involved in marital transgressions, an adulterous woman spent more time in jail than an unfaithful husband. In addition, the Law absolved a rapist of his crime if he married his victim, and sentences meted against men who physically abused and sexually violated women were usually much shorter than the recommended punishments.

CONCLUSION. From Privileged Woman to Prostitute: The Stories and Spaces of the Late Nineteenth Century Manileña as an Essential Narrative of a Colonial City

Where We Began

Historians since the 1960s have examined the conditions and circumstances of women regarding their work, reproduction, socialization, and sexuality.¹⁶⁴⁹ These studies have given rise to histories that retrieve the woman's voice,¹⁶⁵⁰ presence, and agency in society, while also exposing her marginalization.¹⁶⁵¹ While some works of historians on nineteenth century Manila have discussed the lives and experiences of the city's women, the Manileña has rarely been the primary focus of such studies. It was only with Ma. Luisa Camagay's research on Manila's nineteenth century workingwomen in the nineteenth century has a historical study deliberately demonstrated the significant role women played in the city's transformation during the final decades of Spanish rule.¹⁶⁵²

This dissertation builds upon Camagay's landmark work by revisiting some of the archival sources she used, while also examining new materials from the National Archives of the Philippines and National Library of the Philippines. In addition to providing numerous accounts of the Manileña's experiences during the last decades of Spanish rule, the thesis utilizes geographic concepts and techniques to produce a "geographically contextualized history";¹⁶⁵³ one that gives equal importance to women's stories and the sites of her life, circumstances, and relations.

Camagay's pioneering research focused on the lives of women from different occupations and mainstream society's impressions of them. While my research also discusses Manila's workingwomen, it also stresses visualizing their geographic distribution, situating their social spaces, and assessing the impact of privileged females on Manila's real estate and economic landscape. The research also deals with the Manileñas' family life, how they utilized legal provisions to further their own and loved ones' interests,

¹⁶⁴⁹ Vann, "Toward a New Lifestyle," p. 194.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.; Warren, "The Lives of Ah-Ku and Karayuki-San," p. 91.

¹⁶⁵¹ Scott, "Women's History," p. 44; Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," pp. 10 and 12.

¹⁶⁵² See Camagay, *Working Women of Manila*.

¹⁶⁵³ Morrissey, Nally, Strohmayr, and Whelan, eds., *Key Concepts in Historical Geography*, p. 3.

and how the colonial State dealt with females employed in privileged households. It likewise uncovers the patriarchal nature of late nineteenth century Manila embedded in portrayals in the print media, and the stories of their lives and relations found in various archival documents. Such a methodological approach makes it possible to create a collective portrait of the Manileña – from privileged woman to prostitute - and the broader processes and events that influenced their experiences. Furthermore, this dissertation also identifies aspects of women's lives embedded in the sites they owned and utilized, while explaining how such spaces also revealed their role in transforming the city as they daily engaged with other social groups and state officials.

Where We are Now: The Manileña as an Active Presence in Manila's Socioeconomic and Physical Landscape

The rapidly expanding Manila that female locals and migrants encountered was the consequence of an accumulation of historical processes and economic events. New colonial policies introduced in the late eighteenth century led to opening the Philippines to world commerce via Manila. Encouraged by international trade, the subsistence economies of nearby provinces transitioned towards the production of cash crops for export. These developments established Manila's place as the colony's commercial center. This status was further enhanced by the development of facilities, services, and infrastructure that facilitated the movement of people and goods from the capital's hinterlands. While Manila's prosperity had long attracted both male and female migrants, many of the city's late nineteenth century migrants moved there due to increasing landlessness, food insecurity, and poverty in their provinces and hometowns.

These harsh economic and environmental conditions in the provinces were caused by the damaging effects of mono crop agriculture, increasing landownership in the hands of a few, and a rapid population increase. Recurrent typhoon events, flooding, drought, and epidemics that afflicted the colony in the last decades of the nineteenth century further exacerbated such hardships. These combined factors pushed people to move to Manila at such a constant and rising rate that a three-fold increase in its population and urban expansion occurred between 1817 and 1892.

Each successive theme of this dissertation yields important insights about the stories and spaces of the late nineteenth century Manileña who hail from diverse backgrounds. Chapters 3 to 5 investigated the

contrasting experiences of privileged and working-class women in relation to the law. Like their counterparts in eighteenth century Cairo,¹⁶⁵⁴ post-revolutionary Mexico,¹⁶⁵⁵ and the Dutch East India Company-held settlements in the Indian Ocean¹⁶⁵⁶ and Indonesia,¹⁶⁵⁷ Manila's women, particularly those from the elite, asserted their legal rights. Notarial records reveal their ability to safeguard their dowries, authorize lawyers or trusted individuals to protect and manage their personal and business concerns, and ensured the protection of their family and loved ones' interests.

The wills some Manileñas executed disclose aspects of her social world. These include the extravagance of her home life, the portable and fixed assets she accumulated, her businesses and relations within and beyond Manila, her concern for family and non-kin, and her belief in the non-earthly space of the afterlife. So familiar were privileged women of their rights that some requested licenses to operate, increase the number, or transfer ownership of gaming tables located within their homes or warehouses. Even wives trapped in abusive marital unions filed for separation from philandering and abusive spouses, with some receiving alimony and child support.

The *Doña's* ability to work the economic and social system, however, did not make her immune from the restrictions of her society's patriarchal culture. Women still had to get their husband's or male parent's consent to undertake such transactions. Many Manileñas also stated in such legal records that their occupation and social standing were appropriate for their sex.

If the Law enabled economic opportunities and livelihood for upper class females, colonial policy also marginalized certain women considered threats to ruling classes' homes, public order, and society's moral

¹⁶⁵⁴ Fay, "Women, Property, and Power," pp. 125-142.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Smith, *Gender and the Mexican Revolution*.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Chakraborty, "The Household Workers of East India Company Settlements."

¹⁶⁵⁷ See Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*; Taylor "Inventory and Testimony."

health. Like the cities of nineteenth century Europe¹⁶⁵⁸ and Batavia in the Netherlands East Indies,¹⁶⁵⁹ Manila transformed into a labor market where women worked as domestics, wet nurses, and sex workers. In response, colonial authorities enacted policies and established regulatory institutions to prevent such women from wreaking havoc on private residences and public spaces. While colonial authorities regulated the entry and movement of home-based house servants and *nodrizas*, and imposed disciplinary measures for minor transgressions, their strict approach towards the *mujer de publica* signified her perceived status as social filth that could pollute society. Those women arrested for sex work were likely subject to corporal punishment, faced short-term incarceration, and stints at the public works. Treated as purveyors of an infectious disease, the authorities repatriated public women to their towns of origin, while others suffered deportation to agricultural colonies. However, in the final years of Spanish rule in the 1890s, when the sex trade ramped up, the government in Manila pursued a more lenient policy of regulation, inspection, and tolerance towards brothel-based prostitution. As a result, those women accused of violating established rules only paid fines or were given brief jail terms.

Women as opposed to their conventional portrayals as compliant and subservient, resisted against both the State and their employers. Maps of incidents of female defiance reveal patterns that otherwise would be difficult to discern. These include their propensity to gamble illegally and operate sly establishments in Manila Province's settlements, and the tendency for incidents of theft involving *criadas* to occur in the servant-dependent homes of Intramuros.

Even when they were enjoying themselves with such illicit activities, women still conducted such activities differently from their male counterparts. For example, in the case of illegal gambling, the police usually caught female gamblers in the afternoon, but rarely in the evening or early morning. Clearly, the belief

¹⁶⁵⁸ See Louis Chevalier, *Labouring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1976); Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); George D. Susmann, "Parisian Infants and Norman Wet Nurses in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Statistical Study," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Spring 1977), 637-653; George D. Sussman, "The Wet-Nursing Business in Nineteenth Century France," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn 1975), pp. 304-328; Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class and the state, third reprint* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); J. Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1880, 2nd edition* (New York: Longman, Inc., 1981).

¹⁶⁵⁹ See Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*.

that women were obliged to take care of their households influenced even the time when they could unwind outside of such social obligations.

The initial chapter that dealt with women and their spaces for making a living, introduced enterprising Manileñas taking advantage of the city's active real estate market and immature banking system in order to sell and acquire urban and agricultural lands. Those from well-to-do backgrounds advanced money at high interest rates in exchange for properties located in Manila and nearby provinces as collateral against the loan. Others rented out commercial and residential spaces, with some evicting tenants unable to abide by the agreed terms.

Loan and real property transactions involving Manileñas revealed much about their social relations with respect to such spaces. Females were mainly sellers rather than buyers of property. Real estate for them was more an instrument of insurance for times of need instead of a wealth-generating investment. Property transactions also underscore the role of women as guardians of the family, especially regarding the interests of minors. Moreover, one's gender was not an issue in purchasing and selling properties, and it was common for husbands to consult their wives regarding real estate transactions and decisions.

Apart from providing loans and rent seeking, women in Manila were also astute business managers. Most female-owned enterprises, like those of their male counterparts, tended to locate in urban districts and towns with high commercial activity. However, it is in the less prosperous settlements of Malate, Ermita, and Dilao where more than a third of all establishments were female-owned. Women also preferred profit-making activities that enabled them to make a living without compromising their traditional role as household manager. Therefore, most of their businesses were either home-based or required minimal supervision. These included water-based and animal-powered transports-for-hire in communities dependent on such modes of transportation, as well operating *panguingue* tables and small-scale cigar manufacturing businesses. Women from Binondo, Tondo, and Sta.Cruz were likely to engage in transport and cigar-making enterprises, while those based in Dilao and Sampaloc were more inclined to involve themselves in gambling operations, whereas the enterprising females from Quiapo were heavily involved with water and road-based transports. Nevertheless, although their ability to engage in business was praiseworthy, the home-based nature of such operations signified that the primary responsibility of women then was still to primarily run the affairs of her home.

Collectively, privileged Manileñas owned a significant share of the city's built environment. Based on property tax records, women owned almost one-fourth of the city's residential structures. In the city's populous districts, 60 to 90 percent of all female-owned buildings were constructed of strong, permanent materials that yielded significant tax earnings for the State. Even in rural environments, the few houses owned by women were all made of hard walls and strong roofs. Even in the slum-like conditions of Tondo, almost half of female-owned homes were built with stone and brick. However, as expected from districts along the city's periphery, most homes under female ownership were made of flammable bamboo walls and *nipa* thatch. In terms of building stocks, women possessed almost three out of every ten residences, twenty percent of all storage facilities, and almost a fourth of the city's blighted rental properties.

Compared to their more privileged counterparts, working class women such as domestic servants, washerwomen, milkmaids, seamstresses, vendors, as well as cigar workers who earned their living in the public spheres, even the reviled prostitutes, were not visible by the structures they owned. Instead, their lives and movements are detailed in civil register statistics, newspaper accounts, and police reports. Their contributions to Manila's society were officially embedded in such accounts.

Domestic work was not a preferred occupation among women in late nineteenth century Manila. The majority of those who registered as a *criada* were natives of Manila who had an average age of 34 years, while most migrant *criadas* originated from the Tagalog-speaking towns of Bulacan. Newspapers that catered to the elite portrayed the maidservant as a management problem for the woman of the house as the *criada's* access to her masters' rooms made her susceptible to theft. The female servant allegedly had a propensity to connive with vendors during marketing trips in order to skim money off funds entrusted to her. Worse, the practice of accepting extra work from other households during her free time meant that she was often too tired to fulfill her household obligations.

Newspaper accounts also occasionally noted the washerwoman's presence in the Manila's landscape. These articles described them as native women of humble means who washed clothes for their Manila-based clients in creeks or streams near the shacks they inhabited. Most were from Sampaloc, Manila or the Manila *pueblos* bisected by waterways, such as Makati, Mandaluyong, and San Juan. Her meager pay

meant that she had few luxuries and was constantly searching for ways to make money. Writers described them as “work machines”, whose best hope of improving their lot in life was to get married to someone who could share with the burden of making a living. Like the *criada*, the average *lavandera* of the 1880s was a local woman in her late thirties. Notwithstanding the difficult conditions such a person faced, Manila in the mid-1880s had 2, 200 registered *lavanderas*. Even migrants from distant provinces such as Northern and Southern Luzon, Central and eastern Visayas, and settlements in Spanish-occupied Mindanao were willing to take on such work despite the long hours and paltry remuneration.

Seamstresses, on the other hand, found regular employment in Manila households right up to the American period. Like European cities, there were many Manila-based *costureras* in Manila (3, 200) in the 1880s. Binondo, its extension, Quiapo, and the border district Dilao had the highest number of such workingwomen. When families of means began moving to Manila’s more idyllic environments, so did the *costurera* – almost half of all seamstresses were registered in the districts of Dilao, Sampaloc, Ermita, and Pandacan that were all located east of the Intramuros. The majority of *costureras* were also Manila locals.

Females also found employment in Manila’s public spaces as shopkeepers in markets stalls, street vendors, or as workers in the city’s large cigar factories. More than half of the city’s nearly 3,000 *cigarreras* between 1884 and 1887 were residents of the manufacturing districts of Binondo and Tondo. The average female cigar worker was in her early thirties and, like many other workingwomen, was a Manila local. The few migrant cigar workers were from the nearby Tagalog-speaking provinces of Central and Southern Luzon, and Pampanga, settlements readily accessible to Manila by road or waterway. On the other hand, majority of the almost 1,100 *tenderas* in the city during the mid-1880s resided in the districts of Binondo, Quiapo, Tondo, and Sampaloc. Unlike other females who made a living in the city, shopkeepers had the largest number of women who came from privileged backgrounds.

Despite having a large labor market, Manila still failed to provide decent employment for all. Women who fell between the cracks or were desperate for more money turned to prostitution in a city, where rapid urbanization, settlement patterns, and a large migrant population were basic ingredients for sex work to thrive. Unlike other workingwomen, the *mujer de publica*, usually in her late teens to middle twenties, plied her trade in the more prosperous districts of Binondo, Sta. Cruz, and the colony’s capital, Intramuros.

Most of them were migrants, with many hailing from the present-day cities of Metropolitan Manila and the towns of nearby Bulacan province.

Some solicited customers in the streets alone, in pairs, or with a pimp. There were others who worked in the brothels of Binondo, Sta. Cruz, Quiapo, Dilao, and Intramuros; while those who tried to evade the authorities employed unlikely places, such as iron works shops, soap stores, military barracks, rented houses, and even a storage house for smoked fish, as their work sites. Some traffickers even peddled girls to potential clients in public residences or Chinese-owned shops.

The last two chapters of this dissertation discuss the position and condition of women in Spanish Manila's social landscape. Despite the ubiquitous presence of women of very different backgrounds in Manila and the impact they had on society's public and private spaces, a reading of newspaper articles, illustrations, and advertisements during the period under consideration reveals their marginalized status and social role in the city's patriarchal society. Magazines and newspaper essays emphasized an iconology of domesticity that glorified the home as the proper woman's domain. These articles emphasized it was home and hearth where a woman contributed best to society in her role as dutiful daughter, doting sister, as a mother steeped in Christian morals, and a supportive, subservient, modest, yet physically attractive spouse who enabled her husband to achieve significant things in public life.

Illustrations of women at this time, on the other hand, reveal their active public role in city life. They were portrayed as walking along pathways, travelling by boat, buying and selling goods in marketplaces and streets, manning establishments, praying in church, attending public dances, or even enjoying themselves in personal pursuits. Some sketches even reconstruct the daily chores, forms of entertainment, and relations of women in the privacy of their homes.

While such drawings underscore the female presence in Manila's landscape, some of these illustrations also exposed a persistent patriarchy, one that normalized the idea that women were shallow and inferior beings that men could reify as objects of their fantasies and yearnings. Some drawings of native and *mestiza* women depict them as highly sexual beings lacking in self-control, whose seductive poses exposed portions of their bodies. Some cartoons and advertisements suggest normally accepted male behavior, including staring at females in public, invading a woman's privacy by peeking at them, complimenting

their attractiveness in a lewd manner, or even sexually harassing female servants. While these illustrations validated particular female features and forms, others disparaged women who had flat noses, squatted in public, or were physically unattractive.

The Manileña's constant presence as victim, perpetrator, or witness in court cases also highlighted her ubiquity in the city's social life. Generally, women were involved in theft, injuries, *estafa*, robbery, and abduction cases. Women were common targets of violent acts. Nearly twenty percent of all cases heard in Manila's courts involved a woman who was allegedly the object of physical or verbal abuse. Abduction, corruption of minors, and rape, violent acts whose victims were exclusively female, accounted for roughly ten percent of cases discussed in such hearings. While Binondo and Intramuros, the commercial and political centers of Manila, were the major sites of crimes against women, the large and transient immigrant populations in Tondo and Quiapo accounted for a significant number of violent and sexual crimes against women. The presence of many privileged residents in Intramuos and Binondo, on the other hand, provided conditions for the inordinately high number of *estafa* cases involving females in those settlements.

On the whole, Manileñas tended either to be victims of property crimes, or accused of theft and *estafa*, and/or also served as witnesses to theft and injuries cases. Beyond such crime statistics and geographic distributions, legal cases involving women also reveal aspects of social life and people's values in the city. A person's honor was considered very important, hence a substantial number of injuries involved attacks on one's reputation. Other cases reveal that women, particularly those from the lower strata, enjoyed certain freedoms. These included such women being indifferent to the weight the Catholic faith placed on virginity and chastity and their ease in enjoying an alcoholic drink in public. Some Manileñas were also accused of inflicting bodily harm on men, particularly Chinese migrants whom they felt had insulted them. Other case files likewise reveal aspects of the social relations and tensions that transpire between employer and employee, landlord and tenant, and among house renters in the privacy of residences.

Unfortunately, patriarchal, colonial, and capitalist systems that operated simultaneously in late nineteenth century Manila resulted in the application of a Spanish penal code whose valuation of the victims of violence, particularly women, left much to be desired. Economic crimes that deprived the State of revenue or compromised the interests of business resulted in harsher punishments than those for rape, bigamy,

and abduction. Sentences against men who inflicted physical violence against women, including mutilation, rarely complied with the sentences stipulated in the Spanish Penal Code. A woman's crime of adultery, apart from being easier to establish, resulted in a harsher penalty than that of a man guilty of bigamy. Specific forms of rape (i.e., child rape) had yet to legally exist, while the Law made it plain that a man could never rape his wife. Worse, a rapist could escape a jail term by marrying his victim.

EPILOGUE. A Way Forward: Change and Continuity in the Manilaña's Condition in the American Period

This dissertation provides a detailed narrative and analysis of the stories and geographies of the Manilaña from 1860-1896. It highlights and makes visible the activity, presence and impact of different groups of women in the city's landscape during the last decades of Spanish rule, which abruptly came to an end after the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and the Philippine-American War of 1899 to 1901. Shortly after securing hold of their farthest Pacific colony, the United States commenced its efforts of "civilizing" and "educating" their distant Philippine subjects in furtherance of its policy of benevolent assimilation.¹⁶⁶⁰ The colonial policies and presence of the Americans resulted in a combination of change and continuity in the condition and status of urban women in Philippine society,¹⁶⁶¹ an area of historical and geographical study that requires more attention.

Manila and its nearby towns soon became the focus of American colonial interventions in education and public health, as well as a crucial site of business investments. Government strategies, programs, and activities in these important areas of developmental concern advanced the presence of women in the public sphere. As a major component of "benevolent imperialism", the Americans established a public education system to address the needs of its colonial subjects,¹⁶⁶² irrespective of gender. In order to advance their uplift, the Insular Government ensured females were given equal access to education at all levels and one that was no different to what their male counterparts received.¹⁶⁶³ One outcome of this

¹⁶⁶⁰ Faye Caronan, *Legitimizing Empire: Filipino American and U.S. Puerto Rican Cultural Critique* (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2015), pp. 4 and 74; David Keoni Lawrimore, "Imperial Ambivalence: Gender, Discourse and Empire in Early Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Narratives of the Philippines," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2015), p. 586

¹⁶⁶¹ "News of the Week," *Philippines Free Press*, May 12, 1917, p. 9. The civic committee of the Woman's Club has sent a letter to Mayor Justo Lukban suggesting that the local government establish a municipal dance hall where no professional dancers will be allowed; "News of the Week," *Philippines Free Press*, May 26, 1917, p. 9. The Woman's Club has again written a letter to the Mayor of Manila suggesting the establishment of a "people's kitchen" where "nutritious food can be sold to the laboring masses at the lowest possible cost" if the city appropriates P5,000, the club would gladly undertake the project.

¹⁶⁶² Solsirée del Moral, "Negotiating Colonialism: "Race," Class, and Education in Early Twentieth Century Puerto Rico," In *The Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), p. 138.

¹⁶⁶³ The education of children also served economic imperatives, of which Filipino girls and women played a major part. The focus of basic education in the Philippines during American rule was Industrial Education-dominant. This

policy of equal opportunity and affirmative action was the entry of women into public life, a space that used to be sole preserve of men.¹⁶⁶⁴ By the end of the 1920s, newspaper stories and articles hailed the country's first female doctors, lawyers,¹⁶⁶⁵ dentists,¹⁶⁶⁶ accountants,¹⁶⁶⁷ journalists, teachers,¹⁶⁶⁸ nurses,¹⁶⁶⁹ and pharmacists,¹⁶⁷⁰ among other professions, as examples of women who had broken social barriers.

meant that much effort was given to enabling students to have skills that would improve their material conditions. This included embroidery lessons and work that young girls undertook. In a sense, many schools served as veritable "factories" where standardized outputs for the export market were produced. For a more nuanced understanding of this issue, see Glenn May, "The Business of Education in the Colonial Philippines, 1909-1930," In *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), pp. 151-162.

- ¹⁶⁶⁴ "Women Generally Well Off," *Manila Times*, February 5, 1925, p. 3. The article mentions that many of women, particularly among the upper classes were now working outside of the home as professionals such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, teacher, librarian and secretary. It was also argued that the impact of the woman in public life was much greater than in the past.
- ¹⁶⁶⁵ "Woman's Club Will Provide Legal Advice: Poor Women May Secure Help from Club's Adviser," *The Manila Times*, September 12, 1916, p. 2. The club appointed Miss N. Almeida, who graduated from the University of the Philippines College of Law and a licensed law practitioner, to serve as attorney for poor women who cannot afford a lawyer; "168 Students Pass Law Ex's: One Girl and 2 Americans among successful, another coming hundred and seventy-three eligible for second test scheduled for early hour next Saturday; preparations made," *The Manila Times*, October 10, 1916, pp. 1-2. The lone female who passed the bar examination was Natividad Pareon.
- ¹⁶⁶⁶ "First Lady Dentist of the Land," *Philippines Free Press*, July 17, 1917, p. 6. Micaela Almeda, a graduate of the Philippine Dental College, was the country's first female dentist.
- ¹⁶⁶⁷ "Passed Accountancy Test," *Philippines Free Press*, December 29, 1923, p. 23. The article includes a picture and short biographical note of Belen Enrile, the first female certified public accountant of the country.
- ¹⁶⁶⁸ "Largest Normal Class Steps Forth. 57 New Filipino Teachers Receive Diploma in the Marble Hall," *Philippines Free Press*, April 1, 1911, p. 1.
- ¹⁶⁶⁹ "3 Filipina Nurses to the U.S. Mrs. Whitelaw Reid Aids First Graduates of University Hospital," *Philippines Free Press*, April 18, 1911, p. 6; "Praises Nurses School and Philippine Sanitation. New York Sun Thinks 'They Are Making Manila A Better Place To Live In' And Less Of A Place To Die In," *The Cablenews American*, September 6, 1913, p. 4; "Closing Exercises at Nursing Training School to be held on March 31," *The Cablenews American*, March 29, 1914, p. 1. Two-thirds of the Philippine General Hospital's graduating class of 1914 were women; "Nurse Given Despedida," *The Manila Times*, August 28, 1916, p. 7. Miss Tomasa Gutoco was given a *despedida* ball last night and a reception in the Cosmopolitan building. She is a graduate of Philippine General Hospital, a recipient of the Gary Scholarship for four years at Columbia University, New York; "Nurses of St. Paul's Graduate. Speakers Emphasize Social Service Possible," *The Manila Times*, March 27, 1917, p. 1; "102 New Nurses Graduated Today. Bocobo Speaks at Philippine General Hospital Exercises," *Manila Times*, March 16, 1925, p. 2. The graduating class of nurses was the 15th class of the Philippine General Hospital's nursing school; "Red Cross Nurse Conference Soon," *Manila Times*, March 19, 1925, p. 2.
- ¹⁶⁷⁰ "Native Girl Leads," *The Cablenews American*, August 8, 1908, p. 5. Filomena Francisco and Matilde Arquisa placed first and third, respectively, in the 1908 Pharmacy Licensure Examination; "Where Mere Man Takes A Backseat. Profession of pharmacy is attracting the fair sex in such numbers that men are in danger of being crowded out entirely - curious facts and figures about women pharmacists - why they succeed" *Philippines Free Press*, July 14, 1923, p. 4

Female students in Manila who beat their male counterparts in school-based competitions now also enjoyed the same attention.¹⁶⁷¹

Beginning in 1905, the physical education curriculum in schools also applied to both genders.¹⁶⁷² Girls were encouraged to play in parks and compete in baseball,¹⁶⁷³ basketball,¹⁶⁷⁴ and volleyball¹⁶⁷⁵ tournaments. These games became popular sports that attracted the same number of spectators as the contests of their male counterparts. Girls were very much part of the everyday landscape of playgrounds.¹⁶⁷⁶ In fact, the annual Manila Carnival had girls' ball games as one of its main attractions.¹⁶⁷⁷

¹⁶⁷¹ "Girl Wins First Prize in Declamation Contest," *Cable News American*, No. 701, March 10, 1918, p. 4; "Miss Abiertas Wins Contest," *Philippines Free Press*, March 24, 1917, p. 17. Ms. Josefa Abiertas, a first year student of the Philippine Law School won her school's oratorical contest held at the Grand Opera House with her piece, "The Filipino Woman's Best Gifts to her Country".

¹⁶⁷² Gerald R. Gems, *Sport and the American Occupation of the Philippines: Bats, Balls, and Bayonets* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), p. 137.

¹⁶⁷³ *Philippines Free Press*, February 10, 1917, pp. 13-14. The said issue has an untitled new story of the "famous girls of indoor baseball" from the barrio of Tipas, Pateros, a town near Manila; "News of the Week," *Philippines Free Press*, March 10, 1917, p. 9. It was mentioned in the issue's "News of the Week" section that the girls indoor baseball team of Meisic, Tondo were declared tournament champions of an inter-school competition; "Rizal Girls Win at Nozaleda Park," *The Cablenews American*, No. 677, February 9, 1918, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷⁴ "Innovation Among Filipino Girls," *The Cablenews American*, January 30, 1909, p. 5. The article emphasizes that it would have been unthinkable a few years before to imagine that girls would be in public playing basketball before large crowds wearing shorts skirts and knickerbockers; "Senoritas Filipinas, jugando partido de 'Pelota a cesta,'" (Filipino ladies playing a game of basketball) *The Cablenews American*, January 30, 1909, p. 11; *The Cablenews American*, February 6, 1915, p. 5. The untitled article noted a "marked change" in the life of the Filipino woman. One reflection of this is she was now free and even encouraged to participate in sports such as basketball.

¹⁶⁷⁵ "Primary Girls to Have Newcombe Ball Tourney," *The Cablenews American*, No. 691, February 27, 1918, p. 4; "Girls' Volleyball Teams in Final Clash," *The Manila Times*, February 5, 1925, p. 6.

¹⁶⁷⁶ "Why not give children more school playgrounds?" *Philippines Free Press*, October 20, 1917, p. 14. It was stated in the article that an effort has been made to increase recreational spaces for children in Manila, but more playgrounds all over the country are needed to promote happier parents and stronger men and

Women; "Manila's Annual Playground Day," *Philippines Free Press*, December 22, 1923, p. 6

¹⁶⁷⁷ "Filipinas Play Fine Basketball. Games of Young Ladies Feature Carnival Athletic Program," *The Cablenews American*, February 26, 1911, p. 3; United States National Archives, College Park, *Bureau of Insular Affairs Record Group 350, Amusements and Athletics*, No. 1887, Stack 150, Row 56 Compartment 9, Shelf 1, Box 229. A photograph taken by E.S. Brown of girls' basketball teams of Philippine Normal School and Tondo School was one of the competitions held at during the 1911 Carnival.

The Filipino woman during the American colonial period, however, still had to fulfill her traditional role of manager and nurturer of the household.¹⁶⁷⁸ The promotion of domestic science as a discipline¹⁶⁷⁹ and the inclusion of home economics as a subject for girls in primary school reflected such traditional ideas. However, American ideas regarding the role and place of women in society enabled them to have a more active presence in public life, and concerns therefore that directly affected them and their children. In particular, the cigar and embroidery export industries,¹⁶⁸⁰ that helped drive the economic expansion of Manila, were major sectors of the Philippine economy that depended on female labor and skills. American-owned businesses, however, soon provided a market for work now deemed proper for women. This

¹⁶⁷⁸ "Woman's Club Committee Issues New Cook Book," *Cable News American*, No. 760, May 22, 1918, p. 6. The Woman's Club Civic Committee has just purchased 5,000 copies of Mrs. Teodoro Kalaw's cook book made up of soup recipes, meat dishes, salads, desserts that are adapted to local conditions. The book includes a 10 Commandments of Housekeeping; Charles Yeater, "Give Every Child Here an Education," *Philippines Free Press*, September 28, 1918, p. 9. Yeater, who was a vice governor-general of the Philippines, argued that little girls should go to schools they will be the country's future mothers. In addition to books, their education should include the basic principles in health, nutrition, nursing, and homemaking; "Behind the Scenes in Red Cross Work," *Philippines Free Press*, March 17, 1923, p. 20.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Silva M. Beckner, "Our Domestic Science Work and Some of its Results," *The Philippine Craftsman*, vol. 3, no. 2, November 1914, pp. 329-334. One of the main thrusts of teaching domestic science to young children was to provide livelihood opportunities to households as well as improve their sanitation and health. In the case of the girls, domestic science courses were meant to help them learn how to prepare tastier and more nutritious food as well as to keep house; H.A. Bordner, "Philippine Normal School," *The Philippine Craftsman*, vol. 5, no. 3, September 1916, p. 177-181. As early as 1916, the Philippine Normal School already offered a four-year undergraduate course in domestic science. "New Domestic Science Course," *Philippines Free Press*, May 25, 1918, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Bureau of Commerce and Industry, *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924), pp. 34 and 36; "1916 A Big Trade Year," *Philippines Free Press*, April 28, 1917, p. 11. Cigars, cigarettes and tobacco was the 4th most valuable export in terms of value (P11.65M), while embroideries was 7th (P3.33M) in 1916.

included occupations as telephone operators,¹⁶⁸¹ food servers,¹⁶⁸² sales girls,¹⁶⁸³ clerical staff,¹⁶⁸⁴ and even actresses in stage shows and vaudevilles.¹⁶⁸⁵

The significant American presence and economic investment, and the introduction of new forms of entertainment in Manila, however, also led to the continuation of prostitution.¹⁶⁸⁶ American colonization also introduced the “dancing girls” or *bailarinas* who provided sexual services to male clients outside the dance halls,¹⁶⁸⁷ establishments that followed the electric streetcar routes as the latter extended further out to Manila’s periphery.¹⁶⁸⁸ Both the sex worker and dancing girl became the object of intense public debate, legislation, and changing policy regulations throughout American rule, especially in Manila.

The active presence of women in Manila’s public life was likewise highlighted by the advocacies and social concerns of females and women-affiliated groups. In fact, civil society or non-governmental organizations emerged as early as the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶⁸⁹ Led by American women and their

¹⁶⁸¹ “The Hello Strike,” *Philippines Free Press*, August 16, 1913, p. 9; “Telephone Trouble Interests Manila Merchants’ Committee and Bureau of Labor – Reports,” *The Cablenews American*, August 27, 1913, p. 1. The Manila Merchant’s Association’s committee was compelled to review the case of female telephone workers who went on strike a few weeks earlier. The women were replaced by men whose service was not up to par. Hence, the said committee gave the following recommendations: a) the pay of the telephone switchboard operators are not sufficient to retain them and must be increased; depending in the length of service from one month to two years and one month should receive anywhere from P25-P40 per month with free meals; b) in case the company’s former operators would like to be reinstated, preference should be given to those who have given longer service to the firm; “Clerks, Stenographers, and Call Girls Wanted,” *Cable News American*, No. 210, July 21, 1918, p. 5.

¹⁶⁸² “En El “Grill Room” de Metropole,” *Philippines Free Press*, July 12, 1913, p. 31. The Metropole Hotel was one of the first institutions to train and hire women to serve as fine dining wait staff.

¹⁶⁸³ “Impressions of the Philippines Revisited,” *The Cablenews American*, May 1, 1909, p. 5. Don Juan Mencarini noted that the change in the status of the Filipina in the early years of American rule was most felt in the area of employment. He noted that women now did work that was usually reserved for men as they now work as stenographers, clerks, and sales persons.

¹⁶⁸⁴ *The Manila Times*, August 3, 1916, p. 8. An advertisement for a limited number of stenographer positions for both sexes; “Wanted: Stenographer: young man or young lady who can take dictation in English and Spanish,” *The Cable News American*, No. 731, April 17, 1918, p. 12.

¹⁶⁸⁵ “P.C.C.’s Razzle-Dazzle at Grand Opera House,” *Philippines Free Press*, September 11, 1920, p. 5. The article mentions Catalina “Katty” de la Cruz, a popular stage actress.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Frank Charles Laubach, *The People of the Philippines, their religious progress and preparation for spiritual leadership in the Far East* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925) pp. 408-410.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Phillip C. Bennet, “Eve, Invictus,” *Philippine Magazine*, vol. 28, no. 1 (June 1931), pp. 499-500. Dance hall girls, particularly their lives, activities, and negative effects on public morals and health, were a persistent topic in the media and a source of societal and government concern in Manila up to the 1930s.

¹⁶⁸⁸ *Annual Report of the Municipal Board of the City of Manila for the Fiscal Year 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 55.

¹⁶⁸⁹ See Rocas, “Filipino Elite Women and Public Health in the American Colonial Era, 1906–1940,” pp. 477-502.

counterparts among the Philippine elite, these organizations and institutions include the *Gota de Leche*, *Proteccion de las Infantes*,¹⁶⁹⁰ Mary Johnston Hospital,¹⁶⁹¹ the Woman's League,¹⁶⁹² and the Philippine arm of the Red Cross.¹⁶⁹³ Such pioneering groups made valuable contributions in delivering services for the marginalized and furthering social advocacies. These included offering or campaigning for feeding options for indigent children, day care center services,¹⁶⁹⁴ and increased access to nutritious food by gardening Manila's vacant lots.¹⁶⁹⁵ Moreover, these groups also advocated for free legal assistance for women,¹⁶⁹⁶ support for the Red Cross and the war effort during the First World War,¹⁶⁹⁷ the banning of dance halls, the recognition of the rights of juveniles in courts,¹⁶⁹⁸ women's suffrage,¹⁶⁹⁹ and labor rights.¹⁷⁰⁰

¹⁶⁹⁰ *Philippines Free Press*, September 25, 1920, p. 3. In an untitled article, it was mentioned that the group "Proteccion de la Infantes" was responsible for providing for the milk needs of 108 infants in August 1920. Their source of funding for the milk was a charitable source.

¹⁶⁹¹ "Saves 83 for Every 100," *Philippines Free Press*, November 19, 1910, p. 7. The Mary Johnston Hospital served the maternal and infant needs of indigents. It was claimed that as opposed to the infant mortality rate of 45 deaths for every 100 children below a year old in Manila, the children cared for by the said hospital was at a much lower death rate of 17 for every 100.

¹⁶⁹² *Philippine Free Press*, September 17, 1910, p. 4. The Filipino Women's League were active in health concerns such as the campaign against tuberculosis.

¹⁶⁹³ "Red Cross Drive to Get Million Pesos," *Philippines Free Press*, July 6, 1918, p. 6. The funds being raised by the Red Cross was to support the war effort in Europe; "Behind the Scenes in Red Cross Work," *Philippines Free Press*, March 17, 1923, p. 20. In the said article, a representative of the Red Cross taught female students at the Philippine Normal School knowledge in health and disease prevention that would help them in their future responsibilities as wives and mothers.

¹⁶⁹⁴ "'Movie' Benefit for New Day Nursery," *The Cablenews American*, March 26, 1914, p. 1. The Woman's Club was operating and maintaining two day nurseries for indigent children in Manila; "Children of Poor Well Taken Care of at Tondo Day Nursery," *The Cablenews American*, No. 775, June 9, 1918, p. 10.

¹⁶⁹⁵ "Women and Food Campaign," *Philippines Free Press*, April 13, 1918.

¹⁶⁹⁶ "Woman's Club Reviews Years' Work," *The Cablenews American*, No. 690, February 26, 1918, p. 3. Miss Almeda, chairman of the Women's Free Legal Aid, reported handling 42 cases. Of these half were settled out of court, 7 decided in court, while 14 are still pending. Majority of these cases concern women claiming child support from their husbands, children who have been abandoned and require legal aid for their subsistence, marital infidelity. These cases were handled for the past three years pro bono by Misses Almeda and Paz Legaspi, both lawyers and members of the Woman's Club.

¹⁶⁹⁷ "Smoke Fund Increasing," *The Cablenews American*, No. 693, March 1, 1918, p. 3. The article states that as of February 15, 1918, P6,630 had been collected for the purchase of Philippine cigarettes that would be sent to American soldiers in France. The Philippine Chapter of the American Red Cross spearheaded the collection of the said funds; "Red Cross Work to be Distributed Monday," *The Cablenews American*, No. 695, March 3, 1918, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹⁸ "Woman's Club Makes Appeal for Youth. Establishment of juvenile courts is asked in public hearing. Cause of child welfare. Rights of wayward children to a trial is urged by prominent women interested in them," *The Cablenews American*, No. 333, January 27, 1917, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹⁹ "Solons Lend Ear to Suffragists. Women State Argument to Right to Vote and Hear "Anti" Speech," *The Cablenews Americans*, No. 903, November 13, 1918, p. 2; *Philippines Free Press*, November 16, 1918, p. 9. Several prominent women made a strong demand for women to grant the right to vote at the House Committee hearing.

¹⁷⁰⁰ "180 Tabacalera Women Strike for More Pay," *Cablenews American*, no. 651, January 10, 1918, p. 1; "Cigarette Makers Get Wage Increase. 600 Workers Are Granted a Part of Demands," *The Manila Times*, February 27, 1925,

There is a wealth of archival and periodical sources yet to be examined that could serve as the bases of a geographically contextualized history on the status, presence, and spaces of the Manilaña during the four decades of American rule. Such research should be pursued in order to trace the similarities and differences in the social and spatial condition of women in Manila under the rule of two successive colonial powers.

p. 8. All 600 women in nine Chinese-owned cigarette factories were successful in negotiating a 10 centavo increase in their daily pay.

GLOSSARY

Accesoria – a term assigned for apartments-for-rent

Adulterio – a collection of adultery and marital separation cases available at the National Archives of the Philippines

Alguacil – a law enforcement officer

Amo – Tagalog term for master or employer

Amyl – a liquid that is touted to be an aphrodisiac

Arrabal – suburb in Spanish; all of Manila's districts were considered part of the suburbs of Intramuros

Arinola – chamber pot in Spanish

Asuntos Criminales – a collection of middle to late nineteenth century criminal case documents available in CD-ROM at the National Archives of the Philippines

Atropello – Spanish for the act of being “run over”

Ayuntamiento – city council in Manila

Babaylan – female religious leader during the pre-Hispanic period; also known as catalonan

Bailarina – a woman who gets paid by men to dance at a dance hall

Banga - jar

Banquito – a small bench

Barrio – a neighborhood or a community of a town

Beaterio – a religious house for women who live a life of prayer and seclusion

Bebidas gaseosas – carbonated drinks

Bibingka - a native cake made of rice flour, egg yolks, salted duck egg, cheese, and desiccated coconut

Bilao - a flat, basket-like container made of woven leaves commonly used as a platform for grain and vegetables

Bugaw – pimp in the Tagalog language

Buyera – a female vendor of betel nut (buyo)

Buyo – betel nut

Cabeza de Barangay – village headman

- Caja de hierro** – a safe
- Calesa** – two-wheeled calash in the Philippines
- Camagong** – a Philippine hardwood known for its extreme toughness
- Camarin** – a storehouse
- Camisa** – blouse in Tagalog and Spanish
- Carabao** – water buffalo
- Caretela** – a horse-drawn cart used for cargo purposes
- Carinderia** – a roadside eatery
- Carromata** – a two-wheeled, box-like horse-drawn vehicle
- Carpal** - bones associated with the wrists
- Casa** – a house
- Casa de Prostitucion** - brothel
- Casas toleradas** – brothels that allowed by the Spanish authorities to operate beginning in 1890
- Casita** – a cottage
- Casco** – a flat-bottomed, square-end barge indigenous to the Philippines that operated along lakes and rivers
- Casero/Casera** – the owner the house where gambling activity occurs
- Castas** - castes
- Castigo corporal** – corporal punishment
- Catalonan** – see babaylan
- Cavan** – a unit of mass or volume used in the Philippines; a cavan is equivalent to 75 liters
- Cedula** – a head tax imposed on all residents of the Philippines 18 years old and above
- Centavo** – a coin equivalent to 1/100th of a Peso
- Chata** – flat-nosed in Spanish
- Chapdique** – a Chinese gambling game
- Chronic Myelitis** – a medical condition wherein the affected individual suffers from swollen nerves along the spine
- Cigarrera** – a female cigar-maker or worker
- Cochero** – coachman in Tagalog and Spanish
- Commandancia** – headquarters of a military or police district
- Confradia** – a confraternity, a Christian voluntary organization of lay people

Contaduria de la Administracion Local de Filipinas – an accounting institution of the colonial government

Contribucion Industrial – annual business or professional tax paid by individuals and corporations in the late 1800s

Cosmorama – an exhibition of pictures from different parts of the world made more real-looking through the use of lighting and lenses

Costumbres Filipinas – Philippine customs

Costurera - seamstress

Crema de Cacao – a sweet, alcoholic liquor made from chocolate beans with a hint of vanilla

Criada – a female house servant

Criado – a male house servant

Criolla – a type of jewellery

Cuadrilleros – a municipal policeman

Cuaho – a Chinese card game that uses Spanish cards

Cuarto – crude copper or bronze coins that was the equivalent to 1/160th of a Peso

Denunciador – an informant

Despedida – a farewell party

Despoblados – wilderness areas

Domestica – a female house servant, also a synonym of criada

Don – an honorific title given to a male member of the upper class

Doña – an honorific title given to a female member of the upper class

Edema - excess watery fluid on particular tissues of the body

Ekistics – the study of human settlements

Embriaguez – drunkenness in Spanish

Estafa – an all-encompassing term for crimes such as swindling, extortion, and embezzlement

Español Peninsular – A person of Spanish heritage who was born in the Iberian Peninsula as opposed to those who were born in the Philippine Islands (Español Insular); also interchangeable with Español Europeo

Fincas Urbana – urban real property tax lists available at the National Archives of the Philippines

Geographic Information Systems- a framework for gathering, managing, and analyzing data that is presented in map form

Gobernadorcillo – the elected mayor of a town or pueblo; it was the highest position that could be attained by a non-Spaniard during the Spanish Period

Gremio – a council formed separately by natives, Chinese mestizos, and Chinese in towns and districts

Gremio de Mestizos – council of Chinese mestizos

Guardia Civil – a component of the Spanish Army established in 1872 to perform law enforcement work which included regular patrols and the suppression of criminal activity

Guardia civil veterana – the elite units of the guardia civil many of whom were based in Manila

Herbolaria – a woman sells herbal medicines

In ausencia – in absence

Indio – a native of the Philippine archipelago

Indocumentada – a woman arrested for failure to provide documents proving her place of residence

Industrial – Spanish term for business or person involved in a business

Interior – the inner portion of a community or neighborhood

Intramuros – the capital of Spanish Philippines; also the walled city that was the political and religious center of Manila during Spanish rule

Juegos Prohibidos – a collection of documents pertaining to gambling rules and regulations, license applications, and arrests that are available at the National Archives of the Philippines

Kasambahay – the Tagalog term for house servant

Lavandera – a laundrywoman

Luneta – a park located in Ermita, Manila

Malagquit - a variety of sticky rice used in making porridges and cakes

Manileña – a woman who lives in or is a native of Manila

Media Agua – extensions from a roof that shade a window from sun and rain that served as shelter for the underprivileged

Mediquillo – a pseudo-doctor

Mestiza Sangley – a woman born of Chinese and native parents

Maestra – a woman who heads a group of workers in a cigar or cigarette factory

Mal vivir – “bad life” in Spanish

Manzanilla – a dry white wine or sherry wine

Mamposteria – rubblework

Materiales Fuertes - strong materials such as stone, rubble work, and iron sheets

Materiales Ligeros – weak materials such as bamboo, cogon grass, and nipa leaves

Mestizo – the bi-racial offspring of a native Filipino and a Chinese or a Spaniard.

Ministerio de Ultramar – Overseas Ministry

Modista –clothes designer

Monte – an illegal card game using 40 Spanish playing cards that was more popular with males

Morong – a province that is now currently known as Rizal

Muchacho – a male house servant

Mujer de Publica – literally “public woman” in Spanish, it was a label assigned by the colonial state to prostitutes

Nipa – a palm tree whose leaves are used for roofing purposes

Nodriza – wet nurse in Spanish

Octavo – a coin that was one-eighth of a real and 1/64th of a Peso

Quiles – a wheeled transport similar to a carromata

Pacto de retroventa – debt with mortgage; a method used by loan providers to accumulate land

Palay – unhusked rice grains in Tagalog

Panciteria – a noodle house

Panguingue – a card game that was popular with women; it was the only card game that could be legally played during the Spanish period

Parian – a Chinese quarter or ghetto

Pariancillo – a smaller scale parian

Pasatiempo – hobby in Spanish

Paseo – a walk or promenade

Pensionista – a widow of a former government employee who receives a pension

Peseta – a coin that was equivalent to one-fifth (0.20) of a Peso or Mexican Dollar

Peso – also known as the Mexican Dollar; it was one the main types of currency used during the late nineteenth century along with the cuarto, octavo, and real

Piña – a local textile produced from the dried crown of a pineapple

Posesion - property

Presidio – a penitentiary

Procurador – a lawyer

Proprietario – property owner

Prospography – a collection of descriptions

Prostitucion – a collection of documents primarily composed of case files of prostitutes arrested by the authorities in Manila from 1862 to 1897

Protocolos de Manila – a collection of notarial records in Manila during the middle to late nineteenth century that are available at the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP)

Pueblo – town in Spanish

Putá – prostitute in Spanish, Tagalog, and other Philippine languages

Quinque – oil lamp

Rattan – a hard, thorny forest vine that is mainly used for furniture-making and house construction; also called bejuco

Real – a coin used in the Spanish period that was equivalent to one-eighth (0.18) of a Peso

Receta del Pais – country recipe in Spanish

Reglamento – regulation in Spanish

Rifa – a raffle that is still in practice in the Philippines

Riña – quarreling in Spanish

Rufian – a pimp or sex trafficker

Sacristan - altar boy who assists the priest in both the mass and the administration of the sacraments

Sanlangbili – A Tagalog term for pacto de retroventa; literally means to “pawn” and “buy”(back)

Saguan – a space below the stairs of a house

Sari-Sari –literally means “a variety” in Tagalog

Seccion Higiene – public hygiene section of the Bureau of Public Health that handled the registration and medical inspection of both prostitutes and wet nurses

Servidumbres Domestica – documents in the National Archives of the Philippines that pertain to the registration, arrest, and cases filed against predominantly Manila-based domestic servants

Sinamay –a coarse cloth made by abaca that was commonly used by members of the working class

Sinamayera – upper class woman who sold sinamay and other textiles in her store or shop

Sin educacion - uneducated

Sin verguenza – without shame

Soliong – a Chinese game of chance

Tambobon – the old name of Malabon, a town north of Manila

Tapis - a decorated cloth used as a hanging onto or covering on a woman's upper garment

Tendera – shopkeeper or store vendor

Tienda de sari sari – a neighborhood general store

Terrenos – landownership documents found in the NAP (currently unavailable)

Timba – gambling or game of chance

Tinapareria – storage area for smoked fish

Tindahan – store in Tagalog

Tipos Callejeros – street scenes in Spanish

Trabajo apropiado por un sexo – literally means “work appropriate for one's sex”

Tranvia – street car or tram

Vagamundo – a vagrant

Vendedora – female vendor

Viajera – a female travelling merchant or trader

Viuda - widow

Yakal – a species of Philippine hardwood

Ylang-ylang – a tree whose flowers are used for making essences and perfume

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Female-Owned Panguingue Tables in Manila Province, 1894-1896. NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*.¹⁷⁰¹

NO.	NAME	BUSINESS	DIST/PUEBLO	STREET	SDS SOURCE
1	ESCOLASTICA SALONGA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	NUEVA	15390
2	TORIBIA MANUEL	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15390
3	DOMINGA DE LA CRUZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TAMBOBONG	SAN AGUSTIN	15390
4	FRANCISCA SUMANAY	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	ASUNCION	15390
5	CONCEPCION SAN JOSE	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
6	MARTINA VICENTE	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15390
7	BALBINA MARTIN	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15390
8	EUGENIA NAVARRO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	MISERICORDIA	15390
9	ANGELA VICTORIA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	ALEJANDRO	15390
10	LORENZA CORTES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	BARRIO DE BALIC BALIC	15390
11	NARCISA REYES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	HILOM	15390
12	CIRIACA GARCIA	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	DULUMBAYAN	15390
13	SATUNINA CRUESO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	AUGUSTIA	15390
14	PLASENCIA DE LARA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA	LICO	15390
15	MARIA MANAHAN	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAN MATEO	REAL (GUITNANG BAYAN)	15390
16	FRAGEDES SAYO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15390
17	GREGORIA DE ZAFRA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	STA. MONICA	15392B
18	JUSTINA FLORES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PASIG	BANGBANG	15392B

¹⁷⁰¹ The information for Appendices 1 to 17 were sourced from data gathered from the following record series found at the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) and the Church of Latter Day Saints' Digitized NAP materials available via familysearch.org : a) Contribucion Industrial [1892-1896]; b) Vecindario [1881-1889]; c) Gaceta de Manila [1862,1868-69, 1871, 1889-90, 1896]; d) Protocolos [1863, 1871-1873, 1881, 1889-1892,1895, 1898]; Prostitucion [1862-1898]. Currency and land measures information in Appendices 18 and 19 were collected from United States Bureau of the Census, Census of the Philippine islands, taken under the direction of the Philippine Commission in the year 1903, Volume 4 (Washington : Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 447-457.

19	MARCELA DEL ROSARIO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	BAYANBAYANAN	15392B
20	MARIA LOPEZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	BEATA	15392B
21	MARIA LOPEZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	BEATA	15392B
22	PAULINA HIPOLITO	3 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15392B
23	TOMASA TAYSON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	SANDE	15392B
24	TOMASA TAYSON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	SANDE	15392B
25	TOMASA TAYSON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	SANDE	15392B
26	TEODORA FRANCISCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAN FELIPE NERY	PUNTA	15392B
27	JOSEFA BAUTISTA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	SALINAS	15392B
28	PRUDENCIA ROQUE	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	3A CALLE	15392B
29	MARGARITA QUINTANILLA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	REAL	15392B
30	JULIANA QUINTANILLA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	3A CALLE	15392B
31	EUGENIA ROQUE	10 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	SAN MARCOS	15392B
32	EUGENIA ROQUE	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	SAN MARCOS	15392B
33	BRIGIDA SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	REAL	15392B
34	BRIGIDA SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	REAL	15392B
35	LEONCIA SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TAGUIG	HAGONOY	15392B
36	TOMASA SANTIAGO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15392B
37	MARTINUANA MORA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TROZO	AYUDAR	15392B
38	MARIA SUANCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15392B
39	MARIA SUANCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15392B
40	CARMEN CARREON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	LEMERY	15392B
41	CARMEN CARREON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	LEMERY	15392B
42	ATANASIA TONACIO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	BALICBALIC	15392B
43	GREGORIA FLORES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PASIG		15392B
44	SEVERINA DE LEON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15392B
45	MARIA VILLANUEVA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MAKATI	LIGAO	15392B
46	DIONISIA MANAPAT	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	REAL	15392B
47	GUILLERMA PADUA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	ALCALA	15392B
48	JUANA AVILA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15392B

49	JUANA AVILA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15392B
50	NATALIA GINTO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	JOLO	15392B
51	NATALIA GINTO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	NAVOTAS	JOLO	15392B
52	CANUTA QUIJANO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	STA. MONICA	15392B
53	JUANA PERALTA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15395
54	JUANA PERALTA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15395
55	BENITA GARCES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SANTA CRUZ	SN. PEDRO	15395
56	JUANA PERALTA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC		15395
57	BENITA MEDINA	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC		15395
58	BARBARA SALVADOR	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	SOLER	15395
59	CARUETA DE CASTRO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15400
60	PAULINA HIPOLITO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15400
61	JOSEFA LIWAG	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TONDO	SANDE	15400
62	CECILIA VILLAFANIA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	YNTRAMUROS	SN. JUAN DE DIOS	15400
63	JUANA LAYOG (DNA.)	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15400
64	ELENA NAVAJO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15400
65	BRIGIDA PAR	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PENNARUBIA	15402
66	EMITERIA JUAN	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARRACA	15402
67	EMITERIA JUAN	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARRACA	15402
68	FRANCISCA LUMANAY (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	ASUNCION	15402
69	MANUELA NARDO JOSE (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	DTO. DE SAN NICOLAS SEVILLA	15402
70	JUANA Y. DACANAY (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	CLAVEL	15402
71	BARBARA LISARDO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	CAMBA	15402
72	BARBARA LISARDO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	CAMBA	15402
73	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402
74	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402
75	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402
76	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402
77	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402
78	RAMONA NAVA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15402

79	FELIS DEL ROSARIO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15402
80	BRAULIA QUEPANGCO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	NUEVA	15402
81	FRANCISCA DEL ROSARIO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	CAMBA	15402
82	MARCELA MEDRANO (DNA.)	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15402
83	JULIANA PINEDA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	UNKNOWN		15402
84	CORNELIA LADEJANGCO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	JABONERO	15402
85	MAXIMINA TANDUNCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	JOLO	15402
86	ADRIANA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	MURALLON	15402
87	ADRIANA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	MURALLON	15402
88	ADRIANA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	MURALLON	15402
89	MARIA SALVADOR	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	JABONERO	15402
90	MARIA SALVADOR PERES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	JABONERO	15402
91	GREGORIA CUENCO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	SN. NICOLAS	15402
92	GREGORIA CUENCO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	SN. NICOLAS	15402
93	PETRA TORRES (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	SEVILLA	15402
94	PAULA MACARIO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	BINONDO	ASUNCION	15402
95	VICENTA TIN BUNCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	SN. ROQUE	15402
96	CLEOTILDE MANUEL	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA	REAL	15402
97	CLEOTILDE MANUEL	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA	REAL	15402
98	MARTINA CILLO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PARANAQUE	SN. DIONISIO	15402
99	PAULA DESIDERIO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	BARRIO DE JESUS DELA PENA	15402
100	NICOLASA MENDOZA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	SN. ROQUE	15402
101	ESTEFANIA ELIZARDO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	TAGUIG	STA. ANA	15402
102	MARTA CRUZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA		15402
103	MARTA CRUZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA		15402
104	MARIA DE RAMO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	GUADALUPE	REAL	15402
105	JUANA DESIDERIO (DNA.)	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	TOMAS DELA PENA	15402
106	PAULINA DELA CRUZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PINEDA	SN. RAFAEL	15402
107	MARTINA YNSON	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAN FELIPE NERY	BUHANGIN	15402
108	REMIGIA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	MARIQUINA	SN. ROQUE	15402

109	FAUSTINA FLORES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PASIG	BAMBANG	15399
110	FLORENCIA LICERIO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	HILUM	15399
111	FLORENCIA LICERIO	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	HILUM	15399
112	PAULA BERNARDO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	?	15399
113	GREGORIA FLORES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PASIG	CAMINGLIN	15399
114	FELICIANA ENRIQUE (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PASIG	PARIANCILLO	15399
115	LUCIA ARIOLA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	BEATA	15399
116	MARIA LOPES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	PANDACAN	BEATA	15399
117	RUFINA SARMIENTO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	LARDIZABAL	15403
118	RUFINA SARMIENTO (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	LARDIZABAL	15403
119	MACARIA FLORES	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15403
120	DOMINGA DELA ROSA (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	SN. ROQUE	15403
121	RUFINA BOLANOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	SAMPALOC	SALUBAS	15403
122	MARIA BLANCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
123	MARIA BLANCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
124	AGRIFINA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	HERRAN	15403
125	AGRIFINA DELOS SANTOS	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	HERRAN	15403
126	FILOMENA FERNANDEZ	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15403
127	ELENA FRANCISCO	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	PAZ	15403
128	CATALINA ESTEBAN (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	BANGBANG	15403
129	CATALINA ESTEBAN (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	BANGBANG	15403
130	MARIA CONCEPCION	2 MESAS DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	TANGOS	15403
131	YNOCENCIA DAMIAN	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
132	LAUREANA CABRERA	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	HERRAN	15403
133	JUANA LAYOG (DNA.)	MESA DE PANGUINGUE	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403

Appendix 2. List of Female-Owned Casco Vessels in Manila Province, 1894-1896.
 NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*.

NO.	NAME	BUSINESS	DIST./PUEBLO	STREET	SDS SOURCE
1	ROSALIA RIVERA	CASCO NO. 2267	TAMBOBONG	SANTA RITA	15390
2	CRISANTA GONZALES	CASCO NO. 1177	NAVOTAS	REAL	15390
3	CRISANTA GONZALES	CASCO NO. 1781	NAVOTAS	REAL	15390
4	CRISANTA GONZALES	CASCO NO. 1851	NAVOTAS	REAL	15390
5	CRISANTA GONZALES	CASCO NO. 2026	NAVOTAS	REAL	15390
6	EUGENIA VILLONGCO	CASCO NO. 2134	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
7	EUGENIA VILLONGCO	CASCO NO. 2107	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
8	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
9	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
10	JUANA CARREON	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	BALOT	15390
11	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
12	JUANA CARREON	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	BALOT	15390
13	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
14	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
15	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
16	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
17	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
18	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
19	MARIA SANTOS	CASCO	QUIAPO	TANDUAY	15390
20	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390

21	CIPRIANA VIANDO	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TULAY	15390
22	FLORENTINA STA. MARIA	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
23	FLORENTINA STA. MARIA	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
24	FLORENTINA STA. MARIA	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
25	FLORENTINA STA. MARIA	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
26	FLORENTINA STA. MARIA	CASCO	TAMBOBONG	TINAJEROS	15390
27	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
28	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
29	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
30	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
31	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
32	LUISA NAVAL	CASCO	NAVOTAS	SAN JOSE	15390
33	EUGENIA VILLONGCO	CASCO	TAMBOBONG		15390

Appendix 3. List of Female-Operated Wheeled Transports in Manila Province, 1894-1896.
NAP, *Contribucion Industrial*.

NO.	NAME	BUSINESS	DIST./PUEBLO	STREET	SDS SOURCE
1	JUANA LOPES	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	BINONDO	LARA	15390
2	JUANA LOPES	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	BINONDO	LARA	15390
3	MARIA MOER	CARRETON	QUIAPO	SANTA ROSA	15390
4	MARIA MOER	CARRETON	QUIAPO	SANTA ROSA	15390
5	MARIA PRAT	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	MANILA	BINONDO	15390
6	LORENZA GUTIERRES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TAMBOBONG	BANEZ	15390
7	TRINIDAD VALENZUELA	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	SAN SEBASTIAN	15390
8	GUADALUPE TRINIDAD	CARRUAJE DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15390
9	ROSARIO REYES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	LEMERY	15390
10	GERVACIA RONQUILLO	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	ERMITA	HERRAN	15390
11	SALUD ARCE	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	SAN PEDRO	15390
12	CARMEN CLARO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	PAZ	15390
13	CONCEPCION LEYVA	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15390
14	CASIMIRA ANTONIO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	FOLGUERAS	15390
15	MARIA DE LA CRUZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MISERICORDIA	15390
16	GRACIANA ZAMORA	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	PALMA	15390
17	ESCOLASTICA SANTOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	BANCUSAY	15390
18	ESCOLASTICA SANTOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	BANCUSAY	15390
19	JOSEFA JURADO	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	PLAZA DE MIRANDA	15390
20	PETRONA RIVERA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	STA. MONICA	15390
21	CARMEN CHAVARIA	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	MANILA	SAN AGUSTIN	15390
22	CESARIA BONPUA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	MENDOZA	15390
23	JUANA SALINAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAYORGA	15390
24	MARIA MOER	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	SANTA ROSA	15390
25	MARIA MOER	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	SANTA ROSA	15390
26	MARIA MOER	QUILES 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	SANTA ROSA	15390

27	CANUTA GONZALES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15390
28	YSIDORA CABASAL	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15390
29	FELIZA HERNANDEZ	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	SAMPALOC	ALEJANDRO	15392
30	PETRA LAZARO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	ALPEZ DE VEGA	15392
31	PETRONA DY TIONGCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15392
32	PETRONA DY TIONGCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15392
33	SIMONA CERDENA	CARETELA	MALATE	NUEVA	15392
34	PETRONA DY TIONGCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15392
35	YSIDORA GORACHAY	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15392
36	TEODORA GATCHALIAN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SANDE	15392
37	TEODORA GATCHALIAN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SANDE	15392
38	TEODORA GATCHALIAN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SANDE	15392
39	JOSEFA SARUSONA	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	ERMITA	SAN LUIS	15392
40	JOSEFA SARUSONA	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	ERMITA	SAN LUIS	15392
41	AGAPITA DE LOS ANGELES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15392
42	LUCIA SAN BUENAVENTURA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	LEMERY	15392
43	VICENTA ONG YCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	SAN NICOLAS	15392
44	BARCELISA MAYORALGO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	ROMERO	15392
45	JOAQUINA TRINIDAD (VIUDA)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA	MARQUES	15392
46	JOAQUINA TRINIDAD (VIUDA)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA	MARQUES	15392
47	RAYMUNDA VALENZUELA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	1A CALLE	15392
48	BARCELISA MAYORALGO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	ROMERO	15392
49	CONCEPCION JUADO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	CONCORDIA	15392
50	MARTINA RAFAEL	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15392
51	ANGELA PROSPERO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	DULUMBAYAN	15392
52	DOLORES RODRIGUZ	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	BASCO	15392
53	RITA GONZALES	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15392
54	RITA GONZALES	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15392
55	TERESA FRANCES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15392
56	MARIA CALVO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	VICTORIA	15392

57	MARIA REYNOSO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	DILAO	MERCADO	15392
58	YRENEA GARCIA LAZARO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15392
59	YRENEA GARCIA LAZARO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15392
60	TERESA FRANCES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15392
61	MACARIA YSLA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SAGUNTO	15392
62	MARIA AURORA BENITO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	ARLEGUI	15392
63	MIGUELA TANONGCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	FUNDIDOR	15392
64	MIGUELA TANONGCO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	FUNDIDOR	15392
65	ESPERANZA CONCEPCION	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	DILAO	HERRAN	15392
66	MARIA CALVO	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15392
67	MACARIA YSLA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SAGUNTO	15392
68	MANUELA ROJO	CARRUAJE DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	JOLO	15392
69	RUFINA SY-LIANGCO	CARRUAJE DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15392
70	MARIA LUCAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	STA. MARIA	15392
71	HERMENEGILDA ALFARO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA	OBSERBATORIO	15392
72	SOCORRO CRUZ	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	ALCALA	15392
73	SOCORRO CRUZ	QUILES DE 2 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	ALCALA	15392
74	JOSEFA CARO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15392
75	PILAR JOCSO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	TORTUOSA	15392
76	BENIGNA DIZON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	MALATE	NUEVA	15396
77	YLDEFONSA CARREON (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
78	YLDEFONSA CARREON (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
79	YLDEFONSA CARREON (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
80	YLDEFONSA CARREON (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
81	YLDEFONSA CARREON (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
82	BALDOMERA OMANA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15396
83	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRANCA	15396
84	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRANCA	15396
85	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRANCA	15396
86	GENOVEVA PALOMAR	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	ANDA	15396

87	ROMANA ABAT	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15396
88	MATEA GONZALES	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15396
89	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAZ	15396
90	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAZ	15396
91	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAZ	15396
92	MARIA ROQUE	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	MALABON	SAN ROQUE	15396
93	FAUSTINA LAZARO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15396
94	ESTANISLAVA VALERIANA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SANDE	15396
95	MARIA DE LA CRUZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	MEISIC	15396
96	YSIDORA CABASAL	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15396
97	CONCEPCION LEYVA (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTIDOR	15396
98	CONCEPCION LEYVA (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTIDOR	15396
99	CONCEPCION LEYVA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTIDOR	15396
100	CONCEPCION LEYVA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTIDOR	15396
101	CONCEPCION LEYVA (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTIDOR	15396
102	VICTORIANA STA. CRUZ	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SAN MIGUEL		15396
103	BRIGIDA CALITDAN	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	BINONDO	JOLO	15396
104	LUCIA YNOSENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
105	LUCIA YNOSENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
106	LUCIA YNOSENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
107	LUCIA YNOSENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
108	RAFAELA ORLOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLOS	15396
109	RAFAELA ORLOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLOS	15396
110	RUFINA YZON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15396
111	MAXIMINA MANUEL	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15396
112	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
113	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
114	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
115	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
116	MAXIMA REYNA (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	QUIAPO	SAN SEBASTIAN	15396

117	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
118	MARIA PEREYRA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
119	EVARISTA DE OCAMPO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15396
120	CECILIA TAN-TINGCO (DNA.)	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	TROZO	DIAS	15396
121	JUANA BUNAGAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15395
122	GRACIANA PUNO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
123	SIMEONA DE LOS SANTOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	TIMBUGAN	15395
124	PROCESA TIONGJOY	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
125	CARMEN CHAVARRIA (DNA.)	TRANSPORT	YNTRAMUROS	SAN AGUSTIN	15395
126	PROCESA TIONGJOY	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15395
127	AGUSTINA DE LA CRUZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO		15395
128	BARCELISA MAYORALGO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
129	ROSARIO REYES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	LEMERY	15395
130	HILARIA CRUZ DE LEON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA	NUEVA	15395
131	SEGUNDA RIVERA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
132	EVARISTA CASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
133	YSABEL SALCEDO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA	CONCEPCION	15395
134	EVARISTA CASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
135	EVARISTA CASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
136	ESPIRIDIONA SAN BUENAVENTURA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395
137	ESPIRIDIONA SAN BUENAVENTURA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395
138	RUFINA SAMALA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO		15395
139	ANTONIA MARTINES	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
140	GUILLERMA DIAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO		15395
141	AMALIA ALCANTARA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	BEATERIO	15395
142	AMALIA ALCANTARA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	BEATERIO	15395
143	BENITA ZAMORA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
144	BENITA ZAMORA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
145	YNES STO. DOMINGO (DNA.)	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15395
146	EMILIA GUTIERES	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395

147	EMILIA GUTIERES	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
148	ANTONIA VALLEJO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	BAMBANG	15395
149	CONCEPCION JURADO	QUILES DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	CONCORDIA	15395
150	TIMOTEA BAER (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15395
151	URSULA DE DIOS (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
152	PETRONA SANCHEZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	TARAM	15395
153	ANACLETA ATIENZA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15395
154	MARGARITA ASUNCION	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
155	MARGARITA ASUNCION	CARRETON DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
156	OBDULIA LLADOC	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
157	RAFAELA ORLOS (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAN MIGUEL		15395
158	GREGORIA HERRERA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	ARRANQUE	15395
159	RUFINA SY LIANGCO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15395
160	RUFINA SY LIANGCO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15395
161	GREGORIA ARGUELLES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	PANDACAN	LABASAN	15395
162	FELISA SANTOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395
163	JUANA BUNAGAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15395
164	DNA. MARIA SALANOVA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	MOLLO	15395
165	BALTAZARA ABOYA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	MISERICORDIA	15395
166	DNA. SOCORRO MARTINEZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA		15395
167	JUANA BUNAGAN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15395
168	ROSARIO REYES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	LEMERY		15395
169	HILARIA CRUZ DE LEON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	ERMITA	NUEVA	15395
170	SEGUNDA RIVERA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
171	EVARISTA Y CASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
172	YSABEL SALCEDO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	ERMITA	CONCEPCION	15395
173	ANTERA GUEVARA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	BINONDO	SN. FERNANDO	15395
174	EVARISTA YCASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
175	EVARISTA YCASAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	SANTA CRUZ	OROQUIETA	15395
176	ESPIRIDIOSA S. BUENABENTURA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395

177	ESPIRIDIOSA S. BUENABENTURA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC		15395
178	RUSPINA SAMALA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	SAMALA	15395
179	ANTONIA MARTINEZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	TONDO	STA. ELENA	15395
180	TOMASIA ALCANTARA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	YNTRAMUROS	BEATERIO	15395
181	TOMASIA ALCANTARA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	YNTRAMUROS	BEATERIO	15395
182	REMIGIA SAGUINSIN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	SANTA CRUZ	DALUMBAYAN	15395
183	BENITA ZAMORA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	QUIAPO		15395
184	BENITA ZAMORA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	QUIAPO		15395
185	YNEZ STO. DOMINGO (DNA.)	CALESA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15395
186	EMILIA GUTIERES	CARRETON	TONDO		15395
187	EMILIA GUTIERES	CARRETON	TONDO		15395
188	CONCEPCION JURADO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	QUIAPO	CONCORDIA	15395
189	TIMOTEA BAER	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15395
190	JUANA PERALTA	CARRUAJE	SAMPALOC		15395
191	URSULA DE DISO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	TONDO		15395
192	ELENA TRINIDAD	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER - BAJO	TONDO	ACUNA	15395
193	PETRONA SANCHEZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395
194	ANACLETA ALCINA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO		15395
195	MARGARITA ASUNCION	CARRETON	QUIAPO		15395
196	MARGARITA ASUNCION	CARRETON	QUIAPO		15395
197	BENITA MEDINA	CARRUAJE	SAMPALOC		15395
198	OBORULIA LLADOC	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ACEYTEROS	15395
199	RAFAELA ORLAC (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAN MIGUEL		15395
200	GREGORIA HERRERA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	ARRANQUE	15395
201	RUFINA SY LIANGCO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15395
202	RUFINA SY LIANGCO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15395
203	GREGORIA ARGUELLES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	PANDACAN	LABASAN	15395
204	BARBARA SALVADOR	CARRUAJE	BINONDO	SOLER	15395
205	DOLORES RAMOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO		15395
206	FELISA SANTOS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15395

207	JUANA BUNAYAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SAN MARCELINO	15395
208	MARIA SALANOVA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	MOLLO	15395
209	BALTAZARA ABORJA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	QUIAPO	MISERICORDIA	15395
210	SOCORRA MARTINEZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	ERMITA		15395
211	BENIGNA DIZON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	MALATE	NUEVA	15396
212	YLDEFONSA CARRERA (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
213	YLDEFONSA CARRERA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
214	YLDEFONSA CARRERA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
215	YLDEFONSA CARRERA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
216	YLDEFONSA CARRERA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	MAGDALENA	15396
217	BALDOMERA OMANA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ		15396
218	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRACA	15396
219	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRACA	15396
220	EMITERIA SAN JUAN (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	BARRACA	15396
221	GENOVEVA PALOMAR	CARROMATA EDE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	ANDA	15396
222	RAMONA ABAT	QUILES DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15396
223	MATEA GONZALES (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	YNTRAMUROS	CABILDO	15396
224	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAS	15396
225	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAS	15396
226	VALERIANA CO PIACO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	DIAS	15396
227	MARIA ROQUE	QUILES DE ALQUILER	MALATE	SN. ROQUE	15396
228	AGUSTINA LAZARO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15396
229	ESTANISLANA VALERIANA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	SANDE	15396
230	MARIA DELA CRUZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	MEISIC	15396
231	YSIDORA CABASAL	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15396
232	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTEDOR	15396
233	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTEDOR	15396
234	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTEDOR	15396
235	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTEDOR	15396
236	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SANTA CRUZ	CURTEDOR	15396

237	VICTORIANA STA. CRUZ	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAN MIGUEL		15396
238	BRIGIDA CALITDAN	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	JOLO	15396
239	LUCIA YNOCENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
240	LUCIA YNOCENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
241	LUCIA YNOCENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
242	LUCIA YNOCENCIO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TONDO	ENCARNACION	15396
243	RAFAELA ORLOS	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLO	15396
244	RAFAELA ORLOS	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLO	15396
245	RUFINA YZON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15396
246	MAXIMINA MANUEL	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15396
247	MARIA PEREYNA	QUILES DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
248	MARIA PEREYNA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
249	MARIA PEREYNA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
250	MARIA PEREYNA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
251	MAXIMA REYNA (DNA.)	QUILES	QUIAPO	SN. SEBASTIAN	15396
252	MARIA PEREYNA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
253	MARIA PEREYNA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
254	CECILIA TAN TINGCO (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	DIAS	15396
255	JOSEFA DEVANDANTE	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	PAZ	15396
256	GRACIANA ZAMORA	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	MINDA	15396
257	GRACIANA ZAMORA	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	QUIAPO	MINDA	15396
258	JUANA JIMENES	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	DILAO	MARCOS	15396
259	JUANA JIMENES	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	DILAO	MARCOS	15396
260	JUANA JIMENES	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	DILAO	MARCOS	15396
261	DNA YSABEL GRAVIENES (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SAMPALOC	GASTAMBIDE	15396
262	EUSEBIA CAMAPANOS (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
263	EUSEBIA CAMAPANOS (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
264	EUSEBIA CAMAPANOS (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
265	EUSEBIA CAMAPANOS (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
266	EUSEBIA CAMAPANOS (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396

267	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
268	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
269	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
270	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
271	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
272	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
273	CONCEPCION LEYBA (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SANTA CRUZ	CURTADOR	15396
274	RAFAELA ORLAC (DNA.)	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLO	15396
275	MARIA DELA PAZ JUAREZ	COCHE	TONDO	ACEYTERO	15396
276	DOLORESALVARES	CARRUAJE 4 RUEDAS	ERMITA	NUEVA	15396
277	SABINA TACOS	2 CARRETON	CALOOCAN	SAMPALUCAN	15396
278	AMALIA GARCIA	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	QUIAPO	STA. ROSA	15396
279	TRINIDAD DE LUZURIAGA	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15396
280	EUGENIA FIGUEROA	QUILES DE DOS RUEDAS	DILAO	MORALEDA	15396
281	VIELONA CATALAN	CARRETON	BINONDO	MAGALLANES	15396
282	MARIA ALAS (DNA.)	CARRETON	YNTRAMUROS	MAGALLANES	15396
283	EUGENIA NAVARRO	CARRETON	SANTA CRUZ	YRIS	15396
284	PACIENCIA REYES	CARRETON	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15396
285	SIMONA CERDENA	CARRETON	MALATE	NUEVA	15396
286	ROSANNA ACUNA	CARRETON	TROZO	MAGDALENA	15396
287	JUANA SN. JUAN	CARRETON	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15396
288	PETRONA AM DY Q?	2 CARRETON	BINONDO	ELCANO	15396
289	MARIA CONCEPCION VELA	CARRETON	ERMITA	NUEVA	15396
290	PETRONA AM DELOS REYES	CARRETON	BINONDO	ELCANO	15396
291	MANUELA DOMINGUEZ	CARRETON	TONDO	BILBAO	15396
292	MARIA PEREYRA	CARRETON	TROZO	MAGALLANES	15396
293	SABINA TACOS	CARRETON	BINONDO	JOLO	15396
294	MARIA SORIANO (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	ELCANO	15396
295	MARIA SORIANO (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	ELCANO	15396
296	APOLONIA DIAS DE CASTRO	CARRO	BINONDO	JOLO	15396

297	AURORA FRIAS	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	DAVID	15396
298	BRAULIA QUEPANGCO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	NUEVA	15396
299	PERFECTA	QUILES DE ALQUILER	BINONDO	CARVALLO	15396
300	GREGORIA ARGEULLES (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	PANDACAN	STA. MESA	15396
301	YSABEL REMIGIO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	PANDACAN	LABASAN	15396
302	MARIA DELA CRUZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	TORTUORA	15403
303	MARIA DELA CRUZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	TORTUORA	15403
304	MARIA DELA CRUZ (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	TORTUORA	15403
305	ROSARIO CALVO	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	GASTAMBIDE	15403
306	ROSARIO CALVO	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	GASTAMBIDE	15403
307	JUANA CARBALLO	CARROMATA WITH COVER	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15403
308	AGAPITA VICENTE (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
309	TERESA SAN JUAN	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	NAGTAJAN	15403
310	GRICERIA ENRIQUEZ (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	CASTANOS	15403
311	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
312	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
313	SILVESTRA SANDOVAL (DNA.)	CARRETON	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15403
314	ANTONINA CANDELARIO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LARDIZABAL	15403
315	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
316	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
317	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
318	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
319	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
320	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
321	EUGENIA LIM	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
322	FRANCISCA JUAN	3 QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABANDEROS	15403
323	FRANCISCA JUAN	2 CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABANDEROS	15403
324	LUISA LUCAS	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	LABASAN	15403
325	MANUELA LA PUENTE	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15403
326	ESTEFANIA RAMOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15403

327	ESTEFANIA RAMOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15403
328	ESTEFANIA RAMOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15403
329	ESTEFANIA RAMOS (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15403
330	ESTEFANIA RAMOS (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	RETEN	15403
331	BERNARDA VITO (DNA.)	QUILES	SAMPALOC	STA. MESA	15403
332	RAFAELA ORLAC	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLOS	15403
333	RAFAELA ORLAC	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLOS	15403
334	RAFAELA ORLAC	CARRUAJE DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	BUSTILLOS	15403
335	VICTORIA ALVAREZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	ALIX INTERIOR	15403
336	VICTORIA ALVAREZ	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	ALIX INTERIOR	15403
337	ANDREA ATAYDE (DNA.)	QUILES DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15403
338	FELISA HERNANDEZ (DNA.)	CARRUAJE	SAMPALOC	ALEJANDRO VI	15403
339	GREGORIA DE GUSMAN	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	SAMPALOC	SN. ROQUE	15403
340	DOLORES ESBRY	QUILES	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
341	DOLORES ESBRY	3 QUILES	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
342	FRANCA ALVAREZ	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	PAZ	15403
343	FRANCISCA ALVAREZ	CARROMATA	DILAO	PAZ	15403
344	MARIA JACINTO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15403
345	JUANA BUNAYAN	QUILES	DILAO	GONZALES	15403
346	JUANA OLIVOS	QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
347	MANUELA OBREJON	QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN MARCELINO	15403
348	MANUELA OBREJON	QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
349	JOSEFA DIMALANTA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	MARQUES DE COMILLAS	15403
350	JOSEFA DIMALANTA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	MARQUES DE COMILLAS	15403
351	JOSEFA DIMALANTA	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	MARQUES DE COMILLAS	15403
352	ANATOLIA MEJIA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15403
353	AGAPITA DELOS ANGELES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15403
354	JUANA JAVIERAS	2 CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
355	MAXIMINA MANUEL (DNA.)	CARROMATA	DILAO	REAL	15403
356	PLACIDA COMAL	QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403

357	HELETA SANTIAGO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	LABASAN	15403
358	ESPERANZA CONCEPCION	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	HERRAN	15403
359	FELIPA DELOS REYES	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	HERRAN	15403
360	DOLORES ESBRY	4 QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
361	CRISTINA CALDERON	CALESA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
362	ROSARIO FERNANDEZ	QUILES	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
363	EPIFANIA NAGDAS	CARETELA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	MERCED	15403
364	CONCEPCION SARMIENTO	CARROMATA	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
365	FRANCISCA GARCIA	QUILES	DILAO	CORAZON DE JESUS	15403
366	MARIA MOER	CARRETELA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
367	ANATOLIA MEJIA (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	REAL	15403
368	HONORIA MATEO	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
369	FILOMENA SAN MATEO (DNA.)	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	SN. MARCELINO	15403
370	FILOMENA DE SAN MATEO (DNA.)	QUILES	DILAO	SN MARCELINO	15403
371	YSABEL SANCHEZ	CARROMATA	DILAO	PENAFRANCIA	15403
372	EUGENIA FIGUEROA (DNA.)	QUILES	DILAO	REAL	15403
373	MARIA MOER	QUILES DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
374	MAURICIA TRINIDAD (DNA.)	CARRUAJE DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403
375	CRISTINA GUTIERRES CALDERON	CARROMATA DE ALQUILER	DILAO	NOZALED	15403

Appendix 4. List of Female-Owned Cigar/Cigarette Factories in Manila Province, 1894-1896.
NAP, Contribucion Industrial.

NO.	NAME	BUSINESS	DIST./PUEBLO	STREET	SDS NO.
1	PETRONILA MARQUES	ELABORACION DE TABACO CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	BANCUSAY	15392B
2	SEVERINA STA. CRUZ	FABRICA DE CIGARILLOS CON 6 OPERARIAS	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15392B
3	BONIFACIA ADRIANO	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15392
4	SERGIA DE LOS REYES	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 5 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
5	NARCISA ALCOBENIDAS	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	LACOSTE	15397
6	SILVESTRA SANDOVAL	ELABORACION DE TABACOS CON 30 OPERARIAS	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15397
7	DNA. SALOME GUTIERREZ	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 1 OPERARIA	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15397
8	DOROTEA DEL ROSARIO	FABRICA DE TABACOS	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
9	JUANA GONZALES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	SOLIMAN	15397
10	DA. FRAGIDES LAYA	FABRICA DE TABACOS	TROZO	SAN JOSE INT	15397
11	JULIANA ENRIQUES	ELABORACION DE TABACOS CON 3 OPERARIAS	SAMPALOC	SAN ROQUE	15397
12	DNA. SERGIA DE LOS REYES	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 5 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
13	CASIMIRA CHUTO	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 15 OPERARIAS	TONDO	FOLGUERAS	15397
14	SIXTA CRUZ	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	CALERO	15397
15	DNA. MARIA LONTOC BERNABE	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 2 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
16	MANUELA GONZALES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 3 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	PLAZA	15397
17	DNA. CAMILA ANTONIO	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 4 OPERARIAS	SAN MIGUEL	SAN RAFAEL	15397
18	DNA. TARCILA FLORES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 8 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	ARRANQUE	15397
19	MARIA DIAS	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 6 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	TETUAN	15397
20	DNA. VICENTA VELEZ	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 16 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	PRINCIPE	15397
21	BONIFACIA _____	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15397
22	GREGORIA YANGA	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 10 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	SAN VICENTE	15397
23	JULIANA NATIVIDAD	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15397
24	GERTRUDES ALORANDA	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	FUNDICION	15397
25	SILVINA VENTURA	FABRICA DE TABACOS	SANTA CRUZ	PAZ	15397
26	MARIA MAGUIBO	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 3 OPERARIAS	TONDO	P RADA	15397

27	ANTONIA GUEVARA	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 10 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	SAN FERNANDO	15397
28	JACINTA PARALAN	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 13 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	LAVEZARES	15397
29	DNA. MAXIMA JOSE	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	QUIAPO	VILLALOBOS	15397
30	MATEA TORRES	FABRICA DE CIGARILLOS CON 10 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	MABOLO	15397
31	DNA. JUANA SAN JUAN	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	MEISIC	15397
32	RUFINA APOSTOL	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15397
33	LEONCIA CRUZ	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 12 OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15397
34	FELICIANA BERNARDO	ELABORACION DE TABACOS CON 7 OPERARIAS	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15397
35	FELICIANA BERNARDO	ELABORACION DE TABACOS CON 6 OPERARIAS	TROZO	SAN JOSE	15397
36	HERMENEGILDA GACHILLAN	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 5 OPERARIAS	TONDO	POLOMPON	15397
37	CRISPINA MIRANDA	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 4 OPERARIAS	TONDO	LEMERY	15397
38	DNA. VICENTA LARA	FABRICA DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	LEON XIII	15397
39	TEODORICA BREA	ELABORACION DE CIGARILLOS CON 10 CIGARRILLERAS	QUIAPO	NORZAGARAY	15397
40	DNA. POTENCIANA DEL ROSARIO	ELABORACION DE TABACOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	ALMANZA	15397
41	CIRILA ARCINAS	FABRICA DE TABACO	BINONDO	ELCANO	15397
42	EUGENIA GUIDOTE	FABRICA DE TABACO	SAMPALOC	ALIX	15395
43	CRISPINA MIRANDA	ELABORACION DE TABACO CON 12 OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15395
44	CRISPINA MIRANDA	ELABORACION DE TABACO CON 3 OPERARIAS	PINEDA	SAN RAFAEL	15395
45	MARIA MAGUIBO	FABRICA DE TABACO	TONDO		15400
46	TEODORA SULAY	FABRICA DE TABACO	BINONDO	ASUNCION	15395
47	NARCISA ALCOBENIDAS	FABRICA DE TABACO	SANTA CRUZ	LACOSTE	15397
48	SALOME GUTIERES	FABRICA DE TABACO	BINONDO	BARCELONA	15397
49	DOROTEA DEL ROSARIO	FABRICA DE TABACO	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
50	JUANA GONZALES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	SOLINAN	15397
51	DNA. FRANGIDES LAYA	FABRICA DE TABACO	TROZO	SAN JOSE INTERIOR	15397
52	JULIANA ENRIQUEZ	ELABORACION DE TABACOS	SAMPALOC	SAN ROQUE	15397
53	DNA. SERGIA DELOS REYES	FABRICA DE TABACO	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
54	CASIMIRA ____	FABRICA DE TABACO	TONDO	FOLGUERAS	15397
55	SIXTA CRUZ	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE DOS OPERARIAS	TONDO	CALERO	15397
56	DNA. MARIA LONTOC BERNABE	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON DE DOS OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	SERVAVER	15397

57	MANUELA GONZALES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO	SANTA CRUZ	PLAZA	15397
58	DNA. CAMILA ANTONIO	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE TABACOS CIGARRILLOS DE 4 OPERARIAS	SAN MIGUEL	SAN RAFAEL	15397
59	DNA. TARCILA FLORES	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE TABACOS CIGARRILLOS DE 8 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	ARRANQUE	15397
60	MARIA DIAS	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 6 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	TETUAN	15397
61	DNA. VICENTA VELEZ	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON 16 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	PEREYRA	15397
62	BONIFACIA AINAUD	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO CON DOS OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15397
63	GREGORIA YANGA	FABRICA DE TABACO DE 10 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	SAN VICENTE	15397
64	JULIANA NATIVIDAD	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	GAGALANGIN	15397
65	GERTRUDES LLORANDA	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 10 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	FUNDIBAS?	15397
66	SILONA VENTURA	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 10 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	PAZ	15397
67	MARIA MAGUIBO	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 3 OPERARIAS	TONDO	P. RADA	15397
68	ANTONIA GUEVARA	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 10 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	S. FERNANDO	15397
69	JACINTA PARALAU	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 13 OPERARIAS	BINONDO	LAVEZARES	15397
70	DNA. MAXIMA JOSE	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 2 OPERARIAS	QUIAPO	VILLALOBOS	15397
71	MATEA TORRES	FABRICA DE CIGARILLOS CON 10 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	MABOLO	15397
72	DNA. GAVINA DELOS SANTOS	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 16 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	CERVANTES	15397
73	RUFINA APOSTOL	ELABORACION A DOMICILIO DE 2 OPERARIAS (CIGARILLOS)	SANTA CRUZ	MAGDALENA	15397
74	LEONCIA CRUZ	FABRICA DE TABACOS DE 12 OPS	BINONDO	YLAYA	15397
75	FELICIANA BERNANRDO	ELABORACION DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 7 OPERARIAS	TROZO	SN. JOSE	15397
76	HERMEGILDA GACHILLAN	FABRICA DE TABACOS DE 5 OPERARIAS	TONDO	POLUMPON	15397
77	CRISPINA MIRANDA	ELABORACION DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS DE 4 OPERARIAS	TONDO	LEMERY	15397
78	DNA. VICENTA LARA	FABRICA DE TABACOS DE 2 OPERARIAS	TONDO	LEON	15397
79	TEODORA BREA	ELABORACION DE CIGARILLOS A MANO CON 10 CIGARILLERAS	QUIAPO	NORZAGARAY	15397
80	DNA. POTENCIANA DEL ROSARIO	FABRICA DE TABACOS DE 2 OPERARIAS	SANTA CRUZ	AMYLNAN	15397
81	CRISPINA MIRANDA	ELABORACION DE TABACOS	TONDO	YLAYA	15397
82	CRISPINA MIRANDA	ELABORACION DE TABACOS	PINEDA	SN. RAFAEL	15397
83	MARIA MAGUIBO	ELABORACION DE TABACOS	UNKNOWN		15397
84	VICENTA VELES	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	TONDO	YLAYA	15400
85	VICENTA VELES	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	BINONDO	PEREYRA	15400
86	ALEJANDRA SEVILLA	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	BINONDO	CAUNDA	15400

87	MARIA MAGUIBO	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	TONDO	LEON	15395
88	MARCIANA ANG TUCO	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS	PASIG	MAPAGONG	15399
89	AMALIA BARTOLOME	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	PASIG	MALINAO	15399
90	DNA. MARIA PAZ SANTOS	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS CON OPERARIAS	PASIG	SN. JOSE	15399
91	INDIANA ENRIQUES	FABRICA DE TABACOS Y CIGARILLOS	SAMPALOC	SN. ROQUE	15403

Appendix 5. Listed Cigarreras in Binondo, 1887.
 NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	RES/MIG
1	Petrona	de Leon	53	vdo	Resident
2	Timotea	Apolonio	22	sol	Resident
3	Crispina	Lorenzo	55	cdo	Resident
4	Dionisia	Martinez	23	cdo	Resident
5	Julia	Cayetano	20	cdo	Resident
6	Juana	Tolentino	22	cdo	Resident
7	Catalina	Francisco	29	cdo	Resident
8	Juana	Bautista	21	sol	Resident
9	Ambrosia	de Castro	37	vdo	Resident
10	Cleotilde	Saballa	60	cdo	Resident
11	Melchora	Ardon	27	sol	Resident
12	Tomasa	Lumos	26	cdo	Resident
13	Engracia	Jacinto	41	cdo	Resident
14	Ursula	Jacinto	45	cdo	Resident
15	Leonora	de Gusman	25	sol	Resident
16	Manuela	Adrial	25	vdo	Resident
17	Aleja	Luna	24	sol	Resident
18	Escolastica	Salcedo	19	sol	Resident
19	Juana	Manabad	27	sol	Migrant
20	Agustina	David	21	cdo	Migrant
21	Petrona		35	cdo	Resident
22	Agustina	de Leon	30	cdo	Migrant
23	Aniceta		20	cdo	Migrant
24	Brijida	del Rosario	61	vdo	Migrant
25	Silvestra	Evangelista	28	sol	Migrant
26	Severa	San Juan	40	cdo	Migrant

27	Felipa	Suriano	38	sol	Resident
28	Juliana	Ygnacio	37	vdo	Migrant
29	Felisiana	Tecson	28	sol	Migrant
30	Basilia	de la Cruz	19	sol	Resident
31	Engracia	Yson	37	cdo	Resident
32	Francisca	Hernandes	62		Resident
33	Eusebia	de Luna	29	sol	Resident
34	Cirila	Patricio	53	vdo	Resident
35	Alejandra	Alquiza	34	sol	Resident
36	Severina	Crisostomo	34	sol	Resident
37	Maria	Cruz	25	cdo	Resident
38	Maria	Aguilar	48	cdo	Resident
39	Petrona	Sauriano	43	cdo	Resident
40	Casimera	Marcelino	30	sol	Resident
41	Teodora	Torla	27	cdo	Resident
42	Lina	Angeles	60	vdo	Resident
43	Maria	Buenaventura	42	vdo	Resident
44	Justa	Buenaventura	68	cdo	Resident
45	Candida	Tamayo	22	cdo	Resident
46	Alejandra	Villanueva	50	cdo	Resident
47	Epifania	Alvares	67	vdo	Resident
48	Ysabel	Tarrosa	65	vdo	Resident
49	Fortunata	del Castillo	65	cdo	Resident
50	Valentina	Mendiola	22	sol	Resident
51	Guillerma	Balderrama	22	vdo	Resident
52	Maria	San Juan	18	sol	Resident
53	Eribesta	Digneta	21	cdo	Resident
54	Ana	delos Reyes	30	sol	Resident
55	Melesia	Santiago	26	cdo	Resident
56	Manuela	Francisco	36	cdo	Resident

57	Josefa	Yande	63	vdo	Resident
58	Luna	Narciso	26	cdo	Resident
59	Juliana	Bautista	25	cdo	Resident
60	Bugisa	Bartolome	22	sol	Resident
61	Margarita	Manuel	20	sol	Resident
62	Juana	Yarde	22	cdo	Resident
63	Anastasia	dela Cruz	27	cdo	Resident
64	Ynes	Vital	39	cdo	Resident
65	Filomena	de Leon	37	vdo	Resident
66	Juana	Crisostomo	38	cdo	Resident
67	Francisca	Soriano	16	sol	Resident
68	Carmen	Asban	27	cdo	Resident
69	Aleja	dela Cruz	41	vdo	Resident
70	Basilia	de Leon	32	cdo	Resident
71	Apolinaria	Aguilar	30	cdo	Resident
72	Maria	Vital	31	sol	Resident
73	Tiburcia	Osorio	30	cdo	Resident
74	Miguela	Basa	29	cdo	Resident
75	Margarita	Martinez	27	cdo	Resident
76	Ambrocia	Andrade	33	sol	Resident
77	Francisca	Gonzales	23	sol	Resident
78	Ygnacia	Celis	36	cdo	Resident
79	Matea	Aquino	30	cdo	Resident
80	Raymunda	Sacay	33	cdo	Resident
81	Urzola	Serrano	57	vdo	Resident
82	Pletilde	Esguerra	23	vdo	Resident
83	Ynes	Peres	20	sol	Resident
84	Fabiana	Achunon	25	sol	Resident
85	Francisca	Tisa	20	sol	Resident
86	Francisca	Banta	20	sol	Resident

87	Clara	Balungos	27	cdo	Resident
88	Hermogena	Francisco	30	sol	Resident
89	Esperanza	Duran	26	cdo	Resident
90	Camila		31	cdo	Resident
91	Basilia	Estevan	46	vdo	Resident
92	Teodora	Capinpin	28	sol	Resident
93	Leonora	Garcia	40	cdo	Resident
94	Regina	Enriques	26	cdo	Resident
95	Juana	Alcantara	31	cdo	Resident
96	Juana	Benito	37	sol	Resident
97	Regina	Santiago	48	vdo	Resident
98	Gregoria	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident
99	Maria	Concepcion	25	sol	Resident
100	Feliciano	Arias	22	sol	Resident
101	Juliana	de Vega	19	sol	Resident
102	Severina	dela Cruz	18	cdo	Resident
103	Basilia	San Pedro	36	vdo	Resident
104	Lorenza	Peres	17	sol	Resident
105	Maria	Santa Ana	21	cdo	Resident
106	Ysabel	Villano	20	cdo	Resident
107	Ynes	Baluyod	47	cdo	Resident
108	Severina	Risic	30	vdo	Resident
109	Estifania	Maipis	23	sol	Resident
110	Venancia	de Gusman	56	vdo	Resident
111	Valentina	de Guevara	24	sol	Resident
112	Ciriaca	Bartolome	65	vdo	Resident
113	Ambrosia	Peres	29	sol	Resident
114	Juliana	Nicudemus	29	cdo	Resident
115	Gabriela	del Mundo	47	cdo	Resident
116	Alejandra	Mallari	40	cdo	Resident

117	Severa	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
118	Eulalia	Estrevillo	39	vdo	Resident
119	Eupema	Nogales	22	vdo	Resident
120	Catalina	Pantaleon	17	cdo	Resident
121	Ygnacia	Lara	26	cdo	Resident
122	Macaria	Juad	32	vdo	Resident
123	Carmen	Crus	20	sol	Resident
124	Mauricia	Navarro	25	sol	Resident
125	Jacoba	Velasco	30	cdo	Resident
126	Escolastica	Villanueva	25	sol	Resident
127	Maria	Teodoro	39	vdo	Resident
128	Pascuala	Decena	40	vdo	Resident
129	Maria	Francisco	28	sol	Resident
130	Petrona	Hernandez	37	vdo	Resident
131	Clara	Paulino	25	sol	Resident
132	Gregoria	Garcia	24	cdo	Resident
133	Aleja	Cerdan	30	sol	Resident
134	Sebastiana	Bautista	31	sol	Resident
135	Raymunda	Domingo	31	sol	Resident
136	Pascuala	Medina	27	sol	Resident
137	Tomasa	de San Juan	69	cdo	Resident
138	Veronica	Ponsalan	32	cdo	Resident
139	Manuela	dela Cruz	28	sol	Resident
140	Catalina	José	29	vdo	Resident
141	Josefa	Oliva	32	cdo	Resident
142	Petrona	Martinez	23	cdo	Resident
143	Juana	Santiago	21	sol	Resident
144	Remigia	Yabot	21	sol	Resident
145	Ysidra	Leon	29	cdo	Resident
146	Ysidra	Sevilla	30	cdo	Resident

147	Maria	de Castro	57	cdo	Resident
148	Teresa	Navoa	27	cdo	Resident
149	Severa	Hernandez	21	cdo	Resident
150	Felipa	Soriano	27	cdo	Resident
151	Agustina	dela Cruz	33	vdo	Resident
152	Luisa	Gutierrez	28	sol	Resident
153	Lucia	Salanay	25	sol	Resident
154	Rosa	Roque	27	cdo	Resident
155	Maria	Alvarez	21	cdo	Resident
156	Juana	Bauaga	18	cdo	Resident
157	Juliana	Marques	31	sol	Resident
158	Luciana	Marques	32	sol	Resident
159	Ynocencia	Morales	22	sol	Resident
160	Guillerma	de Castro	66	cdo	Resident
161	Margarita	Tolentino	32	sol	Resident
162	Basilia	Maglapit	22	cdo	Resident
163	Nasaria	Estaña	51	vdo	Resident
164	Severina	Rivera	26	sol	Resident
165	Magdalena	Feron	20	sol	Resident
166	Maria	Maquibo	62	vdo	Resident
167	Eucebia	Quintera	61	cdo	Resident
168	Nicasia	Vergara	26	sol	Resident
169	Maria	Valencia	30	sol	Resident
170	Paulina	Garcia	19	sol	Resident
171	Severina	Salansang	19	sol	Resident
172	Eleuteria	Salansang	28	sol	Resident
173	Bondaua	Malunte	21	cdo	Resident
174	Francisca	Dadre?	39	sol	Resident
175	Florencia	Macalili	20	cdo	Resident
176	Paulina	del Carmen	24	sol	Resident

177	Marina	José	30	cdo	Resident
178	Petrona	Crespo	41	cdo	Resident
179	Ysabel	dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
180	Maria	Cruz	32	vdo	Resident
181	Cayetana	Laiz	26	sol	Resident
182	Regina	Morales	25	cdo	Resident
183	Magdalena	Vilesario	56	vdo	Resident
184	Eucebia	Ramos	51	cdo	Resident
185	Pascuala	Legaspi	38	vdo	Resident
186	Simplicia	Pugay	24	cdo	Resident
187	Hilaria	Manayan	19	sol	Resident
188	Eulalia	San Juan	23	cdo	Resident
189	Clara	Ramires	19	sol	Resident
190	Lorenza	Vicencio	27	sol	Resident
191	Juliana	de la Cruz	32	sol	Resident
192	Severita	Ramos	33	cdo	Resident
193	Canula	Palma	41	vdo	Resident
194	Teodora	Zamora	29	cdo	Resident
195	Baldomera	de Gusman	29	cdo	Resident
196	Bonifacia	Obispo	32	cdo	Resident
197	Reduimda	García	41	cdo	Resident
198	Eugenia	dela Cruz	32	vdo	Resident
199	Ygnacia	Villanueva	30	sol	Resident
200	Falavia	Gabriel	20	sol	Resident
201	Florencia	Lazaro	19	cdo	Resident
202	Clemencia	Manalo	29	sol	Resident
203	Fernanda	delos Santos	28	sol	Resident
204	Dominga	Bactad	28	sol	Resident
205	Gertrudes	de Vera	32	cdo	Resident
206	Macaria	Primero	22	sol	Resident

207	Maria	Manuel	40	cdo	Resident
208	Damiana	Gutierrez	29	sol	Resident
209	Maximiana	delos Santos	20	cdo	Resident
210	Luisa	Galverto	30	cdo	Resident
211	Adriana	Buenaventura	19	cdo	Resident
212	Andrea	Gachillan	23	sol	Resident
213	Juana	Simon	30	cdo	Resident
214	Baltasara	Maralinao	27	cdo	Resident
215	Ysabel	Villanueva	33	cdo	Resident
216	Simplicia	Sta. Ynes	24	cdo	Resident
217	Agatona	Francisco	24	sol	Resident
218	Eustaquia	Simon	29	sol	Resident
219	Francisca	Ludia_	30	sol	Resident
220	Dorotea	Fernandes	38	cdo	Resident
221	Alfonsa	Marcalas	30	vdo	Resident
222	Rafaela	Villarama	32	sol	Resident
223	Martina	delos Reyes	22	sol	Resident
224	Bernarda	Mospara	30	vdo	Resident
225	Simiona	Morales	19	sol	Resident
226	Juana	de los Reyes	26	cdo	Resident
227	Antonia	Costantino	26	vdo	Resident
228	Maria	Sto. Angel	40	cdo	Resident
229	Leocadia	Aguilar	24	cdo	Resident
230	Agata	Baltazar	31	vdo	Resident
231	Faustina	Dunucan	31	sol	Resident
232	Pioquinta	Olores	30	cdo	Resident
233	Pascua	delos Reyes	27	cdo	Resident
234	Severa	delos Reyes	22	cdo	Resident
235	Espiridiona	Rodriguez	18	cdo	Resident
236	Modesta	Francisco	56	vdo	Resident

237	Francisca	Gonzales	30	cdo	Resident
238	Leoncia	Perez	18	cdo	Resident
239	Miguela	dela Cruz	22	cdo	Resident
240	Federica	Gomez	51	vdo	Resident
241	Saturnina	Carlos	33	cdo	Resident
242	Bernardina	Tobias	22	sol	Resident
243	Juana	Rivera	28	cdo	Resident
244	Eulalia	Hernandez	22	cdo	Resident
245	Angela	del Carmen	20	cdo	Resident
246	Apolonia	dela Cruz	27	cdo	Resident
247	Silvera	Victoriano	24	sol	Resident
248	Cirila	Guibaran	22	cdo	Resident
249	Eladia	Daplin	21	cdo	Resident
250	Josefa	Vargas	32	vdo	Resident
251	Anaclea	Aguilar	37	cdo	Resident
252	Eulalia	Benito	18	cdo	Resident
253	Petrona	Marcelo	31	sol	Resident
254	Martina	delos Santos	43	vdo	Resident
255	Juana	Tolentino	26	cdo	Resident
256	Eslaba	Sapanta	41	cdo	Resident
257	Placida	Ponciano	20	sol	Resident
258	Sirapia	Tubias	29	cdo	Resident
259	Matea	Salay	29	cdo	Resident
260	Petra	Edurgio	35	vdo	Resident
261	Narcisa	Buenaventura	43	cdo	Resident
262	Silveria	Gamboala	27	sol	Resident
263	Ancelma	Bernabi	54	sol	Resident
264	Juana	dela Cruz	28	sol	Resident
265	Catalina	Baltazar	17	sol	Resident
266	Florentina	Vicente	31	sol	Resident

267	Manuela	Bas	28	sol	Resident
268	Luisa	Patrisio	39	cdo	Resident
269	Clemencia	Morales	49	cdo	Resident
270	Calixta	Patricio	36	cdo	Resident
271	Saturnina	Diego	55	cdo	Resident
272	Juana	Jason	21	sol	Resident
273	Juana	Calveto	36	vdo	Resident
274	Lucia	Tolentino	25	sol	Resident
275	Alejandra	Elizalde	39	cdo	Resident
276	Manuela	Ferrer	26	sol	Resident
277	Juliana	Ferrer	24	sol	Resident
278	Paula	Macario	42	cdo	Resident
279	Nicolasa	dela Concepcion	31	sol	Resident
280	Luisa	Principe	28	cdo	Resident
281	Romana	Nuñez	39	sol	Resident
282	Dominga	Reyes	24	cdo	Resident
283	Gavina	Tinopla	39	cdo	Resident
284	Juliana	Estanislao	37	cdo	Resident
285	Margarita	Gomez	38	vdo	Resident
286	Martina	dela Cruz	50	sol	Resident
287	Graciana	Coronel	32	vdo	Resident
288	Damasa	Jimenes	50	vdo	Resident
289	Eustaquia	Ybanes	40	vdo	Resident
290	Paula	Buenaventura	32	sol	Resident
291	Fermina	delos Reyes	27	cdo	Resident
292	Asuncion	Sevilla	25	cdo	Resident
293	Eugenia	Vicente	34	cdo	Resident
294	Silvina	de Gusman	33	vdo	Resident
295	Benita	Miguel	31	sol	Resident

296	Dionicia	Villanueva	31	cdo	Resident
297	Valentina	Benites	34	sol	Resident
298	Magdalena	Geronimo	25	sol	Resident
299	Potenciana	de Jesus	61	vdo	Resident
300	Ysabel	Mariano	34	cdo	Resident
301	Epifania	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
302	Rita	Cabigan	20	cdo	Resident
303	Monica	dela Cruz	26	sol	Resident
304	Bernardina	Caras	27	sol	Resident
305	Epifania	Malig	19	sol	Resident
306	Vicenta	Valentino	50	vdo	Resident
307	Martina	Baloza	28	vdo	Resident
308	Brigida	dela Cruz	27	sol	Resident
309	Justa	Canoy	42	cdo	Resident
310	Ysabel	Zamora	31	sol	Resident
311	Petrona	Zamora	32	cdo	Resident
312	Evarista	Soriano	45	vdo	Resident
313	Simona	Dias	35	cdo	Resident
314	Perfecta	Ordoñez	20	sol	Resident
315	Gregoria	Galves	49	sol	Resident
316	Catalina	del Rosario	28	sol	Resident
317	Marcela	Graganta	24	cdo	Resident
318	Marcela	Jose	20	cdo	Resident
319	Francisca	Soriano	45	cdo	Resident
320	Toribia	Agustin	28	sol	Resident
321	Clara	Garcia	30	cdo	Resident
322	Ponciana	Pascual	45	cdo	Resident
323	Florentina	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
324	Monica	Nicolas	25	vdo	Resident
325	Agustina	Almonte	30	cdo	Resident

326	Juana	Villanueva	44	cdo	Resident
327	Gregoria	Bautista	20	sol	Resident
328	Maria	Rodriguez	28	cdo	Resident
329	Juana	Roanan	18	sol	Resident
330	Maria	Joaquin	23	sol	Resident
331	Agueda	Manalo	25	sol	Resident
332	YSabel	Teangco	22	sol	Resident
333	Felipa	delos Reyes	24	cdo	Resident
334	Saturnina	dela Cruz	51	vdo	Resident
335	Marta	Trinidad	21	cdo	Resident
336	Silvina	dela Cruz	46	vdo	Resident
337	Maria	Francisco	28	sol	Resident
338	Paulina	Bautista	17	sol	Resident
339	Dominga	Manalo	72	cdo	Resident
340	Daustina	Sarmiento	90	cdo	Resident
341	Ygmidia	Manuel	18	sol	Resident
342	Sotera	Prionel	22	cdo	Resident
343	Francisca	Ponse	32	vdo	Resident
344	Leoncia	San Jose	31	vdo	Resident
345	Petrona	Bartolome	22	cdo	Resident
346	Rafaela	Sebastiana	21	cdo	Resident
347	Liverata	Escueta	22	cdo	Resident
348	Vicenta	Gallardo	25	sol	Resident
349	Clara	Saturnina	29	sol	Resident
350	Ysabel	Capilig	36	cdo	Resident
351	Luisa	Salig	26	cdo	Resident
352	Luisa	Canuto	57	vdo	Resident
353	Salome	Francisco	61	vdo	Resident
354	Felipa	Roman	27	sol	Resident
355	Andrea	Juan	54	sol	Resident

356	Teodora	dela Cruz	19	cdo	Resident
357	Ysabel	San Juan	45	vdo	Resident
358	Petrona	Baitan	26	sol	Resident
359	Antonia	Manipul	43	cdo	Resident
360	Luisa	Cruz	25	cdo	Resident
361	Candida	Reyes	21	sol	Resident
362	Joaquina	Masea	84	cdo	Resident
363	Emica	Daoit	36	cdo	Resident
364	Aniceta	Crispin	20	sol	Resident
365	Gregoria	Geronimo	30	sol	Resident
366	Barceliza	delos Santos	29	sol	Resident
367	Francisca	del Carmen	81	sol	Resident
368	Juana	dela Cruz	66	vdo	Resident
369	Rufina	Concepcion	36	cdo	Resident
370	Juana	Francisco	48	cdo	Resident
371	Rartina	Santiago	29	sol	Resident
372	Tomasa	delos Santos	65	sol	Resident
373	Maria	Villena	27	sol	Resident
374	Merced	Tagle	30	sol	Resident
375	Praxedes	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident
376	Benita	dela Cruz	33	cdo	Resident
377	Agapita	dela Cruz	30	cdo	Resident
378	Marta	de Jesus	46	vdo	Resident
379	Juana	Cabantog	27	cdo	Resident
380	Calista	dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident
381	Juana	Callado	30	cdo	Resident
382	Vicenta	Esguerra	40	cdo	Resident
383	Florentina	Morales	27	cdo	Resident
384	Juliana	Antonia	30	cdo	Resident
385	Felipa	Manosca	26	vdo	Resident

386	Victoriana	Dominguez	27	sol	Resident
387	Emiteria	Legaspi	23	sol	Resident
388	Bernardina	Feliciano	25	sol	Resident
389	Marcela	Robeso	38	sol	Resident
390	Gavina	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
391	Agueda	Guevarra	30	cdo	Resident
392	Teodora	Silos	30	sol	Resident
393	Leoncia	Ruistano	22	cdo	Resident
394	Pragedes	dela Cruz	32	sol	Resident
395	Esberta	dela Cruz	22	cdo	Resident
396	Pascuala	Catorre	27	sol	Resident
397	Eugenia	Gerilla	40	cdo	Resident
398	Yrine	Esguerra	32	sol	Resident
399	Ysabel	delos Reyes	36	cdo	Resident
400	Agapita	Bernabe	22	sol	Resident
401	Sotera	dela Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
402	Regina	Leandra	34	vdo	Resident
403	Catalina	Rosario	36	sol	Resident
404	Matea	Villanueva	30	cdo	Resident
405	Juana	Castillo	37	cdo	Resident
406	Cipriana	Magbitao	24	cdo	Resident
407	Alejandra	Soria	27	cdo	Resident
408	Maria	Carpio	21	sol	Resident
409	Maxima	Francisco	23	cdo	Resident
410	Luisa	Cesar	29	sol	Resident
411	Lucia	Valedoz	21	sol	Resident
412	Geronima	Silva	18	sol	Resident
413	Dominga	Regado	28	sol	Resident
414	Simona	Villo	23	sol	Resident
415	Bernardina	Rotin	35	sol	Resident

416	Juliana	Montoya	30	vdo	Resident
417	Canuta	Lira	22	cdo	Resident
418	Maria	Bastas	18	sol	Resident
419	Angustia	Ronquillo	27	cdo	Resident
420	Escolastica	Bondoc	26	cdo	Resident
421	Agapita	Miguel	32	vdo	Resident
422	Petrona	Pajaros	27	vdo	Resident
423	Lucia	Reyes	30	cdo	Resident
424	Raymunda	Guason	29	cdo	Resident
425	Antera	Tamayo	21	cdo	Resident
426	Faustina	Dayao	52	vdo	Resident
427	Juana	Magable	19	sol	Resident
428	Agrifina	Estevan	34	sol	Resident
429	Maria	Concepcion	29	sol	Resident
430	Jacinta	Pascual	24	sol	Resident
431	Simeona	delos Reyes	22	sol	Resident
432	Epefania	Taype	24	sol	Resident
433	Gregoria	Vace	20	sol	Resident
434	Petra	Ramos	46	vdo	Resident
435	Petrona	Donato	47	vdo	Resident
436	Juliana	Vace	28	sol	Resident
437	Fernanda	de Luna	20	sol	Resident
438	Aguida	Javier	56	vdo	Resident
439	Alejandra	Francisco	38	vdo	Resident
440	Bartola	Reyes	20	cdo	Resident
441	Benita	Blasa	19	sol	Resident
442	Vicenta	Fidelina	50	vdo	Resident
443	Paula	dela Cruz	60	sol	Resident
444	Justa	Dayao	26	sol	Resident
445	Juana	delos Reyes	30	cdo	Resident

446	Manuela	dela Cruz	39	vdo	Resident
447	Antonina	Ylao	30	sol	Resident
448	Rita	Sumana	36	sol	Resident
449	Seberina	Capulong	32	cdo	Resident
450	Ciriaca	Francisca	33	cdo	Resident
451	Dominga	Alcantara	25	sol	Resident
452	Juliana	Mercado	20	sol	Resident
453	Angela	Santos	25	cdo	Resident
454	Juana	delos Santos	27	sol	Resident
455	Rufina	Santiago	28	sol	Resident
456	Quiteria	Lopez	41	sol	Resident
457	Leoncia	Romero	39	sol	Resident
458	Dolores	delos Santos	26	sol	Resident
459	Maxima	Romero	49	vdo	Resident
460	Dominga	Fernandez	27	sol	Resident
461	Faustina	Tantuano	41	vdo	Resident
462	Epifania	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident
463	Fernanda	dela Peña	19	sol	Resident
464	Dionicia	delos Reyes	29	cdo	Resident
465	Filomena	Espiritu	19	sol	Resident
466	Dominga	Flores	22	sol	Resident
467	Crisanta	Manuel	27	cdo	Resident
468	Paulina	Herrera	24	cdo	Resident
469	Felipa	San Pedro	56	cdo	Resident
470	Victoria	Policarpio	27	sol	Resident
471	Antonia	Policarpio	24	sol	Resident
472	Roperta	dela Cruz	37	sol	Resident
473	Tranquilina	Navarro	34	cdo	Resident
474	Cornelia	Basilio	26	sol	Resident
475	Juana	Pascual	41	sol	Resident

476	Maria	Bernardo	20	sol	Resident
477	Carlota	Magdalen	41	vdo	Resident
478	Victoriana	Carlos	22	sol	Resident
479	Maria	Cabrera	36	sol	Resident
480	Eugenia	Gomes	37	sol	Resident
481	Pioquinta	Rosario	57	sol	Resident
482	Procesa	Tolentino	21	sol	Resident
483	Gregoria	dela Cruz	26	sol	Resident
484	Maria	Ygnacio	84	vdo	Resident
485	Cirila	Bentillo	25	cdo	Resident
486	Mecayla	Rendomdola	29	vdo	Resident
487	Valentina	delos Santos	34	cdo	Resident
488	Apolona	San Agustin	29	sol	Resident
489	Sawicana	Dela Cruz	44	cdo	Resident
490	Macaria	Dela Cruz	24	sol	Resident
491	Natalia	Fuentevella	36	sol	Resident
492	Juliana	Felipe	37	vdo	Resident
493	Gavina	Alcantara	48	cdo	Resident
494	Victorina	De los Santos	26	vdo	Resident
495	Teodora	Geron	26	cdo	Resident
496	Severina	Villaluz	28	cdo	Resident
497	Ciriaca	Garcia	26	sol	Resident
498	Maria	Bautista	30	sol	Resident
499	Angela	De los Angeles	29	cdo	Resident
500	Maria	De los Reyes	37	sol	Resident
501	Ariana	Guzman	20	cdo	Resident
502	Alejandra	Mallares	60	vdo	Resident
503	Florenina	Bartola	20	cdo	Resident
504	Gregoria	De los Reyes	20	cdo	Resident

505	Dominga	Lopes	49	vdo	Resident
506	Severina	Martinez	30	sol	Resident
507	Gregoria	Sanches	20	sol	Resident
508	Juliana	Consolacion	28	sol	Resident
509	Trinidad	Romano	26	cdo	Resident
510	Bernarda	Teodorico	22	cdo	Resident
511	Agata	Canamtog	26	sol	Resident
512	Eulogia	De los Santos	25	sol	Resident
513	Serapia	Simon	34	cdo	Resident
514	Margarita	Simon	37	vdo	Resident
515	Zamora	Roman	21	sol	Resident
516	Alfonza	Dela Cruz	36	sol	Resident
517	Severina	Cruz	40	cdo	Resident
518	Emanuela	Valencia	39	cdo	Resident
519	Dorotea	Perez	43	cdo	Resident
520	Macaria	Silva	37	vdo	Resident
521	Cirila	Cruz	21	sol	Resident
522	Severina	Reyes	20	sol	Resident
523	Pabiona	Reyes	20	cdo	Resident
524	Agralia	Bautista	46	cdo	Resident
525	Eugenia	Mendoza	25	cdo	Resident
526	Juana	Tagle	50	sol	Resident
527	Dorotea	Tagle	34	sol	Resident
528	Adriana	Tamayo	35	cdo	Resident
529	Dionisia	Tolentino	50	vdo	Resident
530	Angela	Dela Cruz	40	cdo	Resident
531	Victoriana	Santiago	35	sol	Resident
532	Leonarda	Abson	24	sol	Resident
533	Bernarda	Dela Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
534	Rafaela	Dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident

535	Epifania	Tuason	38	sol	Resident
536	Felipa	Saltal	21	cdo	Resident
537	Estefania	Bono	19	sol	Resident
538	Maria	Molina	38	sol	Resident
539	Marcela	Guinto	25	cdo	Resident
540	Francisca	Rodriguez	54	vdo	Resident
541	Feliza	Marquez	20	sol	Resident
542	Benita	Agustin	24	cdo	Resident
543	Catalina	Pablo	59	vdo	Resident
544	Severina	Liwanag	32	cdo	Resident
545	Angela	Agustin	18	sol	Resident
546	Alejandra	Eusebio	19	sol	Resident
547	Basilia	Eusebio	18	sol	Resident
548	Luiza	Dotela	45	cdo	Resident
549	Ysidora	Barlan	19	sol	Resident
550	Paulina	Roque	18	cdo	Resident
551	Jacoba	Herrera	47	sol	Resident
552	Filomena	Masacay	31	sol	Resident
553	Petrona	Aquino	52	vdo	Resident
554	Maria	Casalao	26	sol	Resident
555	Juana	Casalao	28	sol	Resident
556	Juana	Ygnacio	59	vdo	Resident
557	Maria	Felis	36	cdo	Resident
558	Eusebia	Delos Santos	40	cdo	Resident
559	Candida	Teanac	29	cdo	Resident
560	Juana	Delos Reyes	22	sol	Resident
561	Leotilde	Opano	24	sol	Resident
562	Justa	Del Rosario	20	cdo	Resident
563	Leoncia	Aguinaldo	22	cdo	Resident
564	Maria	De Castro	30	cdo	Resident

565	Avelina	Dayao	25	cdo	Resident
566	Petrona	Dela Rosa	20	cdo	Resident
567	Soledad	Gonzales	23	sol	Resident
568	Angela	Miranda	42	cdo	Resident
569	Ciriaca	Dela Cruz	22	cdo	Resident
570	Francisca	Bernardo	40	cdo	Resident
571	Agapita	Santos	20	cdo	Resident
572	Benedicta	Hernandez	25	sol	Resident
573	Lorenza	Hernandez	24	cdo	Resident
574	Josefa	Vicente	32	cdo	Resident
575	Apolonia	De Lapaz	30	cdo	Resident
576	Maria	Sandalan	20	sol	Resident
577	Veronica	Espino	21	cdo	Resident
578	Victoriana	Bariol	50	cdo	Resident
579	Maria	Bariol	21	sol	Resident
580	Francisca	Ganchuaes	29	vdo	Resident
581	Marta	Dela Cruz	39	cdo	Resident
582	Francisca	Delos Santos	20	sol	Resident
583	Martina	Delos Reyes	18	sol	Resident
584	Paulina	De Castro	50	vdo	Resident
585	Anastacia	Espino	20	vdo	Resident
586	Sebastiana	Ramos	22	cdo	Resident
587	Eulogia	Urbana	21	cdo	Resident
588	Victoriana	Clemente	49	vdo	Resident
589	Ambrocia	Sanches	27	cdo	Resident
590	Jacoba	Dela Cruz	39	vdo	Resident
591	Vicenta	Villanueva	36	cdo	Resident
592	Catalina	Cristobal	25	cdo	Resident
593	Romualda	Espinosa	28	sol	Resident
594	Damasa	Martinez	50	vdo	Resident

595	Macaria	Pascual	30	cdo	Resident
596	Teodora	Santiago	31	sol	Resident
597	Sadislava	Bernardo	26	cdo	Resident
598	Maria	Dela Cruz	39	cdo	Resident
599	Eupremia	Goregaygay	20	sol	Resident
600	Victoria	David	22	sol	Resident
601	Faustina	Ynocencio	45	vdo	Resident
602	Fernanda	De Castro	26	vdo	Resident
603	Josefa	Montejo	22	vdo	Resident
604	Ysidra	Atienza	21	sol	Resident
605	Nicolasa	Morales	25	vdo	Resident
606	Lanara	Bernardo	50	cdo	Resident
607	Miguela	Buluran	68	cdo	Resident
608	Bernabela	Noverando	47	cdo	Resident
609	Dominga	Buнавista	25	sol	Resident
610	Fabiana	Dela Cruz	30	vdo	Resident
611	Lasana	Rosales	21	vdo	Resident
612	Juliana	Del Rosario	32	vdo	Resident
613	Agatona	Dela Cruz	30	vdo	Resident
614	Bernabela	Dela Cruz	25	vdo	Resident
615	Cipriana	Delos Santos	52	sol	Resident
616	Telesfora	Aguilar	32	cdo	Resident
617	Mamerta	Garcia	19	sol	Resident
618	Narcisa	Hilario	27	sol	Resident
619	Bonifacia	Aguilar	44	vdo	Resident
620	Prudencia	Lazaro	20	sol	Resident
621	Juana	Parali	41	sol	Resident
622	Juana	Ysidro	31	cdo	Resident
623	Cipriana	Dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
624	Juana	Aguinaldo	26	cdo	Resident

625	Gregoria	Dela Cruz	32	cdo	Resident
626	Matea	Diego	25	cdo	Resident
627	Catalina	Obera	38	cdo	Resident
628	Julia	Alvendia	26	cdo	Resident
629	Alejandra	Catis	41	cdo	Resident
630	Maria	Dela Cruz	19	sol	Resident
631	Hermerenciana	Pelago	42	cdo	Resident
632	Juana	Gregorio	20		Resident
633	Lorenza	Buensueco	40	cdo	Resident
634	Maria	De Leon	49	cdo	Resident
635	Segunda	Crisostomo	20	cdo	Resident
636	Ambrocia	Ventura	26	cdo	Resident
637	Lencia	Delos Reyes	42	vdo	Resident
638	Prudencia	Garcia	30	cdo	Resident
639	Engracia	Ysip	34	cdo	Resident
640	Luisa	Ramos	25	cdo	Resident
641	Francisca	Delos Santos	36	sol	Resident
642	Manuela	Lambit	20	sol	Resident
643	Petrona	Sanches	37	sol	Resident
644	Brina	Valenzuela	33	cdo	Resident
645	Cipriana	Aringco	32	vdo	Resident
646	Eulalia	Medina	53	cdo	Resident
647	Anastacia	Cocia	24	sol	Resident
648	Eduarda	Pareja	35	cdo	Resident
649	Saturnina	Ygnacio	22	sol	Resident
650	Andrea	Dela Cruz	42	sol	Resident
651	Juana	Mallari	41	cdo	Resident
652	Maria	Chacon	23	cdo	Resident
653	Gregoria	Garcia	27	sol	Resident
654	Petrona	Albarado	34	cdo	Resident

655	Catalina	Aquino	42	vdo	Resident
656	Dionisia	Aquino	18	sol	Resident
657	Permina	Braulio	41	cdo	Resident
658	Petrona	Bonifacio	27	sol	Resident
659	Macaria	Galang	51	sol	Resident
660	Gerarda	Yabut	28	sol	Resident
661	Francisca	Agras	27	cdo	Resident
662	Agapita	San Luis	56	vdo	Resident
663	Cornelia	Fulgencio	22	cdo	Resident
664	Narcisa	Dela Cruz	34	cdo	Resident
665	Honorina	Jayco	22	cdo	Resident
666	Petrona	De Mesa	38	cdo	Resident
667	Agustina	Pangan	35	vdo	Resident
668	Matea	Milay	20	cdo	Resident
669	Teresa	Esguerra	35	cdo	Resident
670	Raymunda	Yabut	31	cdo	Resident
671	Aleja	Sorela	39	sol	Resident
672	Olimpia	Jurado	17	cdo	Resident
673	Ysabel	Lopez	24	cdo	Resident
674	Landida	Policarpio	20	sol	Resident
675	Josefa	Policarpio	19	sol	Resident
676	Venaveia	Serrano	38	vdo	Resident
677	Castora	Robles	41	vdo	Resident
678	Policarpia	Santos	23	cdo	Resident
679	Florencia	San Miguel	25	sol	Resident
680	Matea	San Miguel	28	sol	Resident
681	Geronima	Romano	25	sol	Resident
682	Cirila	Robles	40	cdo	Resident
683	Bartola	Cruz	50	sol	Resident
684	Ysidra	Liwanag	25	cdo	Resident

685	Carmita	Dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
686	Macaria	Constantino	29	sol	Resident
687	Erilota	Montana	19	sol	Resident
688	Tomasa	Mendoza	30	cdo	Resident
689	Maria	Concepcion	20	sol	Resident
690	Dorotea	Mendoza	22	sol	Resident
691	Baldomera	Baza	35	cdo	Resident
692	Alejandra	Roldan	40	sol	Resident
693	Juana	Dela Cruz	30	cdo	Resident
694	Carmen	Calderon	28	cdo	Resident
695	Maria	Gabua	42	cdo	Resident
696	Ciriaca	Cortes	39	cdo	Resident
697	Agustina	Buenaventura	31	cdo	Resident
698	Horenza	Romero	63	vdo	Resident
699	Maria	Guadalupe	25	sol	Resident
700	Eustaquia	Guinido	28	sol	Resident
701	Calixta	Gonzales	28	cdo	Resident
702	Macaria	Honario	76	cdo	Resident
703	Benita	Bautista	65	sol	Resident
704	Matea	Adriano	29	vdo	Resident
705	Cayetana	Martines	68	vdo	Resident
706	Pureza	Mapaja	24	sol	Resident
707	Jacoba	Mapaja	26	cdo	Resident
708	Miguela	Silva	40	cdo	Resident
709	Fabiana	Delos Santos	49	cdo	Resident
710	Brigida	Punzalan	32	cdo	Resident
711	Ambrocia	Ronquillo	46	cdo	Resident
712	Martina	Manalaysay	25	sol	Resident
713	Juana	Cortes	37	sol	Resident
714	Escolastica	Cohobes	26	sol	Resident

715	Valentina	Reyes	52	vdo	Resident
716	Gregoria	Tanela	17	sol	Resident
717	Francisca	Dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
718	Emiteria	Sabalia	31	vdo	Resident
719	Justa	Guevarra	42	cdo	Resident
720	Rufina	Reyes	49	sol	Resident
721	Consolacion	Teatiza	29	sol	Resident
722	Maria	Mariano	21	cdo	Resident
723	Remigia	De Meza	27	vdo	Resident
724	Lucia	Silvestre	34	sol	Resident
725	Maria	Herme	22	vdo	Resident
726	Juana	Oreta	38	cdo	Resident
727	Agapita	Enriquez	31	sol	Resident
728	Esperanza	Salteras	34	cdo	Resident
729	Maria	Perez	47	sol	Resident
730	Florentina	Hernandez	33	sol	Resident
731	Paula	Antonio	22	sol	Resident
732	Pilar	Mundo	20	sol	Resident
733	Vicenta	Enriquez	25	sol	Resident
734	Raymunda	Dayaw	66	vdo	Resident
735	Simona	Dela Cruz	24	sol	Resident
736	Venancia	Espino	48	cdo	Resident
737	Bonifacia	Dionicio	21	vdo	Resident
738	Florentina	Carlos	17	sol	Resident
739	Gregoria	Villasenor	34	cdo	Resident
740	Benita	Rivera	45	vdo	Resident
741	Nieves	Miranda	31	sol	Resident
742	Yolanda	Tolentino	36	cdo	Resident
743	Eusebia	Benito	21	sol	Resident
744	Clara	Hernandez	28	sol	Resident

745	Maria	Matias	48	cdo	Resident
746	Natalia	Mallari	21	sol	Resident
747	Alejandra	Samson	26	cdo	Resident
748	Cayetana	Marquez	26	cdo	Resident
749	Rita	Velasquez	31	cdo	Resident
750	Cornelia	Ventura	30	cdo	Resident
751	Martina	Vega	31	sol	Resident
752	Francisca	Vega	18	sol	Resident
753	Feliciana	Moreno	45	sol	Resident
754	Juana	Almeda	51	vdo	Resident
755	Cicilia	Andica	25	cdo	Resident
756	Dorotea	Baltazar	28	cdo	Resident
757	Anaclea	Javier	42	sol	Resident
758	Espiridiona	Guadalupe	54	cdo	Resident
759	Marcela	Buenaventura	25	sol	Resident
760	Faustina	Giron	37	vdo	Resident
761	Carmen	Bermudes	35	cdo	Resident
762	Juana	Alcantara	30	cdo	Resident
763	Josefa	Santiago	31	sol	Resident
764	Petronila	Faustina	34	sol	Resident
765	Ygnacia	Zacaria	32	sol	Resident
766	Banlia	Ygnacio	20	sol	Resident
767	Maria	Francissco	27	sol	Resident
768	Clara	Tuason	26	sol	Resident
769	Anastacia	San Juan	30	cdo	Resident
770	Meamerta	Castillo	26	sol	Resident
771	Juana	Darang	30	sol	Resident
772	Barbara	Dizon	20	sol	Resident
773	Dominga	Donato	30	sol	Resident
774	Bonifacia	Salvador	30	vdo	Resident

775	Gavina	Mangba	31	cdo	Resident
776	Sabina	Raymunda	40	vdo	Resident
777	Tecla	Sestro	22	sol	Resident
778	Leoncia	Villamor	26	cdo	Resident
779	Bernardina	Banta	20	sol	Resident
780	Leoncia	Santos	45	cdo	Resident
781	Petrona	David	20	sol	Resident
782	Eduarda	Aquino	30	sol	Resident
783	Rosa	Torres	19	sol	Resident

Appendix 6. List of Costureras in Binondo, 1887.
 NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo*, 1887.

NO.	GIVEN NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	RES/MIG
1	Simona	Fernando	33	sol	Resident
2	Juana	Mungi	26	sol	Resident
3	Margarita	Flores	20	sol	Resident
4	Mamerta		29	sol	Resident
5	Victoriana	Panganiban	60	cdo	Resident
6	Rufina	Regino	60	vdo	Resident
7	Maxima	Gloria	37	cdo	Resident
8	Francisca	Marcelo	38	sol	Resident
9	Faustina	Bartao	36	sol	Resident
10	Simplicia	Layoc	37	vdo	Resident
11	Juana	Bayani	44	cdo	Resident
12	Tomasa	Payayao	37	vdo	Resident
13	Carmen	Asuncion	30	sol	Migrant
14	Perfecta	Balandeza	25	cdo	Migrant
15	Calistra	Perez	21	cdo	Migrant
16	Dominga	Cavallero	30	cdo	Migrant
17	Alejandra	Reyes	22	sol	Migrant
18	Emitaria	Ygnacio	28	sol	Migrant
19	Filomena	Nasól	23	sol	Migrant
20	Petrona	dela Cruz	56	vdo	Resident
21	Graciana	Olila	30	sol	Resident
22	Filomena	dela Rosa	35	cdo	Resident
23	Rosa	Arsarde	23	sol	Resident
24	Ynes	Julian	30	cdo	Resident
25	Daniela	dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
26	Maria	de Castro	35	sol	Resident

27	Gregoria	Arabalo	31	cdo	Resident
28	Agapita	Gonzaga	60	cdo	Resident
29	Baruina	Guillem	35	cdo	Resident
30	Luisa	Enriquez	23	cdo	Resident
31	Andrea	Ronquillo	21	sol	Resident
32	Petrona	Praxedes	29	sol	Resident
33	Rita	Monzares	69	sol	Resident
34	Anacleta	Concepcion	50	cdo	Resident
35	Agustina	Leon	18	sol	Resident
36	Vicenta	del Rosario	22	cdo	Resident
37	Faustina	de Leon	29	sol	Resident
38	Victoriana	Bautista	29	sol	Resident
39	Ysidra	Mateo	18	sol	Resident
40	Agapita	de los Santos	30	vdo	Resident
41	Martina	Vitan	67	sol	Resident
42	Maxima	Benites	40	cdo	Resident
43	Juana	Carion	40	sol	Resident
44	Miguela	Ortega	25	vdo	Resident
45	Ruperta	de Castro	40	sol	Resident
46	Agripina	Sta. Ana	18	cdo	Resident
47	Feliciano	de Mesa	27	cdo	Resident
48	Eugenia	Ygnacio	20	cdo	Resident
49	Jacinta	Garcia	21	sol	Resident
50	Gavina	Alejo	49	vdo	Resident
51	Estanislana	Vital	34	cdo	Resident
52	Raymunda	San Diego	22	cdo	Resident
53	Antonia	Garcia	28	sol	Resident
54	Juana	Medina	29	cdo	Resident
55	Sabina	Zaragoza	20	cdo	Resident
56	Dionisia	Sanches	27	sol	Resident

57	Juana	de la Cruz	20	cdo	Resident
58	Vicenta	Tolentino	28	sol	Resident
59	Paulina	Cariaso	29	cdo	Resident
60	Juliana	Tolentino	23	cdo	Resident
61	Trinidad	Combes	34	vdo	Resident
62	Angela	Perez	19	sol	Resident
63	Francisca	Cuidera	37	cdo	Resident
64	Cancita	Rodrigo	20	sol	Resident
65	Jacinta	Macaboang	35	vdo	Resident
66	Maria	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident
67	Estanislava	Soriano	22	cdo	Resident
68	Maria	Gutierrez	18	sol	Resident
69	Rufina	Trinidad	50	sol	Resident
70	Fermina	Alonzo	37	vdo	Resident
71	Baldomera	Villanueva	20	sol	Resident
72	Evarista	Careon	51	cdo	Resident
73	Adrea	Mondragon	34	cdo	Resident
74	Prisca	Mantala	18	sol	Resident
75	Carmen	Clara	20	cdo	Resident
76	Vicenta	Palisoc	19	sol	Resident
77	Maximina	Enriquez	30	cdo	Resident
78	Prisca	Roque	19	sol	Resident
79	Matea	San Pedro	41	vdo	Resident
80	Francisca	de Leon	22	sol	Resident
81	Hilaria	de Gusman	26	sol	Resident
82	Manuela	del Rosario	19	cdo	Resident
83	Fausta	Pipa	18	sol	Resident
84	Paula	Reyes	39	sol	Resident
85	Ciriaca	Pascual	36	sol	Resident
86	Camila	Gonsalo	46	sol	Resident

87	Maria	Mangulaman	18	sol	Resident
88	Feliciana	Hernandez	37	cdo	Resident
89	Brigida	Baroy	18	sol	Resident
90	Dionisia	Ramos	36	cdo	Resident
91	Atanacia	de Ocampo	23	cdo	Resident
92	Coruna	Saparita	40	cdo	Resident
93	Simona	Murillo	19	sol	Resident
94	Manuela	Hernandez	22	cdo	Resident
95	Juana	Garcia	60	sol	Resident
96	Anastasia	Mangana_	23	sol	Resident
97	Casimira	Padilla	24	sol	Resident
98	Nicolasa	Ruis	36	cdo	Resident
99	Francisca	Amor	24	cdo	Resident
100	Dominga	Sorida	18	sol	Resident
101	Petrona	de Guzman	35	sol	Resident
102	Juana	Rodriguez	23	cdo	Resident
103	Juana	Agua	31	cdo	Resident
104	Tomasa	Ramires	39	vdo	Resident
105	Fortunata	Alberto	19	sol	Resident
106	Prima	del Rosario	20	sol	Resident
107	Maria	dela Cruz	31	sol	Resident
108	Agueda	delos Reyes	20	sol	Resident
109	Rosa	Rodrigues	25	sol	Resident
110	Maria	Gabriel	19	sol	Resident
111	Anatalia	Domingo	37	vdo	Resident
112	Leonarda	Serrano	56	sol	Resident
113	Eugenia	Rollera	24	sol	Resident
114	Cirila	Bernardo	28	sol	Resident
115	Valentina	Barlon	42	vdo	Resident
116	Simplicia	Sagar	29	cdo	Resident

117	Justa	del Carmen	37	vdo	Resident
118	Martina	Javier	28	sol	Resident
119	Agustina	Vergara	29	cdo	Resident
120	Romana	de Guzman	34	cdo	Resident
121	Catalina	Castañeda	25	cdo	Resident
122	Maria	Enriquez	30	sol	Resident
123	Maria	Bernardina	37	cdo	Resident
124	Lenosa	Dario	25	cdo	Resident
125	Hermogena	Aruela	22	cdo	Resident
126	Balbara	Trinidad	59	vdo	Resident
127	Saturnina	Fajardo	28	cdo	Resident
128	Potenciana	Medrano	32	cdo	Resident
129	Asuncion	delos Reyes	27	cdo	Resident
130	Paz	Domingo	34	cdo	Resident
131	Eustaquia	Andres	27	cdo	Resident
132	Dolores	Ludovina	23	cdo	Resident
133	Fernanda	Presentacion	55	vdo	Resident
134	Margarita	Reyes	19	sol	Resident
135	Quiteria	delos Santos	48	cdo	Resident
136	Eulalia	Fermin	19	sol	Resident
137	Apolonia	Garcia	22	sol	Resident
138	Justa	de la Cruz	31	sol	Resident
139	Leonsia	de Guzman	67	cdo	Resident
140	Ygnacia	Hernandes	36	cdo	Resident
141	Clemencia	Montero	30	sol	Resident
142	Lorenza	Pallamayan	36	sol	Resident
143	Ciriaca	Valencia	27	sol	Resident
144	Raymunda	Reyes	36	cdo	Resident
145	Victoriana	Malonso	27	sol	Resident
146	Cristeta	Balle	32	sol	Resident

147	Ana	Valle	31	sol	Resident
148	Cristina	Cruz	26	cdo	Resident
149	Timotea	Nepomuceno	27	sol	Resident
150	Agustina	Padua	42	cdo	Resident
151	Maria	David	42	vdo	Resident
152	Gregoria	Sta. Ana	28	sol	Resident
153	Maria	Perreira	31	sol	Resident
154	Cirila	Gimenes	29	sol	Resident
155	Gregoria	Alcantara	25	cdo	Resident
156	C___	del Carmen	26	cdo	Resident
157	Maria	Marcelo	22	cdo	Resident
158	Gertrudes	del Rosario	36	cdo	Resident
159	Cipriana	Carbonel	35	sol	Resident
160	Maria	de Ocampo	31	cdo	Resident
161	Martina	Castillo	60	vdo	Resident
162	Geronima	Dasiles	32	sol	Resident
163	Dominga	Muñoz	20	sol	Resident
164	Maria	Alejandra	26	cdo	Resident
165	Cirila	Ortega	28	sol	Resident
166	Marta	Carpio	19	cdo	Resident
167	Clemencia	Crispo	35	cdo	Resident
168	Ana	de la Cruz	40	cdo	Resident
169	Ygnacia	del Pilar	33	cdo	Resident
170	Clemencia	Teodorica	45	vdo	Resident
171	Juana	Espina	35	sol	Resident
172	Elena	Rayola	24	cdo	Resident
173	Policarpia	Ordoñez	60	sol	Resident
174	Pragedes	del Rosario	45	cdo	Resident
175	Regina	Ramos	23	sol	Resident
176	Marcelina	Talavera	41	cdo	Resident

177	Silvestra	San José	43	cdo	Resident
178	Florencia	de Gusman	37	cdo	Resident
179	Victoriana	José	21	sol	Resident
180	Maria	de Guzman	14	sol	Resident
181	Juana	Yallaja	38	sol	Resident
182	Maria	Arias	31	sol	Resident
183	Josefa	Francisco	28	cdo	Resident
184	Vicenta	Mor_____	18	sol	Resident
185	Barbara	Salazar	20	sol	Resident
186	Brigida	Romero	48	vdo	Resident
187	Luisa	Buenaventura	38	vdo	Resident
188	Lusana	Barlan	22	sol	Resident
189	Cripina	Tomayo	22	cdo	Resident
190	Juana	de la Cruz	28	cdo	Resident
191	Ana	Calavia	29	sol	Resident
192	Maria	Gonzales	29	sol	Resident
193	Carmen	Soliman	32	sol	Resident
194	Rita	Nuguit	29	vdo	Resident
195	Regina	dela Cruz	37	cdo	Resident
196	Venancia	Eugenio	59	sol	Resident
197	Feliciana	Aries	21	sol	Resident
198	Macaria	Alcantara	30	sol	Resident
199	Placida	dela Cruz	44	cdo	Resident
200	Simona	delos Angeles	29	sol	Resident
201	Tomasa	de la Paz	29	vdo	Resident
202	Maria	de Cruz	16	sol	Resident
203	Silvestra	San José	44	cdo	Resident
204	Dolores	Ysidro	58	cdo	Resident
205	Juana	dela Cruz	29	vdo	Resident
206	Bernarda	delos Santos	36	cdo	Resident

207	Aurora	Bartolomé	21	sol	Resident
208	Teodora	Mayo	34	sol	Resident
209	Severina	Bolero	27	sol	Resident
210	Teodora	Cabrera	30	sol	Resident
211	Candida	Ablaza	26	cdo	Resident
212	Ancelma	Viagat	21	sol	Resident
213	Ynes	Gavida	20	sol	Resident
214	Nicolasa	Guivarra	30	cdo	Resident
215	Calixta	Capangan	24	sol	Resident
216	Petrona	Santos	30	vdo	Resident
217	Sotera	Gavaza	22	cdo	Resident
218	Maria	Enriques	32	sol	Resident
219	Francisca	Enriques	28	vdo	Resident
220	Olimpia	Ramires	18	sol	Resident
221	Lorenza	delos Reyes	30	cdo	Resident
222	Paulina	Anbeco	39	cdo	Resident
223	Gregoria	Enriques	48	cdo	Resident
224	Plasida	Caparangan	20	cdo	Resident
225	Casimira	Mendoza	29	cdo	Resident
226	Leoncia	Mateo	31	sol	Resident
227	Modesta	Roberto	25	cdo	Resident
228	Ursula	Baroga	35	cdo	Resident
229	Hilaria	Albotida	51	cdo	Resident
230	Matea	de Guia	18	sol	Resident
231	Braulia	Espineda	30	cdo	Resident
232	Lazara	Maliglig	27	cdo	Resident
233	Magdalena	Ygnacio	20	sol	Resident
234	Margarita	dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
235	Juana	Merced	28	cdo	Resident
236	Silvina	Valenica	29	cdo	Resident

237	Vicenta	Jarmiento	20	sol	Resident
238	Prudencia	Dimaandas	29	sol	Resident
239	Dominga	Villegas	19	sol	Resident
240	Hilaria	Ymaya	20	sol	Resident
241	Victoriana	Bautista	63	sol	Resident
242	Silvestra	Pigoroa	25	cdo	Resident
243	Juliana	Teodora	30	sol	Resident
244	Geronima	Pablo	22	cdo	Resident
245	Natalia	Pangilinan	23	sol	Resident
246	Silvina	Valencia	30	cdo	Resident
247	Donata	delos Reyes	53	vdo	Resident
248	Gertrudes	Pablo	18	sol	Resident
249	Melesia	Barreto	26	sol	Resident
250	Alvina	Dadia	19	cdo	Resident
251	Patricia	Sevilla	22	sol	Resident
252	Andrea	Fernandes	39	sol	Resident
253	Alfonza	____ro	42	cdo	Resident
254	Emiteria	Berseber	29	sol	Resident
255	Ygnacia	delos Santos	29	cdo	Resident
256	Catalina	Gallardo	29	cdo	Resident
257	Agapita	Llanes	29	sol	Resident
258	Policarpia	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
259	Rosa	Cocodrillo	67	sol	Resident
260	Marta	Cocodrillo	21	sol	Resident
261	Andrea	Clemente	60	vdo	Resident
262	Braulia	Cabia	45	sol	Resident
263	Margarita	delos Santos	31	vdo	Resident
264	Gregoria	delos Reyes	33	vdo	Resident
265	Baloma	Llepas	25	sol	Resident
266	Simona	__may	50	vdo	Resident

267	Juana	del Carmen	32	cdo	Resident
268	Elena	Hernandes	29	sol	Resident
269	Candilaria	Marques	27	sol	Resident
270	Fabiana	de Leon	22	cdo	Resident
271	Tomasa	dela Cruz	32	cdo	Resident
272	Eulalia	Marcos	17	sol	Resident
273	Apolinaria	Marcos	23	cdo	Resident
274	Paulina	Nicolas	39	cdo	Resident
275	Lazara	Baguisan	19	sol	Resident
276	Eulogia	Gonzales	53	sol	Resident
277	Maria	Francisco	27	cdo	Resident
278	Aniceta	delos Santos	34	sol	Resident
279	Rosa	Matalote	32	sol	Resident
280	Magdalena	Matalote	30	sol	Resident
281	Valeriana	Ponce	27	sol	Resident
282	Silveria	Concha	24	sol	Resident
283	Francisca	Nicolas	21	sol	Resident
284	Nicolasa	Capitulo	27	cdo	Resident
285	Feliciana	Silva	50	cdo	Resident
286	Ynfracia	Ramires	22	sol	Resident
287	Inana	Benedicto	30	cdo	Resident
288	Teresa	Rilosa	39	vdo	Resident
289	Maria	de Dios	33	vdo	Resident
290	Silvestra	Peralta	29	sol	Resident
291	Felicia	Tiongco	21	sol	Resident
292	Dionisia	Soledad	34	vdo	Resident
293	Ysidra	Bringula	19	sol	Resident
294	Maria	Gatchalian	21	cdo	Resident
295	Marcosa	Gatdula	22	cdo	Resident
296	Andrea	Ramos	56	vdo	Resident

297	Eulalia	Ramos	58	cdo	Resident
298	Modesta	Garcia	28	sol	Resident
299	Maria	Cerilio	52	cdo	Resident
300	Felipa	Roman	50	cdo	Resident
301	Juliana	Susana	35	sol	Resident
302	Felipa	Garcia	19	cdo	Resident
303	Maria	Arroyo	48	vdo	Resident
304	Andrea	Camanlic	19	cdo	Resident
305	Adriana	Evangelista	18	sol	Resident
306	Yrenea	Fajardo	50	cdo	Resident
307	Nicolasa	Felipe	20	sol	Resident
308	Cayetana	dela Cruz	34	cdo	Resident
309	Antonia	Legaspi	35	cdo	Resident
310	Gregoria	Gallardo	29	cdo	Resident
311	Avelina	Estrella	45	cdo	Resident
312	Paula	Abid	58	cdo	Resident
313	Maria	Mendoza	27	cdo	Resident
314	Roberta	Mendoza	37	cdo	Resident
315	Rufina	Pangan	19	vdo	Resident
316	Basilisa	Panete	22	cdo	Resident
317	Silvestra	Formobo	29	sol	Resident
318	Ciriaca	Garcia	19	cdo	Resident
319	Catalina	Narciso	27	sol	Resident
320	Aquilina	Mendiola	19	vdo	Resident
321	Cipriana	Soriano	22	sol	Resident
322	Severina	del Carmen	25	sol	Resident
323	Patricia	Ochoa	27	cdo	Resident
324	Eucebia	Basa	44	cdo	Resident
325	Adriana	Reyes	25	cdo	Resident
326	Juana	Balagtas	21	sol	Resident

327	Balbina	Ceresa	27	cdo	Resident
328	Fabiana	Pabalan	28	cdo	Resident
329	Juana	dela Cruz	47	cdo	Resident
330	Bernardina	Perez	24	cdo	Resident
331	Francisca	Mendoza	25	vdo	Resident
332	Tomasa	dela Cruz	21	vdo	Resident
333	Ambrocia	Velasco	21	cdo	Resident
334	Florencia	Flores	25	cdo	Resident
335	Marcela	Santiago	33	cdo	Resident
336	Juana	del Rosario	23	cdo	Resident
337	Filomena	Ramos	32	cdo	Resident
338	Maria	Samaloy	28	sol	Resident
339	Maria	Alejo	32	cdo	Resident
340	Maria	Asuncion	19	sol	Resident
341	Gregoria	Torla	23	cdo	Resident
342	Barbara	Muños	22	sol	Resident
343	Ursula	Venegas	32	cdo	Resident
344	Enrica	Ocampo	46	sol	Resident
345	Fabiana	Ocampo	39	sol	Resident
346	Andrea	Levon	42	sol	Resident
347	Maria	Garcia	25	sol	Resident
348	Francisca	Lorenzo	36	cdo	Resident
349	Josefa	de Jesus	20	cdo	Resident
350	Valeriana	Ferrer	27	sol	Resident
351	Cirila	Meniosa	36	sol	Resident
352	Victoriana	Cayenan	27	sol	Resident
353	Bonifacia	Salenjo	26	cdo	Resident
354	Maria	Ortaso	33	cdo	Resident
355	Antera	Arquero	20	sol	Resident
356	Anastasia	Coronel	37	sol	Resident

357	Gestrudes	Mardonado	50	vdo	Resident
358	Victoriana	Manlajay	39	vdo	Resident
359	Monica	Teodora	29	sol	Resident
360	Vidala	Samson	30	sol	Resident
361	Jacoba	Domingo	29	sol	Resident
362	Andrea	Cabela	27	sol	Resident
363	Juana	dela Cruz	18	cdo	Resident
364	Lucena	Alcantara	25	cdo	Resident
365	Ana	Velasco	29	cdo	Resident
366	Olimpia	Garcia	31	sol	Resident
367	Dorotea	Sevilla	27	sol	Resident
368	Ciriaca	Palencia	27	sol	Resident
369	Felisa	del Rosario	24	cdo	Resident
370	Simplicia	Nicolas	33	vdo	Resident
371	Leonora	Nicolas	31	vdo	Resident
372	Jacinta	Santiago	42	vdo	Resident
373	Eucebia	Asuncion	62	cdo	Resident
374	Manuela	Reynoso	37	sol	Resident
375	Adriana	de Boya	28	sol	Resident
376	Agudia	Dias	32	sol	Resident
377	Petrona	Alvarez	21	sol	Resident
378	Catalina	Gutierrez	27	cdo	Resident
379	Francisca	Ygnacio	29	vdo	Resident
380	Marcela	Villanueva	20	sol	Resident
381	Maria	Pineda	18	sol	Resident
382	Simeona	Lasaro	18	cdo	Resident
383	Cayetana	Ricafuente	47	sol	Resident
384	Esperanza	Hernandez	21	sol	Resident
385	Dominga	Morales	32	sol	Resident
386	Alejandra	Bartolome	27	vdo	Resident

387	Jacoba	Madrigal	20	sol	Resident
388	Mauricia	Centeno	16	sol	Resident
389	Margarita	Ysla	24	sol	Resident
390	Cecilia	Mariano	38	sol	Resident
391	Eustaquia	Matic	60	vdo	Resident
392	Bacilia	Palma	31	cdo	Resident
393	Anaclea	Gimenes	22	sol	Resident
394	Andrea	Alvares	30	sol	Resident
395	Juana	delo Santos	34	cdo	Resident
396	Ramona	Peñalosa	26	sol	Resident
397	Ceferina	Crisiniz	35	sol	Resident
398	Romualda	Morales	36	cdo	Resident
399	Maria	Tibursio	18	sol	Resident
400	Honarata	Cruz	23	sol	Resident
401	Eulalia	Malomer	20	sol	Resident
402	Saturnina	Yimeng	27	sol	Resident
403	Dominga	Colcuera	39	vdo	Resident
404	Juana	Eresinis	28	sol	Resident
405	Mamerta	Atienza	42	sol	Resident
406	Rosa	Adiao	30	sol	Resident
407	Serapia	Francisco	48	cdo	Resident
408	Juana	Gonzalez	27	sol	Resident
409	Vicenta	Velez	20	cdo	Resident
410	Josefa	Magpayo	29	vdo	Resident
411	Pelegrina	Magpayo	25	sol	Resident
412	Petra	Tarole	62	sol	Resident
413	Estefania	Eugracia	50	vdo	Resident
414	Filomena	Morales	21	cdo	Resident
415	Sivera	Ladesema	20	sol	Resident
416	Ygnacia	Hilario	55	cdo	Resident

417	Macaria	Mendoza	28	sol	Resident
418	Simplicia	Soflan	38	cdo	Resident
419	Josefa	Policarpio	30	cdo	Resident
420	Angela	dela Cruz	50	cdo	Resident
421	Ysidora	Tagle	23	sol	Resident
422	Grabiela	delos Reyes	32	cdo	Resident
423	Grabiela	Navarro	20	sol	Resident
424	Silvestra	Panganiban	22	cdo	Resident
425	Pelifa	Lopez	26	cdo	Resident
426	Cefriana	Martinez	30	sol	Resident
427	Margarita	Miano	30	sol	Resident
428	Juana	Catipon	33	cdo	Resident
429	Gervacia	Eulalio	38	cdo	Resident
430	Maria	Fernando	22	cdo	Resident
431	Delfina	Neyre	30	vdo	Resident
432	Lorenza	Bagos	36	sol	Resident
433	Valentina	Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
434	Juana	Damaso	27	cdo	Resident
435	Juanaria	Matisac	30	cdo	Resident
436	Hipolita	Medina	40	cdo	Resident
437	Tomasa	Epitasio	31	vdo	Resident
438	Telesfora	Carrion	54	vdo	Resident
439	Lorenza	Gases	35	sol	Resident
440	Martina	Andaya	30	cdo	Resident
441	Dalmacia	Alejo	31	cdo	Resident
442	Basilla	Acosta	26	sol	Resident
443	Maria	delos Reyes	30	cdo	Resident
444	Narcisa	Ganzon	40	sol	Resident
445	Canuta	de Castro	40	cdo	Resident
446	Eustaquia	Cayetano	46	vdo	Resident

447	Gaspara	Añil	24	cdo	Resident
448	Bonifacia	Atcanja	29	cdo	Resident
449	Efefania	Villaleno	29	vdo	Resident
450	Faustina	Maginan	33	sol	Resident
451	Segunda	dela Cruz	19	sol	Resident
452	Ciriaca	Legada	29	cdo	Resident
453	Petrona	Pascual	21	cdo	Resident
454	Eugenia	Allasa	38	vdo	Resident
455	Natalia	de Leon	25	vdo	Resident
456	Agapita	Clara	50	vdo	Resident
457	Ancelma	dela Cruz	25	sol	Resident
458	Juana	de Gusman	38	vdo	Resident
459	Leoncia	Jalili	26	vdo	Resident
460	Maria	Cayabao	19	sol	Resident
461	Apolonia	Gloria	48	vdo	Resident
462	Paula	Valeriano	23	cdo	Resident
463	Marcelina	Gimera	38	cdo	Resident
464	Anastacia	Mendoza	32	cdo	Resident
465	Agapita	Clara	40	cdo	Resident
466	Ysabel	Gavino	30	cdo	Resident
467	Carlota	Moredo	56	cdo	Resident
468	Juana	Bitog	19	cdo	Resident
469	Juana	Villanueva	45	cdo	Resident
470	Vicenta	dela Cruz	46	vdo	Resident
471	Sotera	Jagdolan	35	cdo	Resident
472	Manuela	Gonzalez	38	sol	Resident
473	Agustina	Bernardo	40	vdo	Resident
474	Feliciana	Rubio	30	vdo	Resident
475	Maria	Magdalena	51	vdo	Resident
476	Felipa	Guecega	30	sol	Resident

477	Maria	delos Reyes	49	cdo	Resident
478	Juliana	Garcia	46	cdo	Resident
479	Justina	de Ocampo	36	vdo	Resident
480	Brigida	Senosa	25	cdo	Resident
481	Modesta	Banauag	27	vdo	Resident
482	Basilia	Fulgencio	21	sol	Resident
483	Antonia	San Luis	23	vdo	Resident
484	Marta	Rojas	32	sol	Resident
485	Engracia	Marquez	42	sol	Resident
486	Melesia	Almasan	33	cdo	Resident
487	Carmen	Castillo	21	sol	Resident
488	Celedonia	Valencia	31	cdo	Resident
489	Teodora	Coronel	29	sol	Resident
490	Maximina	Yutangco	20	vdo	Resident
491	Casimira	Quibuyen	25	cdo	Resident
492	Teodora	Flores	31	sol	Resident
493	Guillerma	Sarmiento	30	cdo	Resident
494	Teodora	Cacaling	34	sol	Resident
495	Antonia	Fajardo	33	cdo	Resident
496	Ambrocia	Dino	29	sol	Resident
497	Florentina	Jumagbas	20	sol	Resident
498	Carlota	Guevara	30	sol	Resident
499	Andrea	Caloja	19	sol	Resident
500	Leoncia	Masanguiban	19	cdo	Resident
501	Gregoria	del Angel	18	sol	Resident
502	Francisca	Arabe	28	cdo	Resident
503	Nicolasa	Pilarta	56	cdo	Resident
504	Filomena	Manuel	30	sol	Resident
505	Rusera	Cabrara	21	cdo	Resident
506	Perfecta	Nuñez	22	cdo	Resident

507	Petronila	Alberto	43	cdo	Resident
508	Norberta	Nayan	27	cdo	Resident
509	Juana	dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
510	Toribia	Magallones	35	vdo	Resident
511	Margarita	Ysla	23	cdo	Resident
512	Regina	Domingo	34	sol	Resident
513	Bonifacia	Arites	43	sol	Resident
514	Sergia	Garcia	18	cdo	Resident
515	Emiteria	Pascual	26	cdo	Resident
516	Faustina	Monasterio	20	sol	Resident
517	Filomena	Panlagui	36	vdo	Resident
518	Celestina	Coronel	42	vdo	Resident
519	Victoriana	Bautista	50	cdo	Resident
520	Gregoria	Catalino	26	cdo	Resident
521	Baltazara	Sarmiento	22	sol	Resident
522	Maria	Cruz	44	vdo	Resident
523	Maria	Conagan	38	cdo	Resident
524	Rufina	Estrella	24	cdo	Resident
525	Prudencia	Castaneda	27	sol	Resident
526	Albina	de Gusman	41	cdo	Resident
527	Antonia	Pagadian	29	cdo	Resident
528	Gregoria	de Ocampo	39	cdo	Resident
529	Anastacia	Mallari	28	vdo	Resident
530	Lorenza	Gimenes	54	vdo	Resident
531	Dionicia	Yasi	21	sol	Resident
532	Filomena	Lestrad	21	sol	Resident
533	Marella	Villando	39	vdo	Resident
534	Tomasa	Josef	20	sol	Resident
535	Catalina	Escarella	39	sol	Resident
536	Eulocia	Carnibo	18	cdo	Resident

537	Juana	Villarina	60	vdo	Resident
538	Anastacia	Castillo	18	sol	Resident
539	Gervacia	Alonzo	29	cdo	Resident
540	Valeriana	dela Cruz	22	cdo	Resident
541	Alicia	Capulong	26	cdo	Resident
542	Justa	Lopes	24	cdo	Resident
543	Petrona	Porcioncula	23	cdo	Resident
544	Eugenia	Teodoro	60	vdo	Resident
545	Dominga	de Leon	30	sol	Resident
546	Prudencia	Tad	23	cdo	Resident
547	Felipa	Concepcion	40	cdo	Resident
548	Benita	Cruz	23	cdo	Resident
549	Brigida	Sabedra	25	cdo	Resident
550	Gumitria	dela Rosa	53	vdo	Resident
551	Pascuala	dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident
552	Benita	Angel	26	cdo	Resident
553	Dominga	de Santos	39	vdo	Resident
554	Bedonica	dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident
555	Felipa	Tolentino	30	vdo	Resident
556	Antonia	del Castillo	27	cdo	Resident
557	Juana	Soriano	36	cdo	Resident
558	Anastacia	delos Santos	22	vdo	Resident
559	Vicenta	Salonga	33	cdo	Resident
560	Dorotea	Lamas	39	vdo	Resident
561	Silveña	Garcia	20	sol	Resident
562	Angela	Roque	30	sol	Resident
563	Dionisia	Tibera	29	cdo	Resident
564	Antonia	Basilio	35	cdo	Resident
565	Canuta	Diego	40	vdo	Resident
566	Gerarda	Bernardino	30	sol	Resident

567	Rufina	Coronel	32	cdo	Resident
568	Cleotilde	Esguerra	33	vdo	Resident
569	Josefa	Pucanuera	22	sol	Resident
570	Magdalena	Garcia	26	cdo	Resident
571	Saturnina	Castro	38	cdo	Resident
572	Severina	Cordova	34	cdo	Resident
573	Bonifacia	de Leon	29	sol	Resident
574	Dorotea	dela Cruz	35	sol	Resident
575	Casimira	delos Santos	35	cdo	Resident
576	Gria	Areiga	36	cdo	Resident
577	Teodora	Santos	50	vdo	Resident
578	Ana	Neri	36	cdo	Resident
579	Toribia	de Gusman	18	cdo	Resident
580	Rufina	Gamuyan	40	sol	Resident
581	Maria	Carballo	22	sol	Resident
582	Teodorica	Carballo	38	cdo	Resident
583	Rosa	Lisardo	30	cdo	Resident
584	Vicenta	Francisco	30	cdo	Resident
585	Aniceta	Ynocencio	32	cdo	Resident
586	Sivillania	Bergadio	29	vdo	Resident
587	Simona	Señedoso	28	vdo	Resident
588	Jacinta	Viba	30	cdo	Resident
589	Faustina	Chabes	23	cdo	Resident
590	Lauriana	Anquinto	28	cdo	Resident
591	Estefaña	Andaya	42	cdo	Resident
592	Manuela	dela Cruz	23	cdo	Resident
593	Ciriaca	Garcia	24	cdo	Resident
594	Vicenta	Romero	32	cdo	Resident
595	Petrona	Nogera	37	vdo	Resident
596	Aguida	Albineula	23	cdo	Resident

597	Saturnina	Esguerra	32	vdo	Resident
598	Tomasa	Cartos	37	cdo	Resident
599	Matea	Buenaventura	20	cdo	Resident
600	Ysabel	Villena	29	cdo	Resident
601	Agapita	Censon	29	cdo	Resident
602	Maria	Marcos	27	cdo	Resident
603	Cornelia	Rodriguez	18	sol	Resident
604	Valentina	Geronimo	20	sol	Resident
605	Eduarda	Antonia	44	vdo	Resident
606	Procesa	Gonzales	27	sol	Resident
607	Engracia	Magatay	22	cdo	Resident
608	Maria	Bustamante	16	sol	Resident
609	Anastacia	Coronel	52	cdo	Resident
610	Petrona	Donato	32	vdo	Resident
611	Rufina	Estevan	23	cdo	Resident
612	Telesfora	Garcia	23	cdo	Resident
613	Ynocencia	Cruz	35	vdo	Resident
614	Antonia	Peres	19	sol	Resident
615	Cipriana	Sentillan	46	sol	Resident
616	Feliza	dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
617	Saturnina	Baquiran	45	cdo	Resident
618	Ambrocia	Tijero	44	vdo	Resident
619	Felipa	Yndag	20	sol	Resident
620	Brigida	de Leon	50	vdo	Resident
621	Severina	Victoria	24	cdo	Resident
622	Dominga	Mamanto	17	cdo	Resident
623	Basilia	Piedad	17	sol	Resident
624	Martina	Hernandez	33	sol	Resident
625	Maxima	delos Santos	26	vdo	Resident
626	Dolores	Gonzales	67	vdo	Resident

627	Filomena	Cespedes	30	sol	Resident
628	Maria	Ronquillo	33	cdo	Resident
629	Anaclea	Francisco	22	cdo	Resident
630	Antonia	Sabili	24	cdo	Resident
631	Ysidra	Sanzel	26	cdo	Resident
632	Telesfora	Musa	63	cdo	Resident
633	Gregoria	Naligalig	26	cdo	Resident
634	Eugenia	Bardejo	23	sol	Resident
635	Manuelaa	Nolasco	18	sol	Resident
636	Marciana	Monang	23	sol	Resident
637	Tomasa	de Jesus	36	cdo	Resident
638	Saturnina	Villorosa	38	cdo	Resident
639	Macaria	Florentin	29	cdo	Resident
640	Juana	dela Cruz	32	sol	Resident
641	Manuela	Antonio	22	cdo	Resident
642	Matea	Crisostomo	40	cdo	Resident
643	Babiana	Santos	27	cdo	Resident
644	Pia	de Ocampo	55	cdo	Resident
645	Ynocencia	Villanueva	40	cdo	Resident
646	Roperta	Caldo	34	cdo	Resident
647	Nicolasa	Aguilar	33	vdo	Resident
648	Juliana	Jalili	20	sol	Resident
649	Maria	Flores	27	sol	Resident
650	Gregoria	Lanzangan	41	sol	Resident
651	Hilaria	Nabasa	28	vdo	Resident
652	Maria	Mendoza	33	sol	Resident
653	Casimira	Melendres	55	cdo	Resident
654	Gregoria	Portech	26	sol	Resident
655	Hermogena	Francisca	46	cdo	Resident
656	Luisa	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident

657	Flora	Asenas	18	sol	Resident
658	Hermogena	Galves	25	sol	Resident
659	Estebana	Eleno	30	sol	Resident
660	Hermenegilda	Morales	37	cdo	Resident
661	Melencia	Sebastian	36	cdo	Resident
662	Bruna	San Luiz	32	vdo	Resident
663	Matea	San Jose	23	sol	Resident
664	Catalina	Armada	36	sol	Resident
665	Arlina	delos Reyes	29	vdo	Resident
666	Cricelda	Armada	23	cdo	Resident
667	Maria	Angeles	29	cdo	Resident
668	Macaria	Tagala	32	sol	Resident
669	Luisa	Peres	40	vdo	Resident
670	Maria	Lunayao	34	sol	Resident
671	Neresia	Gonzalez	39	sol	Resident
672	Policarpia	Tampunco	41	vdo	Resident
673	Bruna	San Luiz	36	vdo	Resident
674	Filomena	Abaña	30	cdo	Resident
675	Francisca	delos Reyes	46	cdo	Resident
676	Crispina	Carpio	21	sol	Resident
677	Antonia	Bacolol	54	sol	Resident
678	Valentina	Angeles	33	cdo	Resident
679	Valentina	Calderon	37	vdo	Resident
680	Magdalena	Lejo	33	sol	Resident
681	Adriana	Gavino	21	sol	Resident
682	Maria	del Castillo	22	cdo	Resident
683	Maria	Feliciano	21	cdo	Resident
684	Donata	dela Cruz	60	vdo	Resident
685	Juana	Blasa	22	sol	Resident
686	Nieves	Concepcion	19	cdo	Resident

687	Valeriana	Reina	57	vdo	Resident
688	Maria	Mamil	26	sol	Resident
689	Maria	Ricaponte	23	sol	Resident
690	Julia	Margarejo	41	cdo	Resident
691	Bartola	Pimpin	22	cdo	Resident
692	Marcela	San Jacinto	32	sol	Resident
693	Simona	delos Angeles	19	sol	Resident
694	Cipriana	Venturado	21	sol	Resident
695	Antonia	Bacolol	58	sol	Resident
696	Petra	Lucas	27	sol	Resident
697	Josefa	de Gusman	24	sol	Resident
698	Maria	Enriquez	37	vdo	Resident
699	Julia	Navarro	27	cdo	Resident
700	Juliana	Miguel	41	vdo	Resident
701	Bonifacia	Ygnacio	40	cdo	Resident
702	Hermogena	Villaluz	23	sol	Resident
703	Teodorica	Velarde	22	cdo	Resident
704	Dionisia	Alparas	21	cdo	Resident
705	Alejandra	Santiago	22	cdo	Resident
706	Maria	Castaneda	49	cdo	Resident
707	Eusebia	Sagdan	34	sol	Resident
708	Vicenta	Rodriguez	42	vdo	Resident
709	Anastasia	Dela Cruz	18	sol	Resident
710	Maxima	Dias	33	sol	Resident
711	Antonia	Pulzar	20	cdo	Resident
712	Juana	Gavino	32	sol	Resident
713	Barbara	Goma	24	cdo	Resident
714	Eugenia	Real	30	vdo	Resident
715	Maxima	Real	16	sol	Resident
716	Matea	Almariego	30	cdo	Resident

717	Andrea	Castaneda	22	cdo	Resident
718	Petra	Tores	31	sol	Resident
719	Felomena	De Leon	40	vdo	Resident
720	Luisa	Ligura	50	cdo	Resident
721	Cesilia	Villanueva	45	vdo	Resident
722	Cesilia	Cafuera	45	vdo	Resident
723	Miguela	Maria	28	cdo	Resident
724	Dorotea	Savia	31	cdo	Resident
725	Eusebia	Dela Cruz	35	cdo	Resident
726	Siniforosa	Nicolas	37	sol	Resident
727	Mela	Baltazar	21	sol	Resident
728	Bartola	Sagun	52	vdo	Resident
729	Agatea	Castillo	21	vdo	Resident
730	Tecla	Solidad	52	vdo	Resident
731	Magdalena	Lopez	33	cdo	Resident
732	Martina	De los Reyes	23	sol	Resident
733	Loteza	Villanueva	43	cdo	Resident
734	Juana	Pineda	35	cdo	Resident
735	Paula	De Leon	25	cdo	Resident
736	Carmina	Panpala	50	vdo	Resident
737	Justa	Santos	46	vdo	Resident
738	Victoria	Gabriel	23	vdo	Resident
739	Anastasia	Bautista	25	sol	Resident
740	Ysidora	Sablan	29	cdo	Resident
741	Bernarda	Cabrera	30	cdo	Resident
742	Gregoria	Valencia	24	sol	Resident
743	Reafacla	Del Rosario	37	cdo	Resident
744	Hermogena	Dionisio	41	vdo	Resident
745	Maria	Dolores	42	vdo	Resident
746	Dolores	Sixto	25	cdo	Resident

747	Felipa	Garcia	43	vdo	Resident
748	Bonifacia	Pedraza	21	cdo	Resident
749	Agustina	Saavedra	33	cdo	Resident
750	Ynes	Dominguiana	32	vdo	Resident
751	Baldomera	Cayetano	47	cdo	Resident
752	Bartola	Silvestre	27	sol	Resident
753	Simona	Del Rosario	57	sol	Resident
754	Gregoria	Yrog	34	sol	Resident
755	Maria	Lagbain	23	sol	Resident
756	Clara	Serrada	28	cdo	Resident
757	Manuela	Pineda	19	cdo	Resident
758	Ynes	Francisco	18	sol	Resident
759	Ysidora	San Jose	37	sol	Resident
760	Agripina	Maliclic	22	sol	Resident
761	Rufina	Santiago	19	sol	Resident
762	Agapina	Rivera	32	cdo	Resident
763	Dionisia	Villavicencio	37	sol	Resident
764	Juana	Madlanaway	32	sol	Resident
765	Melesia	Yalafruto	24	sol	Resident
766	Carlota	Nier	36	sol	Resident
767	Catalina	De Asis	41	cdo	Resident
768	Olimpia		32	cdo	Resident
769	Catalina	Francisco	36	cdo	Resident
770	Justa	Garcia	28	cdo	Resident
771	Tomasa	Maliclic	40	cdo	Resident
772	Victoriana	Mallares	28	sol	Resident
773	Josefa	Doroteo	23	cdo	Resident
774	Victoriana	Raymundo	22	cdo	Resident
775	Petra	Soriano	30	cdo	Resident
776	Raymunda	Mendoza	50	sol	Resident

777	Bonifacia	Adriano	44	cdo	Resident
778	Rufina	Roestra	30	cdo	Resident
779	Abelina	Gonzales	21	cdo	Resident
780	Victoria	Dela Cruz	23	cdo	Resident
781	Damasa	Patricia	24	cdo	Resident
782	Bernarda	Cabrera	33	cdo	Resident
783	Concepcion	Collado	36	cdo	Resident
784	Elena	Fajardo	28	cdo	Resident
785	Marcela	Patron	22	sol	Resident
786	Maria	Portellor	22	cdo	Resident
787	Filomena	Gonzales	53	vdo	Resident
788	Juliana	Daguit	25	cdo	Resident
789	Teodora	Bayola	38	vdo	Resident
790	Olimpia	Clemente	30	cdo	Resident
791	Romana	Alba	32	sol	Resident
792	Camila	Salvador	20	cdo	Resident
793	Dominga	Briones	52	cdo	Resident
794	Victoria	Delos Reyes	33	vdo	Resident
795	Fernanda	Prim	23	cdo	Resident
796	Fragides	Martinez	31	vdo	Resident
797	Camita	Marquez	18	sol	Resident
798	Manuela	Aldana	26	cdo	Resident
799	Juana	Enriquez	30	sol	Resident
800	Escolastica	Altea	24	cdo	Resident
801	Petrona	Ibaloc	19	sol	Resident
802	Vicenta	Aguilar	26	sol	Resident
803	Leoncia	Mamerto	29	cdo	Resident
804	Leonarda	Castro	59	vdo	Resident
805	Leoncia	Coloma	28	sol	Resident
806	Lorenza	Fajardo	56	vdo	Resident

807	Maria	Mangajas	26	cdo	Resident
808	Romualda	Mendoza	20	sol	Resident
809	Escolastica	Vargas	45	sol	Resident
810	Maria	Paleon	38	cdo	Resident
811	Potenciana	Magundayao	34	cdo	Resident
812	Petrona	Cruz	30	vdo	Resident
813	Eusebia	Delos Santos	26	cdo	Resident
814	Marta	Martina	38	sol	Resident
815	Alejandra	Laba	32	cdo	Resident
816	Basilia	Duran	42	cdo	Resident
817	Juana	Dela Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
818	Elena	Evelano	20	sol	Resident
819	Juana	Palma	34	sol	Resident
820	Epifania	Adriano	47	cdo	Resident
821	Marinela	Molina	32	vdo	Resident
822	Alejandra	Dela Cruz	32	sol	Resident
823	Estefana	Garcia	46	sol	Resident
824	Fausta	Evelano	20	sol	Resident
825	Petronela	Eugenio	21	sol	Resident
826	Telesfora	Altea	32	sol	Resident
827	Teodora	De Jesus	27	cdo	Resident
828	Paula	Duranda	43	cdo	Resident
829	Luisa	Agustin	39	cdo	Resident
830	Melencia	Locarresa	27	cdo	Resident
831	oberta	Birson	30	vdo	Resident
832	Ancelina	Dela Cruz	27	sol	Resident
833	Dominga	Mamburao	38	cdo	Resident
834	Francisca	Eugenio	48	vdo	Resident
835	Macaria	Pistol	30	vdo	Resident
836	Carmen	Del Castello	25	cdo	Resident

837	Anilitona	Alamin	21	cdo	Resident
838	Cecilia	Dayao	30	vdo	Resident
839	Ysabela	Guison	20	cdo	Resident
840	Petrona	Dela Paz	40	vdo	Resident
841	Marta	Clemente	22	sol	Resident
842	Teresa	Alday	50	vdo	Resident
843	Antonia	Aquino	35	cdo	Resident
844	Eusebia	Dela Cruz	24	sol	Resident
845	Pilar	De Leon	26	sol	Resident
846	Eufemia	De Duelo	24	cdo	Resident
847	Gabriela	Guinto	34	cdo	Resident
848	Catalina	Alfonso	42	cdo	Resident
849	Juana	Del Castillo	23	cdo	Resident
850	Ambrocia	Roman	41	sol	Resident
851	Valeriana	Creas	58	vdo	Resident
852	Damasa	Abantra	27	cdo	Resident
853	Romualda	Maria	29	cdo	Resident
854	Dominga	Delos Reyes	33	cdo	Resident
855	Maria	Guines	24	cdo	Resident
856	Maria	De Vera	27	sol	Resident
857	Vicenta	Linibas	40	sol	Resident
858	Ysidora	Sebastian	28	sol	Resident
859	Adriana	Bales	21	sol	Resident
860	Josefa	Mendoza	36	vdo	Resident
861	Cecilia	Andres	25	cdo	Resident
862	Paulina	Lopez	30	cdo	Resident
863	Placida	Asuncion	24	cdo	Resident
864	Gavina	Mallares	26	cdo	Resident
865	Guilerna	San Juan	50	vdo	Resident
866	Cirila	Flores	19	sol	Resident

867	Teresa	Verata	39	sol	Resident
868	Juana	Manlinac	25	cdo	Resident
869	Petrona	Rodriguez	30	cdo	Resident
870	Felipa	Alfonzo	30	cdo	Resident
871	Ysabel	Casas	30	cdo	Resident
872	Ynana	Casas	19	cdo	Resident
873	Analolia	Mejias	23	sol	Resident
874	Alfonza	Carcon	39	vdo	Resident
875	Juana	Salazar	39	sol	Resident
876	Antonia	Terno	33	sol	Resident
877	Maria	Delos Angeles	19	vdo	Resident
878	Maxima	Enarte	19	cdo	Resident
879	Aguida	Asuncion	17	cdo	Resident
880	Eusebia	Asuncion	18	sol	Resident
881	Juana	Carpio	45	cdo	Resident
882	Josefa	Tiburcio	69	vdo	Resident
883	Maria	Ubaldo	66	vdo	Resident
884	Cirila	Edura	41	cdo	Resident
885	Miguela	Martinez	19	cdo	Resident
886	Joaquina	De Vera	19	cdo	Resident
887	Maria	Rodriguez	57	vdo	Resident
888	Marciana	Alva	19	sol	Resident
889	Juana	Cabezas	19	cdo	Resident
890	Catalina	Hernandez	20	cdo	Resident
891	Estefana	Angeles	44	cdo	Resident
892	Simona	Delos Santos	27	cdo	Resident
893	Paula	Dela Cruz	26	cdo	Resident
894	Leonora	Abrenza	32	sol	Resident
895	Trinidad	Reonda	37	cdo	Resident
896	Martina	Espino	31	cdo	Resident

897	Florencia	Jople	39	cdo	Resident
898	Basilia	Salitores	23	sol	Resident
899	Placida	Alejo	20	cdo	Resident
900	Yrene	Pascual	20	cdo	Resident
901	Marta	Lucas	23	sol	Resident
902	Veronica	Carvajal	18	sol	Resident
903	Clemencia	Gornio	33	sol	Resident
904	Teodora	Villamuder	33	cdo	Resident
905	Francisca	Bautista	40	cdo	Resident
906	Filomena	Ygnacio	21	cdo	Resident
907	Anastacia	Galvez	24	sol	Resident
908	Juana	Buenaventura	40	vdo	Resident
909	Maria	Villanueva	40	cdo	Resident
910	Maria	Valencia	20	cdo	Resident
911	Juana	Soleman	31	sol	Resident
912	Victoriana	Lalo	34	sol	Resident
913	Ana	Pascual	19	sol	Resident
914	Perfecta	Lopez	20	sol	Resident
915	Ecrima	Santos	28	cdo	Resident
916	Macaria	Ramos	18	sol	Resident
917	Fulgencia	Flores	31	vdo	Resident
918	Luisa	Espiritu	37	cdo	Resident
919	Juana	Dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident
920	Feliciana	Ygnacio	13	sol	Resident
921	Simona	Garcia	30	cdo	Resident
922	Ygnacia	Fernandez	53	vdo	Resident
923	Modesta	Vergara	32	vdo	Resident
924	Juana	Benigno	40	vdo	Resident
925	Hermogena	Santiago	23	cdo	Resident
926	Basilia	Jimenez	30	vdo	Resident

927	Maria	Villarin	30	cdo	Resident
928	Paula	Dela Cruz	26	cdo	Resident
929	Maria	Dela Rosa	21	sol	Resident
930	Pilar	Dela Cruz	30	sol	Resident
931	Margarita	Fernandez	37	cdo	Resident
932	Leonora	Paragan	65	vdo	Resident
933	Ygnacia	Delos Santos	30	cdo	Resident
934	Balbina	Marcelino	26	cdo	Resident
935	Faunta	Leoncio	19	cdo	Resident
936	Gabriela	Jose	19	sol	Resident
937	Adela	Francisco	25	cdo	Resident
938	Victoria	Dela Pena	20	sol	Resident
939	Rufina	Delos Santos	20	sol	Resident
940	Florentina	Dizon	25	sol	Resident
941	Eduarda	Cardenas	19	sol	Resident
942	Ysidora	Caliang	29	cdo	Resident
943	Regina	Guiansoro	31	vdo	Resident
944	Genoveba	Labarbaro	23	sol	Resident
945	Merced	Medina	38	cdo	Resident
946	Juliana	Liuanag	24	cdo	Resident
947	Nepomucena	Valderama	29	vdo	Resident
948	Petrona	Torres	49	cdo	Resident
949	Juana	Esguerra	35	cdo	Resident
950	Ambrocia	Garcia	21	sol	Resident
951	Juana	Francisco	29	cdo	Resident
952	Anastacia	Vicenta	19	sol	Resident
953	Maria	Perez	46	cdo	Resident
954	Margarita	Delos Reyes	30	sol	Resident
955	Basiliza	Dela Cruz	46	vdo	Resident
956	Elena	Padua	26	vdo	Resident

957	Cirila	Delos Reyes	45	cdo	Resident
958	Cirafina	De Leon	31	sol	Resident
959	Zarisima	Mercado	22	cdo	Resident
960	Eduarda	Marba	62	cdo	Resident
961	Procesa	Malana	61	cdo	Resident
962	Bonifacia	Natividad	33	sol	Resident
963	Feliciana	Verita	39	sol	Resident
964	Apolonia	Cordero	30	sol	Resident
965	Gavina	Sto. Domingo	31	cdo	Resident
966	Pristina	Pascual	55	vdo	Resident
967	Lorenza	Holasco	23	sol	Resident
968	Maria	Holasco	21	sol	Resident
969	Hermenegilda	Crisanto	29	sol	Resident
970	Cristeta	Dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
971	Teodorica	Vasquez	58	cdo	Resident
972	Antonia	Santos	37	sol	Resident
973	Lotera	Trinidad	28	sol	Resident
974	Martina	Apolinario	23	sol	Resident
975	Maxima	Nicolas	21	sol	Resident
976	Ramona	Rogne	20	sol	Resident
977	Dominga	Ygnacio	19	sol	Resident
978	Escolastica	Tuval	30	vdo	Resident
979	Vicenta	De Leon	23	sol	Resident
980	Agatona	Delos Reyes	29	sol	Resident
981	Mamerta	Avez	30	sol	Resident
982	Fernanda	Mamerta	25	sol	Resident
983	Dominga	Dela Torre	38	cdo	Resident
984	Joaquina	Eligio	30	cdo	Resident
985	Feliz	Marcelo	35	sol	Resident
986	Josefa	Cristobal	68	sol	Resident

987	Agapita	Noverando	17	sol	Resident
988	Josefa	Pascual	37	sol	Resident
989	Nicolasa	Yson	20	sol	Resident
990	Lotera	Del Pilar	31	cdo	Resident
991	Maria	Aquino	33	cdo	Resident
992	Antonia	Matlamanay	33	cdo	Resident
993	Juana	Manlong	26	cdo	Resident
994	Leonsa	Delos Reyes	45	vdo	Resident
995	Juana	Alcantara	28	cdo	Resident
996	Victorina	Purifiando	30	sol	Resident
997	Feliz	Pereisa	27	sol	Resident
998	Martina	Dela Cruz	31	sol	Resident
999	Francisca	Almazon	21	sol	Resident
1000	Macaria	Ventura	32	cdo	Resident
1001	Simona	Ramos	26	sol	Resident
1002	Juana	Regino	40	sol	Resident
1003	Maximiana	Gonzales	33	sol	Resident
1004	Monica	Samora	31	sol	Resident
1005	Rufina	Miguel	30	sol	Resident
1006	Ciriaca	Serrano	19	cdo	Resident
1007	Eusebia	Manginang	35	sol	Resident
1008	Tomasa	Ramos	37	sol	Resident
1009	Petrona	De Leon	36	sol	Resident
1010	Florentina	Peregrina	59	cdo	Resident
1011	Nicolasa	Cepulveda	26	cdo	Resident
1012	Florentina	Gacillos	33	cdo	Resident
1013	Vicenta	Reyes	22	vdo	Resident
1014	Estefania	Tungas	22	sol	Resident
1015	Ana	Velasco	24	cdo	Resident
1016	Martina	Martano	44	vdo	Resident

1017	Eusebia	Dimajan	27	cdo	Resident
1018	Mauricia	Susora	19	cdo	Resident
1019	Adriana	Pontebella	27	cdo	Resident
1020	Felipa	Del Rosario	50	vdo	Resident
1021	Eulalia	Garcia	27	cdo	Resident
1022	Calireta	Buenaventura	31	sol	Resident
1023	Eusebia	Bautista	48	cdo	Resident
1024	Petrona	Mamarid	31	cdo	Resident
1025	Gustaguia	De Guzman	20	cdo	Resident
1026	Gregoria	Patias	44	cdo	Resident
1027	Ambrocia	Cornelio	46	sol	Resident
1028	Catalina	Serrano	42	sol	Resident
1029	Felipa	Salvador	30	sol	Resident
1030	Francisca	Sanetrez	61	vdo	Resident
1031	Elena	Mallari	45	vdo	Resident
1032	Romana	Serrano	61	vdo	Resident
1033	Francisca	Reyes	35	sol	Resident
1034	Dorotea	Valdez	46	sol	Resident
1035	Juana	Mallari	59	vdo	Resident
1036	Leoncia	Tratar	50	sol	Resident
1037	Cornelia	Ambrosio	21	sol	Resident
1038	Dominga	Pineda	43	cdo	Resident
1039	Matea	Salita	17	sol	Resident
1040	Juana	Reyes	20	cdo	Resident
1041	Gregoria	Flores	39	cdo	Resident
1042	Laureana	Bibiesca	24	vdo	Resident
1043	Benedicta	Tamayo	36	vdo	Resident
1044	Victoriana	Santos	24	cdo	Resident
1045	Magdalena	Buenaventura	22	cdo	Resident
1046	Tomasa	Salazar	60	cdo	Resident

1047	Dionisia	Cosca	30	vdo	Resident
1048	Faustina	Cosca	31	cdo	Resident
1049	Maria	Benitez	23	cdo	Resident
1050	Teodora	Yglesias	37	cdo	Resident
1051	Francisca	Yabut	68	cdo	Resident
1052	Josefa	Belleza	39	cdo	Resident
1053	Ambrosia	Garcia	39	cdo	Resident
1054	Ysidora	Sirno	34	cdo	Resident
1055	Clemencia	Santos	40	sol	Resident
1056	Epifania	Bernal	40	cdo	Resident
1057	Simona	Sinadosa	45	vdo	Resident
1058	Elenteria	Reyes	28	cdo	Resident
1059	Adriana	Alcantara	40	cdo	Resident
1060	Guillerma	Estanislao	59	cdo	Resident
1061	Liceria	Roncar	28	cdo	Resident
1062	Marta	Rafael	27	sol	Resident
1063	Fulgencia	Guzman	41	cdo	Resident
1064	Gabriela	Royo	31	cdo	Resident
1065	Francisca	Lopez	57	cdo	Resident
1066	Basilia	Castillo	30	cdo	Resident
1067	Barbara	Bulos	22	sol	Resident
1068	Eugfrina	Lopez	31	vdo	Resident
1069	Angela	Mendoza	37	cdo	Resident
1070	Francisca	Bermudez	58	cdo	Resident
1071	Juliana	Santos	28	sol	Resident
1072	Petrona	Jose	32	cdo	Resident
1073	Bernarda	Guzman	25	sol	Resident
1074	Juliana	Nugit	22	cdo	Resident
1075	Procesa	Carpio	24	cdo	Resident
1076	Matea	Santos	33	cdo	Resident

1077	Ysabel	Gonzales	30	sol	Resident
1078	Flaviana	Dela Cruz	27	vdo	Resident
1079	Faustina	Mendoza	32	sol	Resident
1080	Benita	Dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
1081	Clemencia	Cajatol	31	cdo	Resident
1082	Savina	San Pedro	38	cdo	Resident
1083	Bibiana	Mabali	40	vdo	Resident
1084	Dominga	Fajardo	24	cdo	Resident
1085	Saturnina	De Jesus	23	cdo	Resident
1086	Natalia	Peralta	44	vdo	Resident
1087	Raymunda	Delos Reyes	40	cdo	Resident
1088	Petra	Onada	22	sol	Resident
1089	Clara	Ariola	36	sol	Resident
1090	Teodora	Delos Reyes	25	sol	Resident
1091	Paulina	Rodriguez	25	sol	Resident
1092	Andrea	Delos Santos	23	sol	Resident
1093	Emiliana	Malendoc	29	sol	Resident
1094	Raymunda	Aguirre	31	cdo	Resident
1095	Teodora	Clechon	22	cdo	Resident
1096	Paula	Mandaran	21	cdo	Resident
1097	Eugenia	Felipe	39	vdo	Resident
1098	Apolonia	Penipe	29	vdo	Resident
1099	Andrea	Juliano	59	vdo	Resident
1100	Antonia	Juan	38	cdo	Resident
1101	Maria	Merced	31	sol	Resident
1102	Manuela	Abogado	28	sol	Resident
1103	Cavina	Delos Santos	37	cdo	Resident
1104	Lucina	Reyes	19	cdo	Resident
1105	Gregoria	Razola	34	cdo	Resident
1106	Victoriana	Reyes	31	sol	Resident

1107	Gregoria	Ynocencio	28	sol	Resident
1108	Tecla	Ynocencio	28	sol	Resident
1109	Macaria	Jose	25	sol	Resident
1110	Andrea	Gatus	30	vdo	Resident
1111	Engracia	Centeno	20	sol	Resident
1112	Jacinta	Evangelista	31	vdo	Resident
1113	Agustina	Bernardino	22	cdo	Resident
1114	Cirila	Perez	30	cdo	Resident
1115	Petra	De Ocampo	33	cdo	Resident
1116	Nicolasa	Neriz	55	cdo	Resident
1117	Eugenia	Enaya	50	cdo	Resident
1118	Juana	Reyes	22	sol	Resident
1119	Eufemia	Bautista	30	cdo	Resident
1120	Camila	Chico	28	sol	Resident
1121	Juana	Santos	32	cdo	Resident
1122	Epifania	Larcia	24	vdo	Resident
1123	Castora	Castro	33	vdo	Resident
1124	Juana	Montejo	36	cdo	Resident
1125	Vicenta	Yson	32	cdo	Resident
1126	Florentina	Camella	30	cdo	Resident
1127	Agustina	Centeno	29	sol	Resident
1128	Gregoria	Dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
1129	Rafaela	Gaspar	31	sol	Resident
1130	Escolastica	Pascual	25	cdo	Resident
1131	Valentina	Castro	34	sol	Resident
1132	Juana	Coronel	27	cdo	Resident
1133	Bartola	Francisco	28	cdo	Resident
1134	Juana	Garcia	61	vdo	Resident
1135	Maria	Peralta	32	sol	Resident
1136	Estefania	De Vera	33	cdo	Resident

1137	Segunda	Melgarejo	27	sol	Resident
1138	Ysabel	Del Rosario	46	sol	Resident
1139	Tomasa	Rodrigues	33	sol	Resident
1140	Tomasa	Dayot	27	vdo	Resident
1141	Juana	Magbilang	50	cdo	Resident
1142	Nicolasa	Alcantara	21	cdo	Resident
1143	Victoriana	Mendoza	21	cdo	Resident
1144	Macaria	Ramirez	30	cdo	Resident
1145	Juana	Javier	27	cdo	Resident
1146	Melecia	Gonzales	35	cdo	Resident
1147	Trinidad	Garcia	48	vdo	Resident
1148	Dominga	Cortes	30	cdo	Resident
1149	Romana	Cunanan	38	sol	Resident
1150	Juana	Carlos	56	vdo	Resident
1151	Florencia	Santiago	35	cdo	Resident
1152	Paula	De Leon	57	vdo	Resident
1153	Placida	Gonzales	50	sol	Resident
1154	Dorotea	Zapanta	23	cdo	Resident
1155	Felipa	Fernandez	48	vdo	Resident
1156	Josefa	Damiano	23	sol	Resident
1157	Bernalda	Malicse	23	cdo	Resident
1158	Prudencia	Punzalan	29	cdo	Resident
1159	Lucia	Del Rosario	34	cdo	Resident
1160	Marcela	Bello	28	cdo	Resident
1161	Apolonia	Caparas	22	sol	Resident
1162	Vicoriana	Navarro	20	sol	Resident
1163	Juana	Olivia	38	cdo	Resident
1164	Juana	Faustino	32	vdo	Resident
1165	Rafaela	Modesto	34	vdo	Resident
1166	Patricia	Ramera	24	sol	Resident

1167	Gervava	De Jesus	36	vdo	Resident
1168	Perfecta	Lacsamana	34	cdo	Resident
1169	Concepcion	Alanis	52	vdo	Resident
1170	Francisca	De Guna	39	sol	Resident
1171	Esperiona	Ramon	22	sol	Resident
1172	Juana	Barrera	19	sol	Resident
1173	Lorenza	Santiago	24	sol	Resident
1174	Monica	Pajo	28	sol	Resident
1175	Maria	Ylona	33	cdo	Resident
1176	Carmen	Sanches	33	sol	Resident
1177	Bernardina	Santos	51	cdo	Resident
1178	Petrona	De Guzman	39	vdo	Resident
1179	Eusebia	Ygnacio	37	cdo	Resident
1180	Fermina	Taroy	23	sol	Resident
1181	Estefania	Angolo	40	sol	Resident
1182	Regina	Cruz	39	sol	Resident
1183	Ygnacia	Catalan	36	sol	Resident

Appendix 7. Lavanderas in Binondo, 1887.
 NAP, *Vecindario de Binondo*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	RES/MIG
1	Eulogia	Gonzales	62	cdo	Resident
2	Martina	Agulto	52	vdo	Resident
3	Lorenza	Goyone	21	sol	Resident
4	Gregoria	Ulivera	29	cdo	Resident
5	Eulalia	Medina	32	sol	Resident
6	Anastacia	Amos	57	vdo	Resident
7	Ana	Matias	33	sol	Resident
8	Laureana	Mabola	38	sol	Resident
9	Apolonia	Massimio?	47	vdo	Migrant
10	Juana	Catalan	42	vdo	Migrant
11	Emigdra	Bahati	56	sol	Resident
12	Ambrosia	Bernardino	21	sol	Resident
13	Gregoria	Malubay	56	vdo	Resident
14	Dorotea	Allada	27	cdo	Resident
15	Rufina	dela Rosa	26	sol	Resident
16	Francisca	Aguilar	37	cdo	Resident
17	Gregoria	Gracia	54	vdo	Resident
18	Engracia	Dionao	36	cdo	Resident
19	Cuefania	Cabigao	29	sol	Resident
20	Macaria	Navarro	27	sol	Resident
21	Pontenciana	delos Santos	36	cdo	Resident
22	Juana	dela Cruz	26	cdo	Resident
23	Agapita	Francisco	54	cdo	Resident
24	Luisa	Severa	17	sol	Resident
25	Luisa	San José	25	cdo	Resident
26	Valentina	delos Angeles	23	sol	Resident

27	Graciana	dela Rosa	28	cdo	Resident
28	Maria	Morales	28	cdo	Resident
29	Faustina	dela Cruz	32	cdo	Resident
30	Felicia	delos Angeles	24	sol	Resident
31	Paulina	Cayapyap	24	cdo	Resident
32	Sinforosa	Cayapyap	22	cdo	Resident
33	Andrea	delos Angeles	35	cdo	Resident
34	Fernanda	Olila	18	cdo	Resident
35	Benigna	Marquez	32	sol	Resident
36	Caytana	Loresa	26	sol	Resident
37	Angela	Estevan	31	cdo	Resident
38	Benita	Reyes	30	sol	Resident
39	Legarda	Bersa	64	cdo	Resident
40	Agueda	Magalunan	31	sol	Resident
41	Crisanta	Ysidro	19	cdo	Resident
42	Bibiana	Tapang	22	sol	Resident
43	Matea	Lopez	28	sol	Resident
44	Bernabela	Vidal	29	cdo	Resident
45	Ysidora	Ramon	19	cdo	Resident
46	Rufina	Villanueva	29	cdo	Resident
47	Serapia	dela Cruz	41	cdo	Resident
48	Lorenza	delos Santos	27	cdo	Resident
49	Ysidora	Mendiola	27	sol	Resident
50	Leoncia	dela Cruz	42	vdo	Resident
51	Maria	Barba	67	vdo	Resident
52	Feliciano	Mendez	46	vdo	Resident
53	Carluta	Sarmiento	42	cdo	Resident
54	Lucina	Espiritu	30	sol	Resident
55	Alejandra	Paragas	30	vdo	Resident
56	Potenciana	Pascuala	70	cdo	Resident

57	Maria	del Rosario	40	vdo	Resident
58	Dominga	Mariano	35	cdo	Resident
59	Gregoria	Pagriso	18	sol	Resident
60	Plasida	Murgida	38	cdo	Resident
61	Atanasia	Carganilla	18	sol	Resident
62	Cayetana	Mabarro	23	sol	Resident
63	Maria	San Antonio	20	cdo	Resident
64	Mauricia	delos Santos	31	vdo	Resident
65	Maxima	delos Santos	19	sol	Resident
66	Simona	Agustin	21	sol	Resident
67	Gregoria	de la Cruz	32	cdo	Resident
68	Sotera	Manalangat	20	sol	Resident
69	Romana	Lopez	37	cdo	Resident
70	Maria	Umali	37	cdo	Resident
71	Sonora	Reyes	41	vdo	Resident
72	Roverta	Crisostomo	36	cdo	Resident
73	Tomása	Vicencio	30	cdo	Resident
74	Pragedes	Gonsales	26	cdo	Resident
75	Maxima	Magbilinan	36	vdo	Resident
76	Gabriela	Tiburcia	36	cdo	Resident
77	Bonifacia	de _____	25	sol	Resident
78	Romana	Besa	38	vdo	Resident
79	Petra	Abante	30	vdo	Resident
80	Brigida	Mabilog	40	vdo	Resident
81	Eugenia	Real	27	sol	Resident
82	Victoriana	Ravilo	39	cdo	Resident
83	Juana	Rabilo	25	sol	Resident
84	Martina	Aguirre	32	cdo	Resident
85	Maria	Castillo	28	sol	Resident
86	Josefa	Tolentino	27	sol	Resident

87	Filomena	Salvador	40	sol	Resident
88	Alejandra	Principe	28	sol	Resident
89	Maria	Liwanag	40	sol	Resident
90	Maxima	Ruis	30	cdo	Resident
91	Filomena	Joaquin	30	sol	Resident
92	Rosa	Anacleto	20	sol	Resident
93	Tomasa	Miranda	25	cdo	Resident
94	Maria	Calalay	52	vdo	Resident
95	Basilisa	Bernarda	56	cdo	Resident
96	Susana	Salay	59	vdo	Resident
97	Lucia	Lopez	36	vdo	Resident
98	Anastasia	Ramos	57	sol	Resident
99	Juana	Gonzalez	30	cdo	Resident
100	Raymunda	San Juan	47	vdo	Resident
101	Veronica	Eugenio	58	sol	Resident
102	Cristina	delos Santos	20	sol	Resident
103	Cuefania	Salvador	37	sol	Resident
104	Dionisia	Torres	18	sol	Resident
105	Policarpia	Aquilino	31	cdo	Resident
106	Petrona	Espiritu	19	sol	Resident
107	Antonia	Obispo	21	cdo	Resident
108	Cirila	de Ocampo	34	cdo	Resident
109	Maria	delos Santos	25	cdo	Resident
110	Procesa	Lancap	30	sol	Resident
111	Faustina	Tolentino	47	cdo	Resident
112	Telesfora	Cruz	18	sol	Resident
113	Juana	Mafarel	24	sol	Resident
114	Maria	dela Cruz	24	sol	Resident
115	Bernardina	Arambulo	19	sol	Resident
116	Petronila	Laureano	41	sol	Resident

117	Petrona	delos Santos	45	sol	Resident
118	Esverta	dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
119	Eleuteria	Torres	40	cdo	Resident
120	Yrenea	Salvador	26	sol	Resident
121	Severina	Cabrera	31	vdo	Resident
122	Gertrudes	Arambulo	26	cdo	Resident
123	Juana	Sarte	20	cdo	Resident
124	Sinforosa	Carreon	28	cdo	Resident
125	Simeona	Silvestre	46	cdo	Resident
126	Apolonia	Jurado	28	cdo	Resident
127	Maria	Peres	30	cdo	Resident
128	Andrea	Sotisa	38	cdo	Resident
129	Josefa	Bonifacio	30	cdo	Resident
130	Carlota	Damaso	46	vdo	Resident
131	Dominga	Narios	22	cdo	Resident
132	Paula	de Jesus	28	vdo	Resident
133	Petra	de Gusman	19	cdo	Resident
134	Vicenta	Rafael	33	cdo	Resident
135	Maria	delos Santos	63	sol	Resident
136	Juana	Gutierrez	57	vdo	Resident
137	Juliana	Estrella	19	sol	Resident
138	Gertrudes	José	27	vdo	Resident
139	Felipa	Zalasar	20	cdo	Resident
140	Eulalia	Luna	28	sol	Resident
141	Jacoba	Daniel	60	vdo	Resident
142	Nasaria	Alejo	60	cdo	Resident
143	Juana	Peres	29	sol	Resident
144	Antera	Lasara	25	sol	Resident
145	Tiela	dela Crus	38	cdo	Resident
146	Maria	delos Santos	62	sol	Resident

147	Lorenza	Erendolo	20	sol	Resident
148	Manuela		32	vdo	Resident
149	Ramona	del Rosario	51	vdo	Resident
150	Matea	Hilario	21	cdo	Resident
151	Cirila	Marques	40	sol	Resident
152	Filomena	Alseo	40	sol	Resident
153	Francisca	Maso	39	sol	Resident
154	Serapia	Urquin	19	sol	Resident
155	Vicenta	delos Santos	33	sol	Resident
156	Feliciana	delos Santos	19	sol	Resident
157	Crisfina	Martines	39	vdo	Resident
158	Pantaleona	Mar____na	31	sol	Resident
159	Francisca	Francisco	42	sol	Resident
160	Maria	Torres	23	vdo	Resident
161	Maria	Tolentino	50	sol	Resident
162	Josefa	Pasado	21	sol	Resident
163	Elena	Bautista	33	sol	Resident
164	Francisca	Asan	41	vdo	Resident
165	Catalina	Domingo	20	cdo	Resident
166	Policarpia	Tienson	36	sol	Resident
167	Juana	Olais	37	sol	Resident
168	Justa	Lazaro	25	cdo	Resident
169	Maria	Jesús	59	vdo	Resident
170	Teresa	Relosa	39	vdo	Resident
171	Januaria	Calderon	31	vdo	Resident
172	Marta	Pineda	39	sol	Resident
173	Maria	de la Cruz	30	vdo	Resident
174	Leonarda	Cruz	69	vdo	Resident
175	Agustina	Tangonan	22	cdo	Resident
176	joaquina	Galves	32	cdo	Resident

177	Elena	Petas	36	vdo	Resident
178	Dionicia	Maynuiat	26	cdo	Resident
179	Maria	Aniceto	40	vdo	Resident
180	Honorina	dela Rosa	49	vdo	Resident
181	Severina	Gimenez	19	sol	Resident
182	Quintina	del Rosario	41	vdo	Resident
183	Matea	Villanueva	28	cdo	Resident
184	Juana	Ramos	41	sol	Resident
185	Justa	de Guia	35	sol	Resident
186	Toribia	Enriquez	35	vdo	Resident
187	Alfonza	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
188	Baltazara	Hilario	30	sol	Resident
189	Aleja	Maria	28	cdo	Resident
190	Juana	Rivera	27	cdo	Resident
191	Vicenta	Quiambao	31	sol	Resident
192	Saturnina	Hernandez	29	sol	Resident
193	Apolonia	Vallejo	26	sol	Resident
194	Ygnacia	Larsaba	50	sol	Resident
195	Ysabel	delos Santos	44	cdo	Resident
196	Juana	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
197	Silonia	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
198	Andrea	Gumeo	29	sol	Resident
199	Rufina	dela Cruz	29	sol	Resident
200	Angela	Cruz	45	vdo	Resident
201	Maria	Celestino	22	sol	Resident
202	Gestrudes	Gutierrez	58	vdo	Resident
203	Gregoria	Quiteran	22	sol	Resident
204	Victoriana	Medina	36	cdo	Resident
205	Filomena	dela Cruz	31	sol	Resident
206	Clemencia	Buenaventura	33	sol	Resident

207	Andrea	Malantic	28	sol	Resident
208	Alfonza	Mariano	36	cdo	Resident
209	Maria	Mariano	20	sol	Resident
210	Geronima	Gatdula	28	cdo	Resident
211	Timotea	Corpuz	32	vdo	Resident
212	Perfecta	Casam	28	vdo	Resident
213	Braulia	dela Cruz	38	cdo	Resident
214	Petra	dela Cruz	22	cdo	Resident
215	Eduarda	Fernandez	29	sol	Resident
216	Agapita	Banet	59	vdo	Resident
217	Agapita	Lustre	39	sol	Resident
218	Agustina	Abellera	40	sol	Resident
219	Tomasa	Pariñas	37	cdo	Resident
220	Damiana	Villanueva	30	cdo	Resident
221	Procesa	Saguinson	35	cdo	Resident
222	Genoveva	delos Santos	51	sol	Resident
223	Victoriana	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
224	Vicenta	Malana	27	sol	Resident
225	Juana	Nicolas	29	sol	Resident
226	Bernarda	delos Santos	43	cdo	Resident
227	Ysidora	Alcantara	50	sol	Resident
228	Monica	dela Cruz	37	cdo	Resident
229	Nicolasa	Francisco	37	cdo	Resident
230	Marcela	Andrade	23	sol	Resident
231	Macaria	Ramos	27	sol	Resident
232	Rosalia	Villanueva	25	sol	Resident
233	Maria	delos Santos	52	vdo	Resident
234	Policarpia	de Castro	30	sol	Resident
235	Victoriana	Vidal	31	vdo	Resident
236	Laureana	Estevan	37	cdo	Resident

237	Pia	de Ocampo	44	cdo	Resident
238	Andrea	Pascual	32	vdo	Resident
239	Rufina	Buan	35	cdo	Resident
240	Vicenta	delos Reyes	28	sol	Resident
241	Marcela	Mendoza	47	vdo	Resident
242	Jacinta	Rojas	29	vdo	Resident
243	Teodorica	Agum	36	vdo	Resident
244	Rufina	Oso	32	sol	Resident
245	Alejandra	Maspoc	27	cdo	Resident
246	Maria	Mendoza	23	sol	Resident
247	Ysidra	Rijano	28	sol	Resident
248	Paulina	Buga	47	sol	Resident
249	Rufina	Avis	30	sol	Resident
250	Anastacia	Rubio	30	cdo	Resident
251	Teodorica	Quintero	35	cdo	Resident
252	Agapita	Garcia	38	cdo	Resident
253	Roberta	Leonardo	30	cdo	Resident
254	Ygnacia	Tamisan	38	cdo	Resident
255	Dionicia	Fernando	29	sol	Resident
256	Ramona	Soriano	25	sol	Resident
257	Manuela	Rigoña	34	cdo	Resident
258	Mamerta	Lacbao	30	cdo	Resident
259	Bernandina	Mendoza	30	cdo	Resident
260	Bernandina	Trinidad	26	cdo	Resident
261	Eugenia	Alambat	42	sol	Resident
262	Brigida	Barela	28	sol	Resident
263	Benita	Robles	38	sol	Resident
264	Juliana	dela Cruz	30	vdo	Resident
265	Sarapia	Rojas	34	sol	Resident
266	Ambrocia	Guyat	34	sol	Resident

267	Geroima	Bautista	37	cdo	Resident
268	Juliana	Esperanza	32	sol	Resident
269	Nicolasa	del Rosario	30	cdo	Resident
270	Evarista	Gabor	40	cdo	Resident
271	Jacoba	Noremica	44	cdo	Resident
272	Maria	Angeles	25	sol	Resident
273	Teodorica	Jacinto	45	sol	Resident
274	Anacleto	Rubio	40	cdo	Resident
275	Maximina	Atienza	28	sol	Resident
276	Clara	Cruz	36	vdo	Resident
277	Enrica	San Nicolas	25	sol	Resident
278	Simona	dela Cruz	33	cdo	Resident
279	Jacinta	Cruz	35	sol	Resident
280	Victoriana	Navarro	25	cdo	Resident
281	Tomasa	dela Cruz	40	sol	Resident
282	Hilaria	delos Santos	36	vdo	Resident
283	Joaquina	Salvador	20	sol	Resident
284	Toribia	Maglalang	38	sol	Resident
285	Benita	Estrella	46	sol	Resident
286	Ysidra	Camoa	26	cdo	Resident
287	Angela	Tangiaco	48	vdo	Resident
288	Martina	delos Reyes	39	sol	Resident
289	Monica	Gamabon	30	sol	Resident
290	Ygmidia	Canuto	34	sol	Resident
291	Juana	Fausta	28	cdo	Resident
292	Maria	Murillo	27	sol	Resident
293	Peruna	Pailay	25	sol	Resident
294	Segunda	delos Santos	34	cdo	Resident
295	Francisca	Luna	21	cdo	Resident
296	Eulalia	Quimbao	42	cdo	Resident

297	Feliciana	Ygnacio	30	cdo	Resident
298	Joaquina	Cortes	32	sol	Resident
299	Juana	Bautista	28	cdo	Resident
300	Urbana	Fernando	39	vdo	Resident
301	Maria	Orazco	40	cdo	Resident
302	Romana	dela Cruz	23	cdo	Resident
303	Estefania	Sarmiento	18	sol	Resident
304	Martina	Mendez	55	cdo	Resident
305	Valentina	Urbano	22	sol	Resident
306	Teresa	dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
307	Alejandra	Mendiola	25	sol	Resident
308	Barselisa	delos Reyes	46	vdo	Resident
309	Josefa	Lopez	18	sol	Resident
310	Candida	Manalo	19	sol	Resident
311	Daniela	Sobrino	18	sol	Resident
312	Juliana	Lingat	46	cdo	Resident
313	Juliana	Bunagas	33	cdo	Resident
314	Bruna	Ygnacio	41	sol	Resident
315	Liceria	Sedal	28	sol	Resident
316	Luciana	Reyes	38	vdo	Resident
317	Alfonsa	Tores	29	sol	Resident
318	Hilaria	San Juan	39	sol	Resident
319	Carmen	Pascual	25	sol	Resident
320	Clara	Ymson	40	cdo	Resident
321	Romana	delos Santos	29	cdo	Resident
322	Roverta	Sebastiana	51	sol	Resident
323	Eugenia	dela Cruz	21	sol	Resident
324	Ygnacia	Rafael	24	sol	Resident
325	Rosa	Macalunao	29	cdo	Resident
326	Brigida	Esguerra	37	sol	Resident

327	Amalta	Tagugayan	20	sol	Resident
328	Ygnacia	dela Pas	20	sol	Resident
329	Hipolita	Callejo	21	cdo	Resident
330	Rafaella	Sabedra	40	sol	Resident
331	Barceliza	Paula	20	sol	Resident
332	Dolores	Enriques	30	sol	Resident
333	Damiana	Cruz	34	sol	Resident
334	Cirila	Reyes	22	cdo	Resident
335	Eugenia	Reyes	40	sol	Resident
336	Juana	Cuato	36	sol	Resident
337	Serapia	David	41	sol	Resident
338	Joaquina	Cruz	20	sol	Resident
339	Francisca	Paguio	35	cdo	Resident
340	Dorotea	Antonia	38	sol	Resident
341	Silvina	delos Santoz	39	cdo	Resident
342	Celedonia	Candida	31	cdo	Resident
343	Leoncia	de Gusman	38	cdo	Resident
344	Juana	Ramos	18	sol	Resident
345	Macaria	Faustino	45	sol	Resident
346	Juana	Monzon	36	cdo	Resident
347	Victoriana	Lopez	51	cdo	Resident
348	Anaclea	Reyes	32	sol	Resident
349	Macaria	Crisostomo	28	cdo	Resident
350	Macaria	dela Cruz	48	vdo	Resident
351	Petronila	dela Cruz	20	sol	Resident
352	Francisca	Ramires	19	sol	Resident
353	Maxima	Citon	25	sol	Resident
354	Mamerta	Recafon	19	sol	Resident
355	Ceferina	Panganiban	37	sol	Resident
356	Petronila	Santiago	27	sol	Resident

357	Maxima	Agrinumo	35	cdo	Resident
358	Petra	Denum	37	sol	Resident
359	Romualda	delos Reyes	41	cdo	Resident
360	Marica	Aquino	46	vdo	Resident
361	Dominga	delos Santos	44	vdo	Resident
362	Margarita	Capitulo	32	cdo	Resident
363	Francisca	Millan	40	cdo	Resident
364	Marcelina	Colgado	20	cdo	Resident
365	Victoriana	Herrera	35	sol	Resident
366	Agapita	Rojas	19	sol	Resident
367	Petrona	Bantay	51	cdo	Resident
368	Ambrocia	Sanches	27	cdo	Resident
369	Juana	dela Cruz	29	cdo	Resident
370	Maria	Contrera	60	cdo	Resident
371	Vicenta	Nolasco	60	cdo	Resident
372	Ambrosia	Grupo	31	sol	Resident
373	Francisca	Bautista	28	sol	Resident
374	Tomasa	Clemente	70	vdo	Resident
375	Lauriana	Anliquera	27	sol	Resident
376	Maria	Bernarda	60	cdo	Resident
377	Baltazara	Olinary	28	sol	Resident
378	Ysidra	Barrid	20	sol	Resident
379	Engracia	Acorta	31	cdo	Resident
380	Miguela	Mercado	57	vdo	Resident
381	Cayetana	delos Santos	45	cdo	Resident
382	Mecayla	Dacanay	31	cdo	Resident
383	Petrona	Olores	40	sol	Resident
384	Petrona	Catagni	35	sol	Resident
385	Agapita	Catagni	37	vdo	Resident
386	Petrona	de Vera	24	sol	Resident

387	Ynocencia	Nepumuceno	39	vdo	Resident
388	Adriana	delos Terino	59	sol	Resident
389	Bonifacia	Digoo	27	sol	Resident
390	Candida	Niga	22	cdo	Resident
391	Justa	Manuel	53	vdo	Resident
392	Victonara	Javier	18	sol	Resident
393	Fausta	Yumul	47	vdo	Resident
394	Magdalena	Yeo	39	cdo	Resident
395	Victoria	Basan	25	sol	Resident
396	Maria	Castillo	17	sol	Resident
397	Lazara	Santa Maria	25	sol	Resident
398	Graciana	Aguilar	51	vdo	Resident
399	Feliciana	Manajan	36	cdo	Resident
400	Trinidad	Leonardo	23	cdo	Resident
401	Rufina	delos Santos	48	sol	Resident
402	Andrea	Sibalo	39	cdo	Resident
403	Ciriaca	Santalesis	39	vdo	Resident

Appendix 8. Listed Cigarreras in Tondo, 1887.
NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS
1	Juliana	Santos	23	cdo
2	Civila	Villanueva	42	cdo
3	Benigna	Bautista	20	sol
4	Hisberta	Liera	17	sol
5	Balbina	Cruz	29	sol
6	Eugenia	Cruz	27	sol
7	Vicenta	Cruz	22	sol
8	Luisa	Guevarra	46	cdo
9	Juana	Trinidad	21	sol
10	Josefa	Trinidad	20	sol
11	Francisca	Trinidad	18	sol
12	Margarita	Alvarez	26	sol
13	Silvestra	Alvarez	21	sol
14	Maxima	Damiano	33	cdo
15	Atonia	Salasar	46	sol
16	Eulalia	Santos	36	vdo
17	Maria	Reyes	31	cdo
18	Maria	Veteo	44	sol
19	Sotera	Covambias	33	sol
20	Vicenta	Jacinto	20	sol
21	Florentina	Alejo	24	cdo
22	Lucia	Zamora	34	cdo
23	Petrone	Samson	29	cdo
24	Romana	Alvarez	37	cdo
25	Evarista	Gonsales	23	cdo
26	Maria	Santos	36	cdo

27	Rufina	Lalandanan	34	cdo
28	Mauricia	Garcia	28	cdo
29	Juana	Buson	41	sol
30	Bernardina	Buson	22	sol
31	Eulogia	Santos	30	vdo
32	Marta	Cruz	36	vdo
33	Ysidra	dela Rosa	49	cdo
34	Monica	Cruz	38	cdo
35	Flora	Cruz	28	cdo
36	Margarita	Ongco	33	vdo
37	Ysabel	Obispo	32	cdo
38	Juana	Lopez	32	cdo
39	Dorotea	dela Cruz	39	cdo
40	Juliana	Flores	28	vdo
41	Marcela	De Ynesa	23	sol
42	Eusebia	Alipio	60	vdo
43	Rufina	Alcaras	27	cdo
44	Marcela	Mariano	41	vdo
45	Eduarda	Gonzales	29	cdo
46	Marcosa	Reyes	35	cdo
47	Quiteria	Victorio	20	cdo
48	Ancelma	Gesturdes	38	vdo
49	Francisca	Ygnacio	29	sol
50	Faustina	Cruz	39	vdo
51	Hermenegilda	Salcedo	22	sol
52	Petrona	Salcedo	18	sol
53	Josefa	Crus	38	cdo
54	Maximina	Garcia	14	sol
55	Pascuala	Pilapil	31	cdo
56	Vicenta	Pangilinan	23	cdo

57	Eulalia	Trinidad	27	cdo
58	Rafaela	Cristobal	17	sol
59	Sabina	Vargas	38	cdo
60	Sinforosa	Santos	31	cdo
61	Dionisia	Valdez	15	sol
62	Florencia	Pengco	29	sol
63	Francisca	Crus	19	sol
64	Bibiana	Enseng	46	cdo
65	Maria	Samonte	32	cdo
66	Modesta	Marcelo	26	cdo
67	Catalina	Flores	40	cdo
68	Andrea	Peres	32	sol
69	Hipolita	Tolentino	30	vdo
70	Maximiana	José	53	cdo
71	Bernabela	José	24	sol
72	Maria	Jose	22	sol
73	Luisa	Cristobal	21	cdo
74	Maria	de la Crus	20	cdo
75	Gregoria	de Guzman	35	cdo
76	Victoriana	Flores	20	cdo
77	Marcelina	Zafra	25	cdo
78	Clara	Palad	19	sol
79	Simplicia	Gabriel	16	sol
80	Ynes	Gabriel	14	sol
81	Saturnina	Arroyo	37	cdo
82	Inana	Clemente	21	cdo
83	Bruna	Reyes	19	cdo
84	Leoncia	Losiaga	30	cdo
85	Leoncia	Ramos	23	sol
86	Maxima	Salomon	25	sol

87	Andrea	Salomon	33	cdo
88	Andrea	Zalasar	42	vdo
89	Lorensa	Santos	16	sol
90	Eulalia	Sebastian	54	cdo
91	Ruperta	Crus	16	sol
92	Antonia	Mariano	30	cdo
93	Bernabela	delos Santos	29	cdo
94	Eustaquia	Santos	21	cdo
95	Romualda	Marcelo	31	cdo
96	Maria	Santos	15	sol
97	Valentina	Bautista	18	sol
98	Camila	Bautista	16	sol
99	Flaviana	Cruz	35	cdo
100	Cirila	Trinidad	37	cdo
101	Justa	Tanungco	27	cdo
102	Miguela	Reyes	37	cdo
103	Juana	Mariano	23	sol
104	Juana	Mariano	22	sol
105	Paula	Sta. Maria	50	cdo
106	Florentina	Sta. Maria	38	cdo
107	Justa	Morte	30	cdo
108	Josefa	Aquino	30	cdo
109	Eusebia	Manuela	37	cdo
110	Leoncia	Guevara	28	sol
111	Maria	Guevara	24	sol
112	Faustina	Guevara	20	sol
113	Eugenia	Guevara	15	sol
114	Andrea	Gabriel	20	cdo
115	Brigida	Ynfante	30	cdo
116	Gregoria	Jacinto	24	cdo

117	Gregoria	Hipolito	24	cdo
118	Martina	Evangelista	22	cdo
119	Macaria	Guevara	49	vdo
120	Dionisia	Guevara	19	sol
121	Lazara	Saquil	52	cdo
122	Andrea	José	25	cdo
123	Victorina	Dominguez	24	sol
124	Antonia	Reyes	25	cdo
125	Candida	Corpus	36	sol
126	Agapita	Corpus	32	sol
127	Saturnina	Cueto	23	cdo
128	Lamberta	Reyes	32	cdo
129	Ysabel	Reyes	33	cdo
130	Loreta	Reyes	36	cdo
131	Cerila	Agustin	62	cdo
132	Carlota	Tajan	30	cdo
133	Dominga	Trinidad	34	sol
134	Nicolasa	Domingo	32	cdo
135	Maria	Trinidad	27	cdo
136	Paulina	Reyes	29	cdo
137	Josefa	Trinidad	38	cdo
138	Barbara	Santos	42	cdo
139	Braulia	Narsobia	18	sol
140	Lorenza	Narsobia	10	sol
141	Fermina	Layson	18	sol
142	Guillerma	Jose	47	vdo
143	Andrea	Damiano	26	cdo
144	Leoncia	Angeles	34	cdo
145	Tomasa	Senson	33	cdo
146	Felipa	Baltazar	36	vdo

147	Prisca	Salcedo	57	vdo
148	Anastasia	Senson	66	vdo
149	Fulgencia	Barsobia	34	cdo
150	Maxima	Florentino	19	cdo
151	Marcosa	Lopez	20	vdo
152	Geronima	Lopez	16	sol
153	Alejandra	Achug	31	cdo
154	Timotea	delos Santos	32	vdo
155	Damiana	Ygnacio	30	cdo
156	Josefa	Reyes	15	sol
157	Rosa	Santos	33	cdo
158	Alejandra	Santos	19	cdo
159	Dominga	San Miguel	27	cdo
160	Matea	Vargas	32	cdo
161	Eulalia	Vargas	30	sol
162	Blasica	Vargas	28	cdo
163	Valentina	Cruz	31	cdo
164	Lucena	Posas	42	cdo
165	Bartola	Manajan	19	sol
166	Tomasa	Corpus	38	sol
167	Ysidra	Corpus	37	sol
168	Tomasa	Corpus	20	vdo
169	Petrona	Solomon	26	sol
170	Maria	Choco	21	sol
171	Juana	Ruiz	32	cdo
172	Venancia	Buson	53	sol
173	Hilaria	Perez	37	cdo
174	Lucia	Buson	23	cdo
175	Martina	Crus	28	cdo
176	Pinca	Reyes	49	vdo

177	Claudia	Baltazar	28	cdo
178	Josefa	Herrera	41	cdo
179	Potenciana	Nolasco	18	sol
180	Miguela	Buson	47	sol
181	Victoriana	Andaya	36	vdo
182	Quintina	Achuy	47	cdo
183	Justa	Crus	18	sol
184	Juliana	Trinidad	29	cdo
185	Petrona	Cruz	22	cdo
186	Gregoria	Damian	46	cdo
187	Placida	Cruz	22	sol
188	Martina	Cruz	18	cdo
189	Valentina	Crus	15	sol
190	Maria	Santa Maria	37	cdo
191	Petrona	Rivera	28	cdo
192	Felipa	delos Santos	30	sol
193	Hilaria	Guevara	37	vdo
194	Jacoba	Duran	37	cdo
195	Saturnina	Dizon	38	cdo
196	Flomena	Gutierrez	32	vdo
197	Josefa	del Rosario	31	vdo
198	Tomasa	dela Rosa	23	cdo
199	Juliana	dela Rosa	21	sol
200	Andrea	Sanchez	38	cdo
201	Maria	Solomon	44	cdo
202	Ana	Nepomuceno	17	sol
203	Rosa	Nepomuceno	47	cdo
204	Victoriana	Siongco	30	cdo
205	Lucia	Dizon	27	cdo
206	Hermogena	de Guzman	46	cdo

207	Joaquina	Ampil	33	cdo
208	Lazara	Feliciano	28	cdo
209	Martina	Limbunting	36	cdo
210	Tomasa	Santos	48	sol
211	Severina	Feliciano	28	cdo
212	Ynes	Feliciano	25	sol
213	Rufina	Gregorio	59	vdo
214	Agustina	Jose	31	sol
215	Luisa	Jose	29	cdo
216	Juana	Jose	28	cdo
217	Maria	Olaso	41	cdo
218	Juliana	dela Cruz	28	cdo
219	Potenciana	Bautista	32	cdo
220	Raymunda	Antonio	27	sol
221	Eufenia	Trinidad	15	sol
222	Juana	Santos	34	cdo
223	Epifania	Cruz	58	cdo
224	Maximiana	Natividad	22	sol
225	Felipa	Natividad	21	sol
226	Antonia	Clemente	22	sol
227	Marcela	Santos	26	sol
228	Fernanda	Cabrera	27	sol
229	Margarita	Ysip	37	cdo
230	Ana	Rafael	14	sol
231	Francisca	Cruz	52	cdo
232	Marta	Leocadio	33	sol
233	Juliana	Jose	32	sol
234	Fabiana	Jose	28	sol
235	Estefania	Guasin	47	cdo
236	Margarita	Cruz	24	cdo

237	Romana	Cruz	19	cdo
238	Manuela	Juan	42	vdo
239	Paulina	Rubio	16	sol
240	Nieves	Francisco	32	cdo
241	Lucia	Dela Cruz	32	sol
242	Ynocencia	Dela Cruz	27	sol
243	Catalina	Victorio	42	cdo
244	Apolonia	Lioco	31	cdo
245	Balbina	Bautista	42	cdo
246	Tomasa	Magno	16	sol
247	Leogaria	Magno	14	sol
248	Cipriana	Ramos	47	sol
249	Paula	Ramos	49	sol
250	Manuela	Anceliano	31	cdo
251	Estefania	Cruz	42	sol
252	Tomasa	Cruz	46	sol
253	Martina	Mariano	40	cdo
254	Leoncia	Gachalian	21	cdo
255	Alejandra	Gachalian	15	sol
256	Potenciana	Cruz	39	cdo
257	Dionisia	Feliciano	41	cdo
258	Basilia	Japson	52	vdo
259	Ursula	Japson	23	sol
260	Francisca	Japson	21	sol
261	Miguela	Mariano	54	sol
262	Andrea	Mariano	51	sol
263	Atansicia	Samano	60	vdo
264	Estanislaua	Andaya	52	sol
265	Estefania	Jose	25	sol
266	Venaricia	Banson	23	cdo

267	Barrela	Santos	30	cdo
268	Sinforosa	Bagay	43	cdo
269	Marcela	Lalican	34	cdo
270	Esranslaua	Ariola	38	sol
271	Francisca	Cortes	33	cdo
272	Ana	Jose	31	cdo
273	Dorotea	Mariano	55	vdo
274	Paula	Cruz	13	sol
275	Lorenza	Santiago	19	sol
276	Agustina	Senson	19	sol
277	Tereza	Primo	25	sol
278	Raymunda	Sanchez	39	vdo
279	Juana	Delos Santos	32	sol
280	Mamerta	Ligtas	31	sol
281	Catalina	Alberto	37	cdo
282	Alfonsa	Hernandez	32	cdo
283	Severa	Hernandez	29	sol
284	Ysidora	Punsalan	20	cdo
285	Guillerma	Yson	61	vdo
286	Narcisa	Cruz	47	cdo
287	Petrona	Cruz	17	sol
288	Juana	Pangilinan	21	cdo
289	Esperanza	Trinidad	31	sol
290	Celestina	Mariano	46	cdo
291	Severa	Trinidad	21	sol
292	Silvina	Trinidad	19	sol
293	Quintina	Trinidad	15	sol
294	Lorenza	De Lara	41	cdo
295	Potenciana	Cruz	23	cdo
296	Angela	Leocadio	23	cdo

297	Sabina	Santiago	25	cdo
298	Marcelina	Antonio	15	sol
299	Clara	Antonio	15	sol
300	Rufina	Veteo	25	sol
301	Agustina	Floco	19	sol
302	Tomasa	Antonio	36	cdo
303	Maria	Jose	26	cdo
304	Manuela	Jose	28	cdo
305	Rufina	Esguerra	41	vdo
306	Leoncia	Monico	21	sol
307	Bonifacia	Andres	19	sol
308	Juana	Gutierrez	26	sol
309	Serapia	Cruz	26	sol
310	Manuela	Gabriel	27	sol
311	Dominga	Ramirez	28	sol
312	Engracia	Yanrio	41	cdo
313	Agata	Gabriel	22	sol
314	Jacinta	Bartolome	14	sol
315	Maria	Reyes	19	sol
316	Ana	Reyes	16	sol
317	Dominga	Cruz	28	cdo
318	Ygnacia	Reyes	43	sol
319	Dionisia	Reyes	38	sol
320	Dominga	Reyes	45	sol
321	Marcelina	Reyes	23	sol
322	Telesfora	Bostol	22	sol
323	Maria	Raymundo	31	cdo
324	Petrona	Beltran	37	cdo
325	Clara	Silongan	21	sol
326	Macaria	Cesilio	16	sol

327	Julia	Cruz	37	cdo
328	Laureana	Papa	48	cdo
329	Rufina	Santos	30	cdo
330	Eugenia	Enriquez	27	cdo
331	Olive	Raymundo	42	vdo
332	Valentina	Dela Rosa	57	sol
333	Maria	Trinidad	28	cdo
334	Manuela	Enriques	48	vdo
335	Esperanza	Balatbat	42	sol
336	Maria	Cruz	47	sol
337	Juana	De Leon	33	vdo
338	Juana	Aquino	41	cdo
339	Cornelia	Dela Rosa	15	sol
340	Martina	Valenciano	44	cdo
341	Ursula	Yanico	57	cdo
342	Simplicia	Disiceo	23	sol
343	Juana	Disiceo	20	sol
344	Natalia	Disiceo	17	sol
345	Francisca	Dison	37	sol
346	Anaclea	Dison	34	sol
347	Genasa	Dison	30	sol
348	Bernardina	Reyes	62	vdo
349	Crispina	Reyes	27	sol
350	Modesta	Reyes	22	sol
351	Justa	Reyes	20	sol
352	Faustina	Cruz	32	cdo
353	Eusebia	De Leon	39	cdo
354	Eulalia	Reyes	49	sol
355	Proquinta	Leocadio	58	cdo
356	Genara	Mariano	29	cdo

357	Romana	Payamino	30	cdo
358	Rufina	Fuentes	14	sol
359	Romana	Siozon	26	cdo
360	Julia	Ramirez	30	cdo
361	Hlaria	Dela Roma	38	cdo
362	Candelaria	Ramirez	60	vdo
363	Faustina	Rivera	20	cdo
364	Roberta	Gantisaque	36	cdo
365	Valenciana	Mariano	52	cdo
366	Nazaria	Jose	19	sol
367	Felipa	Jose	17	sol
368	Ynes	Samson	21	cdo
369	Policarpia	Buhay	31	cdo
370	Crisanta	Tuason	30	cdo
371	Petrona	Buluran	18	cdo
372	Francisca	Espiritu	32	vdo
373	Simona	Soriano	38	cdo
374	Ambrosia	Alonzo	26	cdo
375	Graciana	Carmen	20	cdo
376	Valentina	Waldo	57	sol
377	Leocadia	Rojas	24	sol
378	Macaria	Baltasar	42	cdo
379	Manuela	Lopez	41	cdo
380	Justa	Gutierrez	32	cdo
381	Simona	Reyes	32	cdo
382	Bonifacia	Valenzuela	33	cdo
383	Apolonia	Nepomuceno	22	cdo
384	Feliciana	Evangelista	37	vdo
385	Silveria	Garcia	22	sol
386	Florentina	Cuenca	16	sol

387	Esperidiona	Coronel	28	cdo
388	Juana	Tenorio	18	sol
389	Felista	Tenorio	16	sol
390	Josefa	Madrid	16	sol
391	Cleotilde	Manaysay	22	sol
392	Marcela	Manaysay	15	sol
393	Rufina	Garcia	25	cdo
394	Barbara	Trinidad	18	cdo
395	Fabiana	Roberto	28	cdo
396	Valentina	Docador	40	cdo
397	Laureana	Cruz	22	cdo
398	Josefa	Policarpio	27	sol
399	Rosa	Manajan	30	sol
400	Hermogena	Manajan	20	sol
401	Juana	Bautista	25	sol
402	Feliciana	Cabrera	59	sol
403	Balbina	Gonzales	24	cdo
404	Victoriana	Natividad	42	cdo
405	Eugenia	Cruz	33	cdo
406	Hisberta	Villanueva	26	cdo
407	Catalina	de la Cruz	25	cdo
408	Dionisia	Manalo	33	cdo
409	Marta	de Leon	19	sol
410	Antonia	Cruz	20	cdo
411	Miguela	San Miguel	50	vdo
412	Francia	Pascual	31	cdo
413	Francisca	Vicente	37	cdo
414	Luisa	Concepcion	42	cdo
415	Juliana	Lacdan	38	cdo
416	Agustina	Fajardo	27	cdo

417	Silveria	Francisca	27	cdo
418	Antonia	Garcia	55	vdo
419	Luisa	Salomon	23	cdo
420	Tereza	Herrera	55	vdo
421	Roberta	Gonzales	31	cdo
422	Maxima	de la Cruz	30	sol
423	Carmen	Santos	27	sol
424	Toribia	Policarpio	49	cdo
425	Juana	Agustin	18	sol
426	Benigna	Santos	24	cdo
427	Silveria	Reyes	30	cdo
428	Agustina	Cruz	48	cdo
429	Weneslana	Yamio	35	sol
430	Victoria	Gomez	30	cdo
431	Balbina	Reyes	54	cdo
432	Graciana	Catap	32	vdo
433	Eugenia	Plata	38	vdo
434	Antonia	Reyes	21	cdo
435	Catalina	Dumanda	38	vdo
436	Florencia	Guevarra	45	cdo
437	Regina	Cruz	39	cdo
438	Rafaela	Cruz	38	cdo
439	Bernabela	Rubio	41	cdo
440	Maria	Yamino	16	sol
441	Ynocencia	Asuncion	34	cdo
442	Balbina	Jose	31	sol
443	Blazica	Guerrero	50	cdo
444	Cirila	Ygnacio	22	sol
445	Ysberta	Ramos	48	cdo
446	Josefa	Jose	26	sol

447	Placida	Jose	22	sol
448	Romana	Cruz	48	cdo
449	Catalina	Trinidad	52	sol
450	Petroa	Trinidad	42	sol
451	Maria	Trinidad	36	sol
452	Joaquina	Vicente	17	sol
453	Rosalia	Roman	21	cdo
454	Maria	Mnapat	32	sol
455	Ysabel	Evangelista	25	cdo
456	Gregoria	Reyes	32	cdo
457	Valentina	Roco	48	sol
458	Blanca	de Ocampo	39	cdo
459	Agrifina	Felix	45	cdo
460	Maria	Trinidad	33	cdo
461	Maxima	Sandoval	55	cdo
462	Felipa	Santos	38	cdo
463	Sormina	Cruz	61	vdo
464	Agapita	Estrada	20	cdo
465	Apolonia	Benito	37	cdo
466	Emiteria	Roman	33	cdo
467	Florentina	Francisco	22	cdo
468	Ysabel	Raymundo	23	
469	Ygnacia	Jacinto	40	sol
470	Agustina	Jacinto	20	sol
471	Placida	Rojas	45	vdo
472	Lucena	Rojas	18	sol
473	Celidonia	Javier	62	vdo
474	Raymunda	de los Santos	52	cdo
475	Epifania	Santos	18	sol
476	Andrea	Persano	27	cdo

477	Francisca	Jose	21	cdo
478	Rimana	Gachalian	28	sol
479	Dalmacia	Torres	37	vdo
480	Juliana	Santos	37	vdo
481	Emiteria	Santos	27	sol
482	Dorotea	de Leon	26	cdo
483	Gregoria	Gregoria	20	cdo
484	Agustina	Marcelo	45	cdo
485	Paulina	Cruz	42	cdo
486	Genara	Nicolas	19	sol
487	Basilia	Parfan	19	sol
488	Juana	Santos	32	vdo
489	Joaquina	Zabala	37	cdo
490	Faustina	Gonigo	32	cdo
491	Rosalia	Torres	52	sol
492	Mauricia	Lazaro	38	sol
493	Apolonia	de la Rosa	30	sol
494	Juliana	de Lara	33	cdo
495	Paula	Arega	19	sol
496	Modesta	Ablaza	19	sol
497	Juliana	Ablaza	17	sol
498	Filomena	Bautista	22	cdo
499	Claudia	Sevilla	16	cdo
500	Maria	Espiritu	16	sol
501	Concepcion	Simeona	23	cdo
502	Barbara	Bundan	28	cdo
503	Abdona	Almaran	26	sol
504	Damiana	Policarpio	27	cdo
505	Clara	Dizon	52	cdo
506	Albera	del Rosario	20	sol

507	Eduarda	Rafael	26	cdo
508	Romana	Herrera	36	sol
509	Braulia	Leocadio	24	sol
510	Andrea	Tuason	24	cdo
511	Tiburcia	Trinidad	30	cdo
512	Juana	Perfecto	43	sol
513	Margarcia	Pimentel	19	cdo
514	Cerafina	David	29	vdo
515	Rufina	Lusag	28	vdo
516	Victoriana	Cruz	34	vdo
517	Ancelina	Punzalan	34	cdo
518	Manuela	Feliciano	27	cdo
519	Vicenta	Villanueva	21	sol
520	Patricia	Villanueva	19	sol
521	Rufina	Cruz	23	cdo
522	Felipa	Cruz	23	cdo
523	Lorenza	Cruz	35	vdo
524	Luisa	Cruz	43	vdo
525	Aleja	Santiago	16	sol
526	Prisca	Santiago	14	sol
527	Bartolomea	de Dios	21	cdo
528	Severina	Clemente	32	cdo
529	Josefa	Crisostomo	26	cdo
530	Juliana	Crisostomo	22	sol
531	Maria	Ortiz	20	cdo
532	Luisa	Trinidad	53	vdo
533	Tomasa	Castañeda	28	cdo
534	Bibiana	Vera	32	cdo
535	Luisa	Santos	31	sol
536	Honorata	Santos	23	cdo

537	Francisca	Ygnacio	22	sol
538	Gabina	Cruz	43	vdo
539	Petronila	Cruz	40	vdo
540	Justa	Ortiz	33	cdo
541	Pelagia	Reyes	25	cdo
542	Francisca	Hernandez	52	cdo
543	Felipa	de Ocampo	48	sol
544	Dominga	Velasquez	39	cdo
545	Matea	Hernandez	42	cdo
546	Maria	Geronimo	22	cdo
547	Maria	de la Cruz	40	cdo
548	Nicolasa	Bartolome	23	sol
549	Marcela	Cristobal	32	sol
550	Ambrosia	Milan	47	vdo
551	Silvestra	Dominga	53	vdo
552	Toedora	Cruz	30	cdo
553	Basilia	Caballero	20	sol
554	Manuela	Caballero	17	sol
555	Petrona	Cruz	33	sol
556	Martina	de los Santos	34	cdo
557	Julia	Jose	34	cdo
558	Antonia	Ponce	34	vdo
559	Gamitria	Legaspi	14	sol
560	Serapia	de la Cruz	34	sol
561	Dolores	Bernardo	34	cdo
562	Maria	Bernardo	24	cdo
563	Maria	Miguel	46	cdo
564	Paula	Cardenas	32	sol
565	Adriana	Cardenas	22	sol
566	Maria	Santiago	36	cdo

567	Ambrosia	Cruz	32	cdo
568	Prisca	del Rosario	10	
569	Matea	de la Peña	44	vdo
570	Toribia	de la Cruz	35	sol
571	Felipa	Toribio	16	sol
572	Francisca	de los Santos	59	vdo
573	Saturnina	Ynfante	42	cdo
574	Bartola	Reyes	18	cdo
575	Manuela	Roque	23	cdo
576	Martina	Raymundo	27	sol
577	Gabina	Francisco	20	cdo
578	Alejandra	de Jesus	32	cdo
579	Rufina	Santos	22	vdo
580	Gregoria	Manuel	24	sol
581	Cleotilde	Manuel	20	sol
582	Basilia	de Ocampo	21	cdo
583	Anastacia	Melencia	32	vdo
584	Filomena	Reyes	44	sol
585	Ambrosia	Martinez	28	sol
586	Anatalia	Tanoco	21	cdo
587	Andrea	Tambora	42	cdo
588	Vicenta	Cruz	28	cdo
589	Clara	Cruz	22	sol
590	Quiteria	Mallari	25	cdo
591	Ludosca	Bayani	15	sol
592	Damasa	Nepomuceno	34	cdo
593	Catalina	Pongco	33	sol
594	Petrona	Pengco	40	sol
595	Balbina	Gescoma	21	cdo
596	Simona	de Guzman	23	cdo

597	Antonia	Mañosca	24	cdo
598	Paula	Tiburcia	52	vdo
599	Vicenta	Pasion	28	cdo
600	Eulogia	David	21	cdo
601	Juana	Miranda	30	cdo
602	Ana	Tobias	37	cdo
603	Epifania	Soriano	22	cdo
604	Juana	Vicenta	32	cdo
605	Francisca	Cruz	43	vdo
606	Tomasa	Santos	21	sol
607	Oliva	Santos	17	sol
608	Maxima	Santos	9	sol
609	Maria	Enriquez	23	cdo
610	Veronica	Lucas	28	sol
611	Dominga	Cruz	24	cdo
612	Eugenia	Salomon	37	sol
613	Ynes	de los Santos	45	vdo
614	Liceria	Cruz	25	cdo
615	Margarota	Miguel	39	cdo
616	Andrea	Sevilla	18	sol
617	Lorenza	Cardenas	19	cdo
618	Segunda	Perez	32	cdo
619	Leoncia	del Barrio	24	cdo
620	Dorotea	Fulgencio	26	sol
621	Basilia	Ledo	38	cdo
622	Barbara	Antonio	20	cdo
623	Fausta	Mendoza	35	cdo
624	Modesta	Manalo	32	cdo
625	Tomasa	Quijano	23	cdo
626	Gabina	Rabelo	26	cdo

627	Ygnacia	Payao	32	cdo
628	Faustina	Bautista	39	vdo
629	Paula	Silveria	41	cdo
630	Braulia	de Leon	22	sol
631	Guillerma	Cruz	27	cdo
632	Anaclea	Masubra	33	vdo
633	Ana	Natividad	47	cdo
634	Alejandra	Baltazar	42	cdo
635	Hipolita	Santos	38	cdo
636	Escolastica	Medina	28	sol
637	Esperidiona	Medina	26	sol
638	Lorenza	Santos	23	sol
639	Romana	Tiburcio	52	cdo
640	Ursula	de Ortiz	20	sol
641	Fermina	Ortiz	18	sol
642	Atanacia	Soriano	32	cdo
643	Calista	Ponce	39	cdo
644	Telesfora	Cruz	32	cdo
645	Maxima	Ortiz	23	cdo
646	Alejandra	Peña	52	vdo
647	Calixta	Jacinto	47	cdo
648	Macaria	Valencia	24	cdo
649	Teodorica	Domingo	32	cdo
650	Faustina	Roque	29	cdo
651	Romualda	Vicente	21	sol
652	Andrea	Cruz	33	sol
653	Teodorica	Malanta	18	sol
654	Melecia	de Jesus	31	sol
655	Teodora	Cruz	22	sol
656	Hilaria	Cruz	17	sol

657	Guillerma	Yomol	39	vdo
658	Florentina	de la Rosa	21	sol
659	Francisca	Santos	31	sol
660	Florencia	Santos	29	cdo
661	Rufina	Gana	27	cdo
662	Marta	Carlos	29	cdo
663	Barbara	de la Cruz	33	sol
664	Juliana	Eustaquio	35	cdo
665	Juliana	de Mesa	36	cdo
666	Filomena	de Jesus	41	cdo
667	Natalia	Segismundo	29	vdo
668	Victoriana	Bustamante	32	vdo
669	Benita	de Lino	24	vdo
670	Eleuteria	Cruz	25	cdo
671	Crisanta	Cruz	27	cdo
672	Catalina	Roman	29	cdo
673	Benita	Adiao	38	vdo
674	Bartola	Veteo	25	cdo
675	Manuela	Rodriguez	50	cdo
676	Paulina	Tuazon	22	cdo
677	Maria	de los Santos	17	sol
678	Bruna	de la Cruz	38	cdo
679	Ynes	Velasques	28	cdo
680	Catalina	Feliciano	22	cdo
681	Eusebia	Andres	23	sol
682	Maxima	Andres	21	sol
683	Adriana	Reclario	49	cdo
684	Agustina	de Ocampo	18	sol
685	Rosa	de Ocampo	16	sol
686	Felipa	Morales	33	cdo

687	Luisa	de la Cruz	36	cdo
688	Calista	Sanchez	19	cdo
689	Monica	Falcon	35	cdo
690	Fabiana	Tiburcio	25	cdo
691	Tecla	Monson	19	sol
692	Luisa	Pangilinan	35	cdo
693	Vicerra	Ochoa	25	cdo
694	Juliana	Santos	25	cdo
695	Cirila	Villanueva	45	cdo
696	Benigna	Bautista	23	sol
697	Vicenta	Jacinto	22	sol
698	Natalia	Payunan	39	vdo
699	Florentina	Alejo	26	cdo
700	Francisca	Cruz	43	vdo
701	Tomasa	Santos	23	cdo
702	Oliva	Santos	19	sol
703	Maria	Reyes	33	cdo
704	Valentina	Ysidro	27	cdo
705	Balbina	Cruz	31	cdo
706	Eugenia	Cruz	29	sol
707	Vicenta	Cruz	25	sol
708	Luisa	Herrera	49	cdo
709	Juana	Herrera	24	cdo
710	Francisca	Herrera		cdo
711	Margarita	Alvarez	28	cdo
712	Silvestra	Alvarez	24	sol
713	Maxima	Damiano	36	cdo
714	Cirila	de la Cruz	21	cdo
715	Maria	Hernandez	16	sol
716	Lorenza	Francisco	16	sol

717	Josefa	Herrera	22	sol
718	Petrona	Samson	31	cdo
719	Maria	Mamarin	23	cdo
720	Evarista	Gonzales	26	cdo
721	Maria	Villanueva	26	sol
722	Agatona	Villanueva	20	sol
723	Maria	Santos	39	cdo
724	Rufina	Bernardo	37	cdo
725	Mauricia	Tuazon	31	cdo
726	Juana	Buson	44	sol
727	Eulogia	Santos	33	vdo
728	Andrea	Bonifacio	50	vdo
729	Marta	Cruz	38	sol
730	Candida	Pangilinan	21	cdo
731	Flora	Cruz	30	cdo
732	Monica	Cruz	41	cdo
733	Dorotea	Anastasio	32	cdo
734	Francisca	Senetrante	25	vdo
735	Ambrosia	Tolentino	24	cdo
736	Teodora	Tolentino	19	cdo
737	Margarita	Ongco	44	vdo
738	Fulgencia	Bernabe	19	cdo
739	Ysabel	Monico	28	cdo
740	Manuela	Mariano	42	vdo
741	Basilisa	Flores	30	vdo
742	Candida	Gonzales	30	cdo
743	Eusebia	Alipio	62	vdo
744	Rufina	Alcaraz	32	cdo
745	Quiteria	Victorio	23	cdo
746	Faustina	Cruz	40	vdo

747	Petrona	Salcedo	20	sol
748	Josefa	de la Cruz	41	cdo
749	Mariana	Garcia	16	sol
750	Vicenta	Pangilinan	24	cdo
751	Anselina	Gestrudes	39	vdo
752	Sabina	Miguel	41	cdo
753	Modesta	Marcelo	28	cdo
754	Juana	Monroy	27	cdo
755	Francisca	Cruz	21	sol
756	Catalina	Cruz	14	sol
757	Maria	Samonte	35	cdo
758	Hipolita	Tolentino	31	cdo
759	Margarita	Avezga	21	sol
760	Ysabel	Celestino	23	sol
761	Petrona	de los Santos	32	cdo
762	Gregoria	de Guzman	37	cdo
763	Victoriana	Flores	22	cdo
764	Marcelina	Safra	28	cdo
765	Juana	Cruz	44	cdo
766	Lorenza	Santos	18	sol
767	Ruperta	Cruz	18	sol
768	Antonia	Mariano	32	cdo
769	Bernabela	Santos	32	cdo
770	Eustaquia	Santos	23	cdo
771	Simeona	Gabriel	26	cdo
772	Andrea	Pablo	55	vdo
773	Simplicia	Gabriel	18	sol
774	Ynes	Gabriel	17	sol
775	Saturnina	Arroyo	38	cdo
776	Juana	Clemente	24	cdo

777	Maxima	Salomon	27	sol
778	Andrea	Salomon	35	cdo
779	Gabina	Francisco	22	cdo
780	Marta	Reolaldo	25	cdo
781	Florentina	Sta. Maria	40	cdo
782	Josefa	Aquino	33	cdo
783	Miguela	Reyes	39	cdo
784	Juana I	Mariano	25	sol
785	Juana II	Mariano	23	sol
786	Justa	Morte	31	cdo
787	Justa	Tamisco	31	cdo
788	Eusebia	Manuel	39	cdo
789	Victorina	Francisco	26	sol
790	Juana	Alejo	29	sol
791	Pelagia	Alejo	23	sol
792	Macaria	Guevara	51	vdo
793	Maria	Guevara	26	sol
794	Faustina	Guevara	22	sol
795	Eugenia	Guevara	17	sol
796	Eufenia	Salazar	49	cdo
797	Luisa	Santos	14	sol
798	Miranda	Ynfante	31	cdo
799	Gregoria	Jacinto	26	vdo
800	Anacleto	Aquino	39	cdo
801	Andrea	Jose	27	cdo
802	Eulalia	Valeriano	42	cdo
803	Candida	Tuazon	34	sol
804	Agapita	Tuazon	32	sol
805	Clara	Paladd	21	cdo
806	Pantaleona	Gringon	31	cdo

807	Carmen	Cruz	33	vdo
808	Mamerta	Leocadio	16	sol
809	Martina	Leocadio	14	sol
810	Cirila	Quiateo	23	sol
811	Catalina	Aranzaso	40	vdo
812	Catalina	Castañeda	31	cdo
813	Benita	Gatdula	31	cdo
814	Maria	Aldez	30	vdo
815	Feliciana	Cruz	31	cdo
816	Gervasia	de la Cruz	30	cdo
817	Ambrosia	Morales	30	sol
818	Manuela	Beteo	20	sol
819	Cirila	Trinidad	39	cdo
820	Paulina	Cruz	32	vdo
821	Lamberta	Reyes	34	cdo
822	Ysabel	Policarpio	37	cdo
823	Alejandra	Gregorio	37	cdo
824	Braulia	Gallardo	19	sol
825	Lorenza	Gallardo	17	sol
826	Fulgencia	Doquiaco	36	cdo
827	Alejandra	Policarpio	34	cdo
828	Saturnina	Vicente	48	vdo
829	Guillermo	Ysidro	17	sol
830	Felipa	Rivera	39	vdo
831	Marcosa	Santos	22	sol
832	Geronima	Santos	17	sol
833	Marcelina	Reyes	30	vdo
834	Basilia	Ygnacio	18	cdo
835	Anastasia	Salcedo	58	vdo
836	Permina	Rivera	20	sol

837	Maxima	Reyes	22	cdo
838	Rosa	Castillo	35	cdo
839	Lucia	Castillo	16	sol
840	Matea	de Vera	33	vdo
841	Eulalia	de Vera	32	sol
842	Blasica	de Vera	30	cdo
843	Filomena	Bautsita	24	cdo
844	Martina	Cruz	30	cdo
845	Prisca	de Vera	52	vdo
846	Flora	Reyes	16	sol
847	Maria	Reyes	23	sol
848	Josefa	Buenaventura	43	cdo
849	Potenciana	Herrera	21	sol
850	Alejandra	de la Vega	25	cdo
851	Quintina	Policarpio	50	cdo
852	Justa	Achuy	20	sol
853	Juliana	Reyes	31	cdo
854	Gregoria	de Jesus	49	cdo
855	Plasida	Damin	25	sol
856	Florentina	Damian	18	sol
857	Rufina	Damian	16	sol
858	Hilaria	Cruz	39	vdo
859	Silvina	Ysidro	23	cdo
860	Francisca	Ysidro	21	sol
861	Gabina	Ysidro	25	sol
862	Jacoba	Duran	39	cdo
863	Agripina	Simon	33	cdo
864	Segunda	Simon	27	vdo
865	Filomena	Reyes	35	vdo
866	Josefa	Adiao	34	vdo

867	Andrea	Sanchez	39	cdo
868	Vicenta	Cruz	38	cdo
869	Hisberta	Liera	19	sol
870	Elena	Balagtas	19	sol
871	Rosa	Cruz	49	cdo
872	Juliana	Monzon	31	cdo
873	Potenciana	Anastacio	34	cdo
874	Raymunda	Antonio	29	sol
875	Ynes	Ubaldo	26	sol
876	Joaquina	Mendez	33	cdo
877	Lazara	de Lara	31	cdo
878	Petrona	Aransazo	31	cdo
879	Felipa	Mateo	32	sol
880	Hermogena	Cruz	49	cdo
881	Lucia	Ygnacio	30	cdo
882	Luisa	Jimenez	32	cdo
883	Bernardina	Gonzales	28	cdo
884	Alejandra	Mangubat	31	cdo
885	Tomasa	Cruz	51	sol
886	Martina	Adriano	40	cdo
887	Gregoria	Lopez	29	cdo
888	Regina	Herrera	31	cdo
889	Juana	de la Cruz	36	cdo
890	Felipa	Victorio	25	cdo
891	Marcela	Lopez	29	cdo
892	Josefa	Victorio	41	vdo
893	Margarita	Tongco	39	cdo
894	Gertrudes	Guevara	14	sol
895	Maximina	Jose	59	cdo
896	Cirila	Cabrera	32	sol

897	Juana	Trinidad	30	sol
898	Rafaela	Reyes	25	cdo
899	Alejandra	de Belen	49	vdo
900	Cornelia	Belen	31	sol
901	Maria	Malanta	32	cdo
902	Gregoria	Evangelista	46	vdo
903	Maria	Santiago	32	cdo
904	Dorotea	Flores	23	sol
905	Paula	Flores	17	sol
906	Valentina	Rivera	54	vdo
907	Calista	Ortiz	49	sol
908	Simona	Ortiz	46	sol
909	Dorotea	Cruz	43	vdo
910	Catalina	Florez	50	cdo
911	Canuta	Ventura	35	cdo
912	Serapia	Cruz	57	sol
913	Alejandra	Reyes	22	cdo
914	Manuela	Engracia	34	cdo
915	Martina	Santos	42	cdo
916	Leoncia	Mariano	23	cdo
917	Estifania	Tuazon	49	cdo
918	Romana	Leocadia	21	cdo
919	Maria	Beteo	35	vdo
920	Catalina	Buzon	45	cdo
921	Balbina	Serrano	44	cdo
922	Tomasa	Bautista	19	sol
923	Leogarda	Bautista	17	sol
924	Potenciana	Felix	30	cdo
925	Apolonia	Hernandez	35	cdo
926	Petrona	Reyes	25	cdo

927	Paula	Santos	48	sol
928	Miguela	Jose	56	sol
929	Andrea	Jose	54	sol
930	Ana	de la Cruz	33	cdo
931	Dorotea	Mariano	56	vdo
932	Paula	Liuanag	18	sol
933	Venancia	Tuazon	24	cdo
934	Estanislana	Ramos	40	sol
935	Mamerta	Ligtao	33	sol
936	Estanislana	Perez	54	vdo
937	Basilisa	de la Rosa	54	vdo
938	Francisca	Feliciano	24	sol
939	Bartola	Samonte	32	cdo
940	Sinforosa	Vicente	45	cdo
941	Ciriaca	Cruz	21	cdo
942	Raymunda	Morelos	42	vdo
943	Juana	Reyes	34	sol
944	Dionisa	Trinidad	43	vdo
945	Catalina	Fernanda	40	cdo
946	Alfonza	Luciano	34	cdo
947	Severa	Luciano	31	sol
948	Ysidrora	Adiao	28	cdo
949	Marcosa	Cruz	49	cdo
950	Petrona	Cruz	20	sol
951	Lorenza	del Rosario	43	cdo
952	Potenciana	de Lara	25	cdo
953	Celestina	Cruz	48	cdo
954	Severa	Mariano	23	sol
955	Silvina	Mariano	21	cdo
956	Guillerma	Reyes	63	vdo

957	Tomasa	Mariano	38	cdo
958	Manuela	Soriano	30	cdo
959	Rufina	Santillan	43	vdo
960	Leoncia	Esguerra	23	sol
961	Agustina	Flores	22	vdo
962	Carmen	Soriano	17	sol
963	Sabina	Andaya	28	cdo
964	Andrea	Aquino	30	sol
965	Juana	Arrojo	28	sol
966	Feliciana	Reyes	23	cdo
967	Alejandra	Mariano	18	cdo
968	Rafaela	Legaspi	23	sol
969	Anaclea	de Guzman	19	sol
970	Julia	Santiago	39	cdo
971	Catalina	Policarpio	30	sol
972	Ygnacia	de Vera	45	sol
973	Dionisia	de Vera	40	sol
974	Dominga	Gonzales	47	sol
975	Apolinaria	Francisco	39	cdo
976	Flaviana	Santos	29	cdo
977	Marcelina	Pablo	25	sol
978	Agatona	Dominguez	47	vdo
979	Marta	Jose	34	cdo
980	Juana	Pablo	19	sol
981	Clemencia	Martin	20	cdo
982	Clara	Silongan	28	sol
983	Paula	Mateo	47	cdo
984	Alberta	Mateo	21	cdo
985	Eulalia	Mateo	19	sol
986	Simona	de la Cruz	17	cdo

987	Maria	Reyes	33	cdo
988	Claudia	Jacinto	23	cdo
989	Engracia	del Rosario	22	cdo
990	Manuela	Florenciano	50	vdo
991	Laureana	Papa	50	vdo
992	Rufina	Flores	32	vdo
993	Eugenia	Enriques	29	vdo
994	Cornelia	Herrera	17	sol
995	Oliva	Gonzales	44	vdo
996	Valentina	de la Rosa	59	cdo
997	Esperanza	Balatbat	44	vdo
998	Juana	de Leon	35	vdo
999	Ursula	Victorio	58	cdo
1000	Simplicia	Yamio	25	sol
1001	Juana	Yamio	23	sol
1002	Natalia	Yamio	19	sol
1003	Anastasia	Salcedo	28	sol
1004	Catalina	Salcedo	23	sol
1005	Felipa	Cruz	37	sol
1006	Melecia	Estrella	26	sol
1007	Basilisa	Valeriano	30	cdo
1008	Andrea	Tuazon	26	cdo
1009	Braulio	Leocadio	26	sol
1010	Francisca	Cruz	39	sol
1011	Genara	Cruz	33	sol
1012	Fernandina	Roxas	64	vdo
1013	Crispina	Roxas	29	sol
1014	Sixta	Guevara	22	sol
1015	Faustina	Trinidad	33	cdo
1016	Eusebia	Santos	41	cdo

1017	Eulalia	Baltazar	51	sol
1018	Juana	Santos	45	cdo
1019	Genara	Aguilar	32	cdo
1020	Rufina	Concepcion	29	cdo
1021	Romana	Francisco	32	cdo
1022	Rufina	Payumo	16	sol
1023	Romana	Siaozon	28	cdo
1024	Petrona	Sevilla	34	cdo
1025	Hilaria	Mariano	40	cdo
1026	Candelaria	Ramirez	62	vdo
1027	Cornelia	Santos	21	sol
1028	Roberta	Gantioque	38	cdo
1029	Ynes	Fulgencio	24	cdo
1030	Lorenza	San Mateo	39	cdo
1031	Maria	Salomon	35	sol
1032	Bonifacia	Martin	52	vdo
1033	Gregoria	Trinidad	31	cdo
1034	Leoncia	Ramos	25	sol
1035	Crisanta	Tuazon	32	cdo
1036	Martina	Gabriel	43	cdo
1037	Cipriana	Gabriel	18	sol
1038	Valentina	de Jesus	17	sol
1039	Cleotilde	Manaysay	24	sol
1040	Barbara	Trinidad	20	cdo
1041	Juana	Tenorio	20	sol
1042	Leocadia	Roxas	26	cdo
1043	Macaria	Baltazar	45	cdo
1044	Simona	Soriano	42	cdo
1045	Ambrosia	Monico	29	cdo
1046	Eleuteria	Concepcion	35	cdo

1047	Esperidiona	Coronel	30	cdo
1048	Justa	Gutierrez	34	cdo
1049	Simona	Cruz	38	vdo
1050	Francisca	Espiritu	34	vdo
1051	Mauricia	Lazaro	40	sol
1052	Josefa	Policarpio	29	sol
1053	Juana	Bautista	27	sol
1054	Matea	de Leon	21	cdo
1055	Dionicia	Manalo	35	cdo
1056	Feliciana	Cabrera	61	sol
1057	Victoriana	Natividad	44	vdo
1058	Eugenia	Cruz	35	cdo
1059	Segundina	Tajan	18	sol
1060	Silveria	Guevara	18	sol
1061	Felipa	Francisco	32	sol
1062	Vicenta	Trinidad	31	cdo
1063	Escolastica	Trinidad	28	cdo
1064	Mauricia	Cruz	20	sol
1065	Miguela	San Miguel	52	vdo
1066	Ygnacia	Pascual	33	cdo
1067	Francisca	Vicente	39	cdo
1068	Aniceta	Serrano	30	cdo
1069	Margarita	Galvez	36	cdo
1070	Saturnina	Ynfante	44	cdo
1071	Eugenia	Plata	40	vdo
1072	Antonia	Reyes	23	cdo
1073	Toribia	Agustin	44	cdo
1074	Juana	Agustin	20	sol
1075	Silveria	Reyes	32	cdo
1076	Agustina	Cruz	50	cdo

1077	Weneslana	Yamio	37	sol
1078	Petrona	Jose	50	cdo
1079	Florencia	Guevara	48	cdo
1080	Rafaela	Cruz	41	cdo
1081	Abdona	Almazan	28	sol
1082	Gregoria	Enrique	25	cdo
1083	Antonia	Victorio	26	cdo
1084	Florentina	Jacinto	17	sol
1085	Barbara	Herrera	43	cdo
1086	Paula	Ongsioco	27	sol
1087	Hisberta	Ramos	50	cdo
1088	Bernardina	Reyes	16	sol
1089	Josefa	Jose	27	sol
1090	Placida	Jose	23	sol
1091	Manuela	Buzon	25	cdo
1092	Segunda	Cruz	32	cdo
1093	Josefa	Bernardino	28	cdo
1094	Rosalia	Roman	24	cdo
1095	Catalina	Trinidad	53	sol
1096	Petrona	Trinidad	48	sol
1097	Maria	Trinidad	38	sol
1098	Joaquina	Fuentes	18	sol
1099	Benita	Fuentes	16	sol
1100	Vicenta	Trinidad	53	vdo
1101	Maximina	Machado	20	sol
1102	Eduarda	Dizon	24	sol
1103	Leoncia	Pascual	22	cdo
1104	Agapita	Estrada	23	cdo
1105	Blasica	Ocampo	41	cdo
1106	Lucia	Cochico	24	sol

1107	Jermina	Cruz	63	vdo
1108	Cristina	Roman	36	cdo
1109	Apolonia	Benito	40	cdo
1110	Maria	Trinidad	36	cdo
1111	Arcadia	Felix	48	cdo
1112	Leoncia	Rosario	25	cdo
1113	Ygnacia	Jacinto	42	sol
1114	Agustina	Jacinto	32	sol
1115	Placida	Roxas	47	vdo
1116	Lucena	Roxas	20	sol
1117	Mariana	Roxas	15	sol
1118	Raymunda	de los Santos	54	cdo
1119	Celidonia	Javier	64	vdo
1120	Ambrosia	Lao	23	sol
1121	Alejandra	Lao	21	sol
1122	Epifania	Santos	21	sol
1123	Faustina	Soniga	34	cdo
1124	Modesta	Ablaza	21	sol
1125	Julliana	de Lara	35	cdo
1126	Paula	Arciga	21	sol
1127	Andrea	Serrano	29	cdo
1128	Rosalia	Torres	54	sol
1129	Tomasa	de Guzman	28	cdo
1130	Severina	Clemente	33	cdo
1131	Juana	Santos	34	vdo
1132	Paulina	Cruz	44	cdo
1133	Genara	Nicolas	21	sol
1134	Romana	Gachalian	30	sol
1135	Dalmacia	Torres	40	vdo
1136	Patricia	Villanueva	22	sol

1137	Vicenta	Villanueva	20	sol
1138	Cipriana	San Pedro	23	cdo
1139	Fulgencia	Matilde	22	cdo
1140	Juana	Perfecta	45	cdo
1141	Margarita	Pimentel	21	sol
1142	Serafina	David	31	cdo
1143	Damiana	Policarpio	29	cdo
1144	Gregoria	Guevara	39	cdo
1145	Eduarda	Rafael	28	cdo
1146	Romana	Herrera	39	sol
1147	Rufina	Luiag	30	cdo
1148	Victoriana	Cruz	36	vdo
1149	Tiburcia	Trinidad	32	sol
1150	Rufina	Cruz	25	cdo
1151	Felipa	Cruz	25	cdo
1152	Lorenza	Cruz	59	cdo
1153	Ysidora	Cruz	25	cdo
1154	Tomasa	Castañeda	30	cdo
1155	Luisa	Trinidad	55	vdo
1156	Luisa	Santos	32	sol
1157	Luisa	Cruz	44	vdo
1158	Bibiana	de Vera	39	cdo
1159	Maria	Ortiz	23	cdo
1160	Dionisia	de la Cruz	19	sol
1161	Ponsia	Santiago	16	cdo
1162	Gabina	de la Cruz	46	vdo
1163	Petrona	de la Cruz	43	vdo
1164	Francisca	Yoquico	24	sol
1165	Felipa	Ocampo	51	sol
1166	Pascuala	Santos	23	sol

1167	Matea	Hernandez	44	cdo
1168	Maria	Geronimo	25	vdo
1169	Maria	Cruz	42	cdo
1170	Nicolasa	Biñe	26	sol
1171	Barcelisa	de la Cruz	45	cdo
1172	Ambrocia	Milan	50	vdo
1173	Silvestra	Domingo	55	vdo
1174	Ana	Cruz	29	sol
1175	Teodora	Cruz	31	cdo
1176	Rufina	de la Cruz	29	vdo
1177	Antera	Yamio	23	sol
1178	Catalina	Cruz	28	cdo
1179	Laureana	Cruz	15	cdo
1180	Guillerma	Jose	50	vdo
1181	Damiana	Ygnacio	30	cdo
1182	Micaela	Garcia	20	sol
1183	Petra	Ventura	18	sol
1184	Martina	de los Santos	36	cdo
1185	Julia	Jose	36	cdo
1186	Marcela	Vergara	17	sol
1187	Serapia	Cruz	37	sol
1188	Simona	Cruz	22	cdo
1189	Dolores	Tolentino	36	sol
1190	Maria	Bernardo	26	cdo
1191	Adriana	Cardenas	24	sol
1192	Paula	Cardenas	34	sol
1193	Antonia	Ponce	36	vdo
1194	Maria	Santos	38	cdo
1195	Francisca	Santos	61	vdo
1196	Valentina	Adriano	15	sol

1197	Alejandra	de Jesus	35	cdo
1198	Patricia	Roque	15	sol
1199	Juana	Raymundo	34	sol
1200	Martina	Raymundo	29	sol
1201	Toribia	Cruz	40	sol
1202	Matea	de la Peña	46	vdo
1203	Barbara	Ynfante	45	vdo
1204	Ladislana	de Castro	19	cdo
1205	Barbara	Beteo	44	cdo
1206	Ambrosia	Martinez	30	sol
1207	Anatalia	Tanoco	23	cdo
1208	Basilia	Ocampo	24	cdo
1209	Petrona	Jose	46	cdo
1210	Anastacia	Melencio	34	vdo
1211	Andrea	Tabora	44	vdo
1212	Petrona	Salomon	45	sol
1213	Rufina	de los Santos	25	vdo
1214	Filomena	Reyes	47	sol
1215	Quiteria	Mallare	24	sol
1216	Sudorica	Bayani	27	cdo
1217	Gregoria	Alcantara	20	cdo
1218	Simona	de Guzman	25	cdo
1219	Balbina	Guevara	23	cdo
1220	Germona	Pengco	48	sol
1221	Cristina	Pengco	38	sol
1222	Antonia	Mañosca	26	cdo
1223	Paula	Tiburcia	53	vdo
1224	Vicenta	Pasion	30	cdo
1225	Eulogia	David	22	vdo
1226	Juana	Miranda	33	cdo

1227	Anastacia	Tobias	38	cdo
1228	Victorina	Cruz	23	cdo
1229	Dominga	Cruz	27	cdo
1230	Eugenia	Salomon	38	cdo
1231	Estifania	Salomon	27	cdo
1232	Hilaria	Almario	41	cdo
1233	Francisca	Cruz	18	sol
1234	Lorenza	Cardenas	22	cdo
1235	Leoncia	del Barrio	27	cdo
1236	Margarita		28	cdo
1237	Pacerita	Figeroa	26	cdo
1238	Andrea	santos	27	cdo
1239	Maria	Enriquez	25	cdo
1240	Paula	de los Reyes	18	cdo
1241	Basilia	Pedo	40	cdo
1242	Barbara	Antonio	22	cdo
1243	Fausta	Mendoza	38	cdo
1244	Modesta	Manalo	36	cdo
1245	Gabina	Rabelo	28	cdo
1246	Ygnacia	Payad	35	cdo
1247	Paula	Silveria	43	cdo
1248	Braulia	de Leon	25	sol
1249	Anaclea	Alambra	35	vdo
1250	Guillerma	Cruz	29	cdo
1251	Petrona	Reyes	18	sol
1252	Andrea	Cruz	35	sol
1253	Escolastica	Medina	31	sol
1254	Esperidiona	Medina	29	sol
1255	Ursula	Ortiz	22	sol
1256	Maxima	Tuazon	35	vdo

1257	Eulogia	del Castillo	37	cdo
1258	Alejandora	Peña	54	vdo
1259	Florencia	Andres	54	vdo
1260	Romualda	Vicente	23	sol
1261	Liceria	Miguel	51	vdo
1262	Sinforosa	Santos	33	cdo
1263	Melecia	de Jesus	34	sol
1264	Teodora	Cruz	24	sol
1265	Hilaria	Cruz	19	sol
1266	Guillerma	Yumol	42	vdo
1267	Florentina	del Rosario	23	sol
1268	Andrea	Yamio	25	cdo
1269	Francisca	Santos	34	sol
1270	Florencia	Santos	31	cdo
1271	Rufina	Garcia	29	cdo
1272	Matea	Carlos	31	cdo
1273	Benita	de Lino	26	vdo
1274	Natalia	Seguismundo	32	vdo
1275	Filomena	de Jesus	43	cdo
1276	Cesaria	Peña	23	cdo
1277	Victoria	Bustamante	35	vdo
1278	Benigna	de Lino	29	sol
1279	Felipa	Gregorio	28	cdo
1280	Eleuteria	Cruz	28	cdo
1281	Crisanta	Cruz	30	cdo
1282	Benita	Adiao	41	cdo
1283	Bartola	Beteo	27	cdo
1284	Manuela	Rodriguez	53	cdo
1285	Maria	Santos	19	sol
1286	Catalina	Landicha	25	cdo

1287	Bruna	de la Cruz	41	cdo
1288	Sotera	Victorio	42	cdo
1289	Estifania	Barican	45	sol
1290	Tecla	Monzon	22	sol
1291	Fulgencia	Damian	49	vdo
1292	Adriana	Hilario	52	cdo
1293	Agustina	Ocampo	21	sol
1294	Vicenta	Cruz	28	cdo
1295	Catalina	Roman	32	cdo
1296	Vicenta	Concepcion	32	cdo
1297	Maxima	Cayabyab	26	cdo
1298	Valentina	Cruz	21	cdo
1299	Ysidra	Cruz	22	cdo
1300	Monica	Torrez	37	cdo
1301	Prancisca	Cayabyab	35	vdo
1302	Eusebia	Bautista	28	sol
1303	Ysabel	de la Cruz	45	sol
1304	Petrona	Cruz	32	sol
1305	Petrona	Damian	50	vdo
1306	Maria	Gonzales	19	sol
1307	Segunda	Alcantara	38	cdo
1308	Tomasa	Paumjao	30	cdo
1309	Monica	Jose	66	vdo
1310	Luisa	de la Cruz	29	cdo
1311	Rita	Tuazon	26	cdo
1312	Leonora	Manalo	20	cdo
1313	Narcisa	Manalo	20	sol
1314	Serapia	Reyes	25	cdo
1315	Alejandra	David	23	cdo
1316	Antonia	Lintog	46	cdo

1317	Valentina	Santos	29	sol
1318	Catalina	Ortega	23	cdo
1319	Petra	Villanueva	41	sol
1320	Petrona	Parfan	47	cdo
1321	Gerarda	Parfan	26	vdo
1322	Maria	Ramires	53	cdo
1323	Maria	Navarro	57	vdo
1324	Josefa	de los Santos	21	sol
1325	Teodorica	Canlas	28	vdo
1326	Marta	Guevara	37	cdo
1327	Bernarda	Almario	36	cdo
1328	Melecia	Gimenez	37	cdo
1329	Juliana	Guerrero	33	sol
1330	Estifania	Fajardo	31	cdo
1331	Mamerta	de los Santos	52	vdo
1332	Petra	Guevara	22	cdo
1333	Jacinta	Bernal	32	cdo
1334	Damasa	Agustin	40	cdo
1335	Martina	Mendez	42	cdo
1336	Petrona	Ponce	24	cdo
1337	Anatalia	Chavez	27	cdo
1338	Pascuala	Contreras	44	vdo
1339	Sotera	Mendoza	35	cdo
1340	Lorenza	Valentin	20	sol
1341	Brigida	Pasion	20	cdo
1342	Cornelia	Fernando	27	cdo
1343	Petronila	Marquez	22	sol
1344	Marta	Bwelo	33	cdo
1345	Miguela	Ysidro	27	sol
1346	Bernabela	Sacay	23	cdo

1347	Pascuala	Hernandez	38	vdo
1348	Anastacia	Victorio	21	cdo
1349	Francisca	Victorio	25	sol
1350	Benigna	Segismundo	39	sol
1351	Gertrudes	de Jesus	50	cdo
1352	Agapita	Gabriel	37	vdo
1353	Justa	Tuason	35	vdo
1354	Francisca	de Guzman	45	sol
1355	Valeriana	Santiago	32	sol
1356	Ramona	Punsalan	21	sol
1357	Silvina	Agustin	26	vdo
1358	Maria	de Lara	25	cdo
1359	Dominga	Cruz	30	cdo
1360	Anselina	Bernardino	21	sol
1361	Tranquilina	Estrella	32	vdo
1362	Catalina	de Leon	38	sol
1363	Procesa	Santiago	37	cdo
1364	Agueda	Marques	46	sol
1365	Romana	Panganiban	30	cdo
1366	Barbara	Bernardina	41	sol
1367	Silvestra	Monico	20	cdo
1368	Concepcion	del Rios	30	vdo
1369	Manuela	Manuel	61	vdo
1370	Regina	Felix	47	sol
1371	Ysidra	Buntan	37	vdo
1372	Carmen	Reyes	24	sol
1373	Eduarda	Reyes	19	sol
1374	Emerenciana	Valencia	55	cdo
1375	Manuela	Antonio	19	sol
1376	Romualda	Roque	36	sol

1377	Maria	Velasco	34	cdo
1378	Ciriaca	Gatus	25	sol
1379	Juana	Samson	37	cdo
1380	Alejandra	Monico	24	cdo
1381	Perfecta	Nicolas	20	cdo
1382	Aleja	Eugenio	33	cdo
1383	Faustina	Palad	20	cdo
1384	Emiteria	Palomarco	26	cdo
1385	Alvina	de Leon	19	sol
1386	Petronila	Aguilar	29	sol
1387	Lorenza	Alejo	34	sol
1388	Sergia	del Castillo	19	sol
1389	Maria	Mariano	50	cdo
1390	Sotera	Almario	27	cdo
1391	Justa	Almario	21	cdo
1392	Ciriaca	Pascual	35	cdo
1393	Yrenea	Felix	47	
1394	Agustina	Cruz	28	cdo
1395	Braulia	de la Cruz	35	cdo
1396	Juliana	Ventura	45	cdo
1397	Josefa	Bernardo	50	cdo
1398	Margarita	del Mundo	17	cdo
1399	Juana	Alvares	26	cdo
1400	Maximina	Miranda	33	cdo
1401	Gregoria	Manicedor	53	cdo
1402	Baldomera	Bagay	38	sol
1403	Maria	Punsalan	22	sol
1404	Anselina	Flores	59	vdo
1405	Apolonia	Flores	36	vdo
1406	Esleta	Laque	48	vdo

1407	Yldefonsa	de Jesus	39	vdo
1408	Damiana	Silverio	33	sol
1409	Cornelia	Plata	31	sol
1410	Luciana	Legaspi	30	sol
1411	Petrona	San Jose	52	vdo
1412	Balbara	Cruz	46	cdo
1413	Segunda	Magbitay	29	cdo
1414	Anastacia	del Rosario	32	cdo
1415	Fabiana	Jimenez	36	cdo
1416	Clara	de los Santos	35	cdo
1417	Tomasa	Jose	30	vdo
1418	Miguela	Punsalan	46	sol
1419	Dorotea	Quiambao	31	sol
1420	Estifania	Quiambao	38	sol
1421	Francisca	Vergara	30	cdo
1422	Cipriana	de Jesus	51	sol
1423	Leoncia	de Jesus	41	sol
1424	Macaria	Molina	31	sol
1425	Perfecta	Medina	45	vdo
1426	Marcela	Castillo	23	sol
1427	Tomasa	Lansangan	35	sol
1428	Romana	Ortega	38	vdo
1429	Eulalia	Guerrero	47	cdo
1430	Crisanta	San Vicente	55	vdo
1431	Engracia	Salamat	31	vdo
1432	Dionicia	Cabantag	42	cdo
1433	Martina	Salvador	43	cdo
1434	Lazara	Luciano	21	sol
1435	Luisa	Cruz	37	sol
1436	Maria	del Moral	39	cdo

1437	Ursula	Morales	25	sol
1438	Anaclea	Reyes	21	sol
1439	Tiburcia	Olazo	43	vdo
1440	Gregoria	Trinidad	22	sol
1441	Ynes	Ynocencio	29	vdo
1442	Monica	Fulgencio	32	cdo
1443	Silvestra	Yapson	29	cdo
1444	Catalina	Cruz	23	cdo
1445	Teodora	Natividad	32	cdo
1446	Camila	Mendoza	50	cdo
1447	Canuta	Mendoza	36	cdo
1448	Maria	Candelaria	26	sol
1449	Feliciana	Mendoza	27	cdo
1450	Maria	Cruz	52	cdo
1451	Juana	de Guzman	37	cdo
1452	Cornelia	Pasion	35	vdo
1453	Margarita	Asuncion	21	sol
1454	Maria	Lino	46	sol
1455	Petrona	Rivera	36	vdo
1456	Rafaela	Tangco	29	cdo
1457	Concepcion	Palun	43	cdo
1458	Cristina	Capule	25	sol
1459	Gregoria	Santos	43	vdo
1460	Teodora	Santos	21	sol
1461	Cristina	Cruz	45	cdo
1462	Modesta	Salonga	21	cdo
1463	Jacinta	Sevilla	19	cdo
1464	Josefa	Villanueva	40	cdo
1465	Manuela	Espiritu	23	sol
1466	Carmen	Espiritu	22	sol

1467	Benita	Sanchez	27	vdo
1468	Feliciana	Cabunlan	15	vdo
1469	Alejandra	Cruz	41	sol
1470	Marcela		19	sol
1471	Romana	Pablo	20	sol
1472	Teodora	de la Cruz	50	cdo
1473	Victoriana	Tenorio	25	sol
1474	Agusta	Hernandez	51	vdo
1475	Felipa	de Leon	29	
1476	Maria	Bethay	59	
1477	Nicolasa	Capule	54	
1478	Saturnina	Cruz	38	cdo
1479	Petrona	Reyes	27	sol
1480	Luisa	Dilig	52	cdo
1481	Aldina	Reyes	51	sol
1482	Nieves	Reyes	45	sol
1483	Antonia	Reyes	25	sol
1484	Antonia	Garcia	30	cdo
1485	Brigida	Gabriel	38	cdo
1486	Silvestra	Teodoro	26	cdo
1487	Ursula	Ysidro	33	cdo
1488	Miguela	Matias	52	vdo
1489	Maria	Medina	53	cdo
1490	Maria	Martines	36	vdo
1491	Laureana	San Pedro	38	cdo
1492	Dianicia	Gonsalez	37	cdo
1493	Juliana	de la Peña	32	cdo
1494	Blasica	Enriquez	31	cdo
1495	Joaquina	Reyes	28	cdo
1496	Marcela	Esguerra	33	sol

1497	Florencia	Santos	25	sol
1498	Basilia	de Jesus	33	cdo
1499	Jacinta	Macalinad	28	cdo
1500	Leocadia	Gonzales	19	sol
1501	Pascuala	de la Fuente	29	sol
1502	Potenciana	Sanchez	25	cdo
1503	Tomaza	Victorio	20	cdo
1504	Antonia	Cruz	34	cdo
1505	Valentina	Zamora	20	sol
1506	Cerapia	Palomarez	28	cdo
1507	Antonia	Rojas	48	cdo
1508	Eusebia	Legaspi	60	vdo
1509	Cirila	Quijano	38	cdo
1510	Pascuala	Francisco	32	vdo
1511	Victoriana	Agustin	52	vdo
1512	Maria	de la Cruz	54	vdo
1513	Leonora	Perez	24	sol
1514	Tranquilina	Nicolas	52	cdo
1515	Ciriaca	San Felipe	25	cdo
1516	Severa	Victorio	50	cdo
1517	Agapita	Francisco	15	
1518	Damiana	Jose	42	cdo
1519	Gregoria	Jose	34	sol
1520	Antonia	del Manela	45	vdo
1521	Leonarda	Quijano	31	cdo
1522	Ynocencia	Tolentino	36	cdo
1523	Simplicia	Liuag	31	vdo
1524	Eusebia	Gimenez	34	cdo
1525	Anatalia	Licad	40	cdo
1526	Luisa	Santiago	35	cdo

1527	Felipa	Asuncion	54	cdo
1528	Arcadia	Custodio	39	sol
1529	Luisa	Almanza	45	vdo
1530	Cornelia	Segundo	29	cdo
1531	Marcela	Gutierrez	43	vdo
1532	Juana	Alonzo	31	cdo
1533	Matea	Chungco	58	vdo
1534	Marcelina	Bicti	41	cdo
1535	Bruna	Anastacio	29	vdo
1536	Mariana	Gasinjan	23	cdo
1537	Jacoba	Cruz	45	cdo
1538	Dionicia	Nicolas	32	cdo
1539	Benigna	Rosario	28	cdo
1540	Geronima	Cruz	47	sol
1541	Quintina	Cruz	57	vdo
1542	Graciana	Ortiz	33	cdo
1543	Petrona	Cruz	46	cdo
1544	Ygnacia	Fernandez	37	cdo
1545	Jacoba	Dina	25	sol
1546	Romana	Canlas	38	cdo
1547	Josefa	Reyes	35	cdo
1548	Perfecta	Tolentino	34	cdo
1549	Francisca	Palomares	24	vdo
1550	Maria	Santos	58	cdo
1551	Ysberta	Santos	55	cdo
1552	Ambrosia	Novera	38	sol
1553	Vicenta	de la Peña	54	vdo
1554	Mauricia	Calma	30	sol
1555	Ciriaca	Agustin	25	cdo
1556	Baldomera	Flores	21	sol

1557	Teodora	Flores	18	sol
1558	Quintina	Flores	39	cdo
1559	Dorotea	Villanueva	49	cdo
1560	Getrudes	Gordon	61	cdo
1561	Ambrosia	Ramirez	49	sol
1562	Ambrosia	Miranda	35	sol
1563	Gabriela	Cruz	33	cdo
1564	Camila	Carreon	25	sol
1565	Gregoria	Carreon	45	cdo
1566	Ana	Reyes	35	cdo
1567	Alejandra	Barran	43	cdo
1568	Josefa	Antonio	51	sol
1569	Juana	Victorio	52	vdo
1570	Cipriana	Salonga	40	cdo
1571	Paulina	de Guzman	31	vdo
1572	Clara	Rodolfo	20	sol
1573	Josefa	de la Cruz	37	sol
1574	Juana	Villena	27	sol
1575	Ysberta	Ortiz	29	cdo
1576	Alejandra	Bayan	35	sol
1577	Victoria	Bayan	36	sol
1578	Alejandra	de los Reyes	39	cdo
1579	Pia	Tumalad	33	cdo
1580	Maria	Josefa	39	cdo
1581	Andrea	de la Cruz	25	sol
1582	Ursula	San Pedro	45	vdo
1583	Procesa	Chaves	22	sol
1584	Agueda	de Jesus	45	cdo
1585	Crispina	Reyes	35	vdo
1586	Tiburcia	Pascual	45	cdo

1587	Felipa	Plata	20	sol
1588	Ana	Damaso	21	sol
1589	Matea	Ramos	41	cdo
1590	Clemencia	Tolentino	38	cdo
1591	Quintina	Buenaventura	19	sol
1592	Luisa	de los Santos	45	cdo
1593	Maria	Baltazar	44	cdo
1594	Macaria	Yson	50	vdo
1595	Romana	Yson	24	sol
1596	Balbina	Agustin	56	vdo
1597	Petrona	Agustin	24	cdo
1598	Balbina	de Godoy	20	cdo
1599	Bernarda	Vasquez	51	cdo
1600	Eusebia	de la Cruz	47	vdo
1601	Candida	Herrera	26	cdo
1602	Gregoria	Velasquez	51	cdo
1603	Juana	Sebastian	26	cdo
1604	Petrona	de la Cruz	25	cdo
1605	Ysidra	Magalang	26	cdo
1606	Catalina	Javier	45	sol
1607	Mamerta	de Jesus	27	cdo
1608	Juliana	Elias	22	sol
1609	Potenciana	Franco	63	cdo
1610	Feliciana	Prigo	24	sol
1611	Estifania	Zabata	32	cdo
1612	Marcelina	Cruz	58	vdo
1613	Victoriana	San Juan	59	cdo
1614	Luisa	Lacsa	69	vdo
1615	Ysabela	Bartolome	41	cdo
1616	Gavina	del Rosario	36	cdo

1617	Plasida	Velaquez	62	cdo
1618	Quintina	Macau	38	vdo
1619	Teodorica	Melgarejo	51	vdo
1620	Eugenia	de los Santos	47	cdo
1621	Maria	Lacsa	54	vdo
1622	Saturnina	Magno	51	cdo
1623	Bartola	Zarsoza	58	cdo
1624	Luisa	Cruz	45	cdo
1625	Tomasa	Liuanag	50	vdo
1626	Gervacia	Antonio	33	cdo
1627	Rafaela	Francisco	20	cdo
1628	Juliana	Pulin	23	cdo
1629	Maria	Masancay	43	cdo
1630	Luisa	Garcia	22	sol
1631	Quintina	Reyes	23	cdo
1632	Balbina	Sebastian	25	cdo
1633	Valeriana	Dipampil	25	cdo
1634	Eleuteria	Cabral	22	sol
1635	Remigia	del Rosario	39	cdo
1636	Victoriana	Matias	38	vdo
1637	Petronila	Dias	50	vdo
1638	Ancelina	San Vicente	43	vdo
1639	Generosa	Mangajas	20	sol
1640	Juana	Bautista	60	cdo
1641	Ynes	Feliciano	43	vdo
1642	Teodorica	Caviles	34	cdo
1643	Maria	Gabriel	30	cdo
1644	Hipolita	Pablo	32	cdo
1645	Eugenia	Ysidro	20	cdo
1646	Victoriana	Hernandez	57	cdo

1647	Blasica	Arbuis	37	sol
1648	Teodora	Dumandan	58	cdo
1649	Natalia	Tolentino	19	sol
1650	Matea	Soriano	46	cdo
1651	Catalina	Miguel	25	cdo
1652	Tomasa	Ramirez	45	vdo
1653	Geronima	Pascual	18	cdo
1654	Paula	Raymundo	63	vdo
1655	Ysidora	Raymundo	49	sol
1656	Saturnina	Bojorque	33	sol
1657	Ursula	Panganiban	21	cdo
1658	Agapita	Milan	21	sol
1659	Ciriaca	Fulgencio	42	sol
1660	Silvina	de Leon	21	sol
1661	Nieves	de Leon	20	sol
1662	Agatona	Pomuceno	23	sol
1663	Concepcion	Navarreto	43	cdo
1664	Lorenza	Policarpio	56	vdo
1665	Petrona	Bautista	40	vdo
1666	Modesta	Bautista	37	vdo
1667	Francisca	Lino	46	cdo
1668	Simplicia	Cordero	32	sol
1669	Evarista	Mariano	49	vdo
1670	Elena	Guevarra	54	cdo
1671	Juliana	Cabral	53	vdo
1672	Florencia	Eusebio	49	cdo
1673	Paula	Cruz	31	sol
1674	Maria	Lorenzo	30	cdo
1675	Cipriana	Pingol	26	sol
1676	Agustina	Concepcion	26	cdo

1677	Dominga	de la Cruz	41	cdo
1678	Juliana	Cruz	40	vdo
1679	Vicenta	de Guzman	45	vdo
1680	Maria	Bautista	54	vdo
1681	Martina	Jose	48	cdo
1682	Bernardina	Bartolome	23	sol
1683	Cesilia	Bayan	22	sol
1684	Susana	Adriano	24	cdo
1685	Francisca	Santos	22	cdo
1686	Antonia	de Leon	40	cdo
1687	Josefa	Villegas	39	vdo
1688	Greogria	Cruz	25	cdo
1689	Sotera	de los Reyes	19	sol
1690	Manuela	de los Reyes	18	sol
1691	Dominga	Gatdula	21	cdo
1692	Agustina	Gutierrez	22	sol
1693	Pascuala	Ramos	48	vdo
1694	Venancia	Matute	31	vdo
1695	Honorata	Cruz	37	vdo
1696	Maria	Segui	57	vdo
1697	Leona	Cristobal	25	sol
1698	Vicenta	Cruz	40	sol
1699	Dionicia	Pingol	10	sol
1700	Tomasa	Bacho	23	sol
1701	Edilberta	Mendoza	6	
1702	Patricia	Rejas	40	cdo
1703	Brigida	Torres	18	sol
1704	Roberta	Romero	35	cdo
1705	Fernanda	Nicolas	25	sol
1706	Rita	Arcillas	31	cdo

1707	Remigia	Ortega	33	sol
1708	Alejandra	Villanueva	28	cdo
1709	Oliva	Sombillo	21	sol
1710	Maria	Ramos	33	sol
1711	Margarita	Bagtas	31	sol
1712	Candida	Narciso	27	cdo
1713	Ana	de la Cruz	32	sol
1714	Luisa	Sanchez	32	sol
1715	Juana	Reyes	32	sol
1716	Francisca	Clemente	47	vdo
1717	Macaria	Miguel	20	sol
1718	Severina	Giron	28	cdo
1719	Josefa	Bautista	45	cdo
1720	Teodora	Policarpio	19	sol
1721	Laureana	Cruz	50	cdo
1722	Maria	Vitanzo	31	sol
1723	Lorenza	Damian	46	cdo
1724	Ysabel	Jardinesa	20	sol
1725	Maria	del Carmen	41	sol
1726	Perfecta	Francisco	57	vdo
1727	Ynes	Vitanzo	25	sol
1728	Maria	Yson	41	vdo
1729	Baldomera	Galaz	21	cdo
1730	Nazaria	Rubio	44	cdo
1731	Crispina	Santiago	23	cdo
1732	Sixta	Liazon	19	cdo
1733	Teodora	Ramos	24	cdo
1734	Josefa	Gutierrez	44	sol
1735	Victoria	del Rosario	52	cdo
1736	Florentina	Eugenio	19	sol

1737	Brigida	Reyes	42	cdo
1738	Marcela	Eugenio	20	sol
1739	Guillerma	Ortiz	29	cdo
1740	Feliciana	Meneses	38	cdo
1741	Marcosa	Castro	22	cdo
1742	Maria	Santiago	47	sol
1743	Lorenza	Santos	39	sol
1744	Anatalia	Trinidad	52	sol
1745	Francisca	Sacay	23	sol
1746	Casimira	Villanueva	45	sol
1747	Maria	de Guia	57	sol
1748	Margarita	Matanaran	20	cdo
1749	Agapita	Camos	19	sol
1750	Victoria	de la Rosa	47	cdo
1751	Matea	Panganiban	29	sol
1752	Maria	Salomon	60	cdo
1753	Pilar	Santos	32	cdo
1754	Luisa	Martinez	44	cdo
1755	Juana	San Jose	67	vdo
1756	Eustaquia	Cruz	50	vdo
1757	Potenciana	Hipolito	35	cdo
1758	Crisanta	de la Cruz	54	cdo
1759	Eulogia	Trinidad	67	cdo
1760	Victoriana	Santos	18	cdo
1761	Lorenza	de Guzman	66	cdo
1762	Evarista	Felix	58	vdo
1763	Cerapina	Liuag	12	
1764	Carlota	Hernandez	19	cdo
1765	Dominga	Aguilera	24	cdo
1766	Victoria	Pangilinan	24	cdo

1767	Petrona	Vicente	45	cdo
1768	Marcosa	Alcazar	38	vdo
1769	Adriana	Camacho	51	vdo
1770	Julia	Zuñiga	52	vdo
1771	Rosalia	Anacleto	25	sol
1772	Policarpia	Lintag	47	cdo
1773	Jacoba	de Leon	52	sol
1774	Liceria	de Leon	44	sol
1775	Candelaria	Bautista	24	cdo
1776	Juana	Llagas	55	vdo
1777	Eulalia	Agustin	19	sol
1778	Juana	Bartolome	26	sol
1779	Geronima	Dionisio	25	cdo
1780	Rosa	Dionisio	23	sol
1781	Dominga	de Belen	53	cdo
1782	Paula	Filomeno	35	vdo
1783	Narcisa	Cruz	29	cdo
1784	Ana	Agustin	21	cdo
1785	Gabina	Torres	24	cdo
1786	Ysabel	Bautista	29	vdo
1787	Fabiana	Morales	25	cdo
1788	Brigida	Alulung	27	cdo
1789	Marcela	Adriano	29	sol
1790	Perfecta	Mendoza	30	cdo
1791	Dorotea	Cruz	26	cdo
1792	Josefa	de Leon	20	cdo
1793	Celestina	Panganiban	20	sol
1794	Francisca	Lejarde	42	vdo
1795	Gregoria	Espejo	27	sol
1796	Olimpia	Senson	41	vdo

1797	Juana	Candelaria	59	cdo
1798	Florentina	Legaspi	25	sol
1799	Catora	Legaspi	23	sol
1800	Dominga	Legaspi	19	sol
1801	Tomotea	Sta. Maria	38	cdo
1802	Jacoba	Siongco	37	cdo
1803	Dorotea	de Leon	58	cdo
1804	Romualda	de la Rosa	48	vdo
1805	Ceferina	Salvador	27	sol
1806	Canuta	Salvador	24	sol
1807	Marcela	Crisostomo	27	cdo
1808	Juana	Reyes	37	sol
1809	Pascuala	Velasquez	20	sol
1810	Evarista	de Vera	46	vdo
1811	Albina	Mape	55	cdo
1812	Maria	Latorre	38	sol
1813	Prudencia	Sarmiento	25	sol
1814	Lorenza	Pagua	27	cdo
1815	Querina	Cruz	25	sol
1816	Baltazara	de la Cruz	32	sol
1817	Rosa	Perupa	38	vdo
1818	Anastasia	Magtanong	33	sol
1819	Juana	Mendez	21	sol
1820	Valeriana	Rojas	41	cdo
1821	Marciana	de la Cruz	39	cdo
1822	Petrona	Villafuerte	32	vdo
1823	Juliana	Cruz	40	vdo
1824	Victoriana	Patricio	22	cdo
1825	Valentina	de Guzman	47	vdo
1826	Agatona	Bautista	36	cdo

1827	Alejandra	Roque	24	cdo
1828	Clara	de los Reyes	19	sol
1829	Matilde	Bautista	60	vdo
1830	Dorotea	Arcillas	49	cdo
1831	Margarita	Bautista	54	vdo
1832	Vicenta	Santillan	25	cdo
1833	Romana	de la Rosa	35	cdo
1834	Juana	Arcillas	44	vdo
1835	Benedicta	Herrera	30	cdo
1836	Rita	de Lara	36	cdo
1837	Margarita	Cruz	62	cdo
1838	Clara	Adriana	31	sol
1839	Saturnina	Adriana	22	cdo
1840	Juana	David	47	cdo
1841	Petrona	de Guzman	58	vdo
1842	Florentina	Francisco	27	cdo
1843	Gregoria	Francisco	21	cdo
1844	Serapia	Bernardino	32	cdo
1845	Remigia	Ramos	62	vdo
1846	Antonia	Naquit	25	cdo
1847	Victoriana	de Leon	48	sol
1848	Dominga	Manalang	32	cdo
1849	Valentina	baltazar	36	cdo
1850	Manuela	Dean	47	cdo
1851	Plasida	de Leon	38	cdo
1852	Maria	Pagua	29	
1853	Dolores	Nicolas	35	
1854	Maxima	Cruz	25	sol
1855	Maria	Engracio	18	
1856	Anatalia	Reyes	41	

1857	Ysabel	Cruz	32	
1858	Magdalena	Cruz	33	
1859	Sotera	Mateo	43	vdo
1860	Roberta	Francisca	22	cdo
1861	Ysidora	Reyes	33	cdo
1862	Dominga	Santos	41	cdo
1863	Ambrocia	de la Cruz	55	vdo
1864	Severina	Fuentes	26	cdo
1865	Severa	de la Cruz	35	vdo
1866	Paulina	Villanueva	30	cdo
1867	Casimira	Aquino	26	sol
1868	Valentina	Beteon	35	cdo
1869	Ysidra	de Lara	33	sol
1870	Juliana	Fernando	31	cdo
1871	Juana	Cruz	38	cdo
1872	Maria	Crisostomo	38	cdo
1873	Carlota	Mandalo	51	vdo
1874	Honorata	Andaya	43	cdo
1875	Maria	Rojas	21	sol
1876	Hilaria	Enriquez	28	vdo
1877	Simeona	Cruz	30	cdo
1878	Dominga	Alcantara	38	sol
1879	Marciana	Felix	21	sol
1880	Silvestra	de Lara	39	cdo
1881	Luisa	Ynocencio	62	vdo
1882	Maria	de los Reyes	37	sol
1883	Matea	Velarde	40	vdo
1884	Luisa	Reyes	42	sol
1885	Graciana	Mariano	45	cdo
1886	Jacinta	de los Santos	42	cdo

1887	Adriana	Legaspi	27	cdo
1888	Saturnina	Cariño	23	sol
1889	Maxima	Linosa	60	sol
1890	Aniceta	Mariano	50	cdo
1891	Saturnina	Peñaflor	45	vdo
1892	Maxima	Natividad	30	vdo
1893	Rafaela	Jaime	35	vdo
1894	Catalina	Castillo	33	sol
1895	Francisca	Punsalan	53	vdo
1896	Eugenia	Mañozca	22	sol
1897	Francisca	Carlos	22	cdo
1898	Escolastica	Gavan	23	cdo
1899	Teodorica	Punsalan	41	cdo
1900	Loronda	Legaspo	29	vdo
1901	Bernardina	Honora	30	cdo
1902	Monica	Flores	21	sol
1903	Brigida	Mendoza	46	vdo
1904	Margarita	Apdon	19	cdo
1905	Eusebia	Faustino	49	cdo
1906	Maria	Reyes	30	cdo
1907	Venancia	Rojas	43	cdo
1908	Tomasa	Fernandez	38	sol
1909	Josefa	Roque	38	cdo
1910	Marcosa	Policarpio	41	cdo
1911	Petrona	del Rosario	56	sol
1912	Feliciana	Mercado	28	sol
1913	Maria	Paraiso	43	cdo
1914	Eugenia	Manlig	25	cdo
1915	Agustina	Santos	53	cdo
1916	Lucena	Gonzales	26	cdo

1917	Basilia	Pasion	32	sol
1918	Juliana	Cabral	30	sol
1919	Quiteria	de la Cruz	30	cdo
1920	Mauricia	Rafael	47	cdo
1921	Silvestra	Sanvictores	30	sol
1922	Luisa	Reyes	28	sol
1923	Manuela	Reyes	28	sol
1924	Gregoria	Aranzaso	36	cdo
1925	Sabina	Dilichio	25	cdo
1926	Mauricia	Jose	41	cdo
1927	Alejandra	Natividad	26	sol
1928	Ysidra	Cruz	41	cdo
1929	Marcela	Aranzaso	52	cdo
1930	Gregoria	Natividad	29	cdo
1931	Ysabel	Pimpin	24	cdo
1932	Anastacia	Cruz	63	cdo
1933	Victoria	Manlapas	53	cdo
1934	Francisca	Soliman	28	sol
1935	Felipa	Aguilar	29	sol
1936	Florentina	Pamandanan	32	cdo
1937	Fausta	Norverta	37	vdo
1938	Teodora	Ramos	28	cdo
1939	Simeona	Santiago	37	cdo
1940	Modesta	Fernandez	24	sol
1941	Ambrosia	Aguilar	28	cdo
1942	Paula	Cristobal	28	cdo
1943	Maria	Cuengca	34	cdo
1944	Andrea	de la Cruz	27	cdo
1945	Severina	de Lara	22	cdo
1946	Paulina	Bernardino	25	sol

1947	Ysabel	Cruz	36	cdo
1948	Lucia	Pascual	44	vdo
1949	Silvestra	Felix	22	sol
1950	Eulalia	de Guzman	22	sol
1951	Cipriana	Victorio	26	sol
1952	Juliana	Dolores	42	vdo
1953	Benedicta	Angeles	24	sol
1954	Magdalena	Gatdula	48	
1955	Cirila	Antonio	39	
1956	Maria	Mendoza	25	
1957	Maria	Villena	28	
1958	Dominga	Raymundo	32	
1959	Perfecta	Santos	32	sol
1960	Paula	Bautista	22	
1961	Balvina	Sto. Tomas	46	vdo
1962	Miguela	Concepcion	31	
1963	Gregoria	Sabal	22	sol
1964	Apolinaria	Cruz	20	
1965	Nieves	Dominguez	44	cdo
1966	Estanislana	Quinones	48	cdo
1967	Ysidra	Estrella	15	sol
1968	Gregoria	Reyes	24	cdo
1969	Juana	Vallejo	42	cdo
1970	Geronima	de los Santos	39	cdo
1971	Catalina	Roque	43	cdo
1972	Venancia	Cruz	49	cdo
1973	Martina	Gloria	33	sol
1974	Adriana	de la Cruz	20	cdo
1975	Sabina	Ponce	37	cdo
1976	Andrea	Sacay	23	cdo

1977	Romana	Salbador	35	vdo
1978	Ygnacia	Abad	30	cdo
1979	Magdalena	de Ocampo	4	sol
1980	Juana	de Vera	32	cdo
1981	Bacilia	Fuente	33	cdo
1982	Andrea	Miguel	23	sol
1983	Arcadia	Miguel	24	sol
1984	Rufina	Centeno	39	cdo
1985	Fabiana	Centeno	48	cdo
1986	Escolastica	Adriano	27	sol
1987	Pantaleona	Camara	22	cdo
1988	Camila	Paseo	22	cdo
1989	Antonia	Ortega	19	sol
1990	Felipa	Sebastian	37	sol
1991	Valentina	Urbano	20	sol
1992	Paula	de la Cruz	38	cdo
1993	Agapita	Tadeo	28	cdo
1994	Ysabel	Margarejo	43	sol
1995	Mamerta	Pangilinan	23	cdo
1996	Francisca	Liceria	49	cdo
1997	Andrea	Ortiz	36	cdo
1998	Romana	Pasion	23	cdo
1999	Joaquina	Ortiz	55	sol
2000	Leocadia	de Leon	31	cdo
2001	Modesta	Senteno	30	sol
2002	Simforosa	Venancio	20	sol
2003	Serapia	de la Cruz	21	sol
2004	Miguela	de la Cruz	44	vdo
2005	Dionicia	Ablaza	56	cdo
2006	Josefa	de la Peña	26	vdo

2007	Marcela	de la Cruz	30	cdo
2008	Cleotilde	Quijano	37	cdo
2009	Francisca	de Castro	59	cdo
2010	Antonina	Mangila	60	vdo
2011	Hilaria	Marcelo	31	vdo
2012	Angela	Avendaño	48	cdo
2013	Luisa	de la Cruz	30	sol
2014	Paulina	Manabat	31	cdo
2015	Basilía	Aranzaso	44	sol
2016	Nicolasa	Aranzaso	60	vdo
2017	Basilía		25	sol
2018	Monica	Garcia	46	cdo
2019	Agapita	Cruz	49	cdo
2020	Leonarda	Rojas	27	cdo
2021	Basilía	Cruz	31	vdo
2022	Faustina	Aquino	54	sol
2023	Castora	Cruz	24	sol
2024	Tarcila	Natividad	24	cdo
2025	Apolonia	de Leon	34	cdo
2026	Ynes	Pascual	49	cdo
2027	Macaria	Cruz	37	sol
2028	Vicenta	Cruz	27	sol
2029	Paula	Venancio	33	cdo
2030	Rita	Susana	40	vdo
2031	Rufina	Catus	30	vdo
2032	Apolinaria	Manalo	39	cdo
2033	Nicolasa	Santos	61	cdo
2034	Emiga	Lopez	56	cdo
2035	Juana	Rojas	18	sol
2036	Sotera	Santos	22	cdo

2037	Juana	Gutierrez	23	cdo
2038	Macaria	Villanueva	54	vdo
2039	Bartola	Villanueva	50	cdo
2040	Francisca	Mariano	53	vdo
2041	Nicolasa	de Leon	30	sol
2042	Esverta	Fulgencio	54	vdo
2043	Victoriana	Leocadio	56	cdo
2044	Feliciana	Gudia	38	sol
2045	Damiana	Reyes	22	vdo
2046	Eusica	Santos	30	cdo
2047	Anatalia	Santos	46	cdo
2048	Gregoria	Toribio	37	cdo
2049	Ynes	Manalo	25	cdo
2050	Miguela	Esguerra	21	sol
2051	Gregoria	Esguerra	20	sol
2052	Magdalena	Cruz	36	vdo
2053	Cirila	Dizon	28	sol
2054	Concepcion	Baltazar	20	cdo
2055	Epifania	Liuanag	20	cdo
2056	Rafaela	Ramon	37	cdo
2057	Nicolasa	de la Cruz	33	cdo
2058	Agatona	Quijano	27	sol
2059	Norverta	Robles	57	cdo
2060	Sotera	Santos	34	sol
2061	Narcisa	Santos	37	cdo
2062	Engracia	Santiago	30	sol
2063	Dominga	Almario	54	sol
2064	Felipa	de la Cruz	32	sol
2065	Hilaria	Aranzaso	44	vdo
2066	Matea	Cruz	26	sol

2067	Benita	Cruz	32	cdo
2068	Paula	Cruz	30	cdo
2069	Antera	Pantig	21	cdo
2070	Antonia	Gonzales	23	sol
2071	Simona	Santos	54	cdo
2072	Brigida	Cruz	31	cdo
2073	Bartola	Velasquez	21	cdo
2074	Ynes	de los Santos	29	cdo
2075	Ciriaca	Quinto	21	cdo
2076	Rufina	Rodriguez	51	vdo
2077	Vitoriana	Gomez	53	cdo
2078	Filomena	Luciano	54	vdo
2079	Valentina	Gomez	25	sol
2080	Casimira	Reyes	44	vdo
2081	Evarista	Malabo	39	sol
2082	Petrona	Viray	39	cdo
2083	Pioquita	Salvador	46	vdo
2084	Brigida	Luciano	56	vdo
2085	Francisca	Cruz	44	sol
2086	Maria	Altomasano	56	cdo
2087	Alejandra	Solaso	27	cdo
2088	Vicenta	Ramos	24	sol
2089	Maria	Eleno	28	cdo
2090	Oliva	Enrique	28	cdo
2091	Damasa	Bartolome	39	cdo
2092	Marcela	Sayo	52	cdo
2093	Ygnacia	Cruz	33	sol
2094	Ambrosia	Manalo	34	cdo
2095	Petrona	Parfan	60	vdo
2096	Maria	Marta	49	vdo

2097	Vicenta	Sayo	22	sol
2098	Feliciana	Parfan	38	sol
2099	Paula	Rivera	21	sol
2100	Margarita	Dayao	32	vdo
2101	Evarista	Parfan	23	cdo
2102	Juliana	Natividad	21	sol
2103	Agapita	Mariano	50	cdo
2104	Ysabel	Felix	43	sol
2105	Marcela	Guevarra	47	cdo
2106	Justa	Guevarra	19	sol
2107	Toribia	Fernando	46	sol
2108	Magdalena	Santiago	37	sol
2109	Agustina	Santiago	43	sol
2110	Clara	Galang	28	sol
2111	Francisca	Vergara	28	sol
2112	Juana	Ramos	22	sol
2113	Tomasa	Ramirez	30	sol
2114	Antera	Guevarra	22	sol
2115	Jauana	de los Santos	36	cdo
2116	Hipolita	San Miguel	32	cdo
2117	Silvestra	Gimenez	55	vdo
2118	Dionicia	de Guzman	26	cdo
2119	Canuta	Medina	27	sol
2120	Cecilia	Bayani	19	sol
2121	Bernardina	Miranda	41	cdo
2122	Margarita	Pangilinan	27	sol
2123	Policarpia	Capili	27	cdo
2124	Hipolita	Navarro	18	sol
2125	Maria	Perez	38	cdo
2126	Maxima	Ramirez	32	cdo

2127	Maria	Villanueva	46	vdo
2128	Agustina	Salvador	43	vdo
2129	Juana	Buson	20	sol
2130	Justa	Rivera	22	cdo
2131	Petra	Cruz	28	cdo
2132	Alejandra	Pingol	23	cdo
2133	Arcila	Galus	42	cdo
2134	Arcadia	Banga	23	sol
2135	Valentina	Sallejas	57	cdo
2136	Antonia	Aguilar	59	vdo
2137	Epifania	de Vera	33	cdo
2138	Crispina	Jose	28	cdo
2139	Benita	Gonzales	23	cdo
2140	Melchora	Capistrano	24	cdo
2141	Calixta	Agustin	40	cdo
2142	Josefa	Gabon	23	cdo
2143	Clemencia	Raymundo	25	cdo
2144	Cleotilde	Lazaro	39	vdo
2145	Serapia	Rossell	41	sol
2146	Tomasa	Rosell	38	sol
2147	Romualda	Rosell	37	vdo
2148	Segunda	Villanueva	30	vdo
2149	Dorotea	Medina	22	sol
2150	Petrona	Garcia	50	sol
2151	Cipriana	Garcia	38	sol
2152	Prisca	Garcia	37	vdo
2153	Marcela	Agustin	41	cdo
2154	Gregoria	Gozon	47	cdo
2155	Tomasa	Santos	47	vdo
2156	Graciana	Garcia	32	cdo

2157	Justa	Deleus	37	cdo
2158	Geronima	Bonifacio	24	cdo
2159	Juliana	Trinidad	24	cdo
2160	Geromina	Pantaleon	25	sol
2161	Macaria	Buhay	24	cdo
2162	Felipa	delos Santos	26	cdo
2163	Donata	Austria	26	cdo
2164	Atanacia	Araula	26	cdo
2165	Alejandra	Morales	54	vdo
2166	Barbara	Clemente	38	cdo
2167	Saturnina	Rodriguez	58	vdo
2168	Maxima	Mendoza	33	vdo
2169	Esperanza	de los Reyes	56	cdo
2170	Maria	Francisco	27	sol
2171	Brigida	de Leon	43	vdo
2172	Maria	Buzon	53	vdo
2173	Matea	Villegas	50	cdo
2174	Escolastica	Victorio	21	sol
2175	Valoriana	Ventura	19	sol
2176	Filomena	delos Santos	34	cdo
2177	Calixta	Villanueva	48	sol
2178	Ciriaca	Reyes	40	vdo
2179	Adriana	Agustin	31	cdo
2180	Ysidora	Bernabe	19	sol
2181	Joaquina	Enriquez	19	cdo
2182	Francisca	Gudia	19	cdo
2183	Paula	Mendoza	47	vdo
2184	Cecilia	dela Cruz	50	sol
2185	Matea	Lazaro	20	cdo
2186	Maria	dela Cruz	46	cdo

2187	Lorenza	Santos	30	cdo
2188	Tranquilina	Ysidro	46	cdo
2189	Perfecta	Zabal	59	vdo
2190	Sotera	Agras	47	vdo
2191	Ynocencia	Lopez	39	vdo
2192	Regina	Cruz	50	cdo
2193	Aleja	Pasajol	20	sol
2194	Luceria	Ablaza	33	cdo
2195	Venancia	Mariano	46	sol
2196	Ynocencia	Puente	37	sol
2197	Teodora	Pascual	50	vdo
2198	Estanislana	de Leon	26	sol
2199	Antera	Aranzaso	28	sol
2200	Ana	Nepomuceno	18	cdo
2201	Tolentina	Alejo	18	sol
2202	Rafaela	Santos	30	sol
2203	Petra	de la Torre	43	sol
2204	Alejandra	Gonzales	40	cdo
2205	Engracia	Pamandanan	53	vdo
2206	Juana	Villanueva	39	cdo
2207	Ysabel	Roman	52	vdo
2208	Dominga	Roman	22	sol
2209	Paula	Palcho	51	vdo
2210	Petrona	Aquino	40	vdo
2211	Perfecta	Bundoc	39	cdo
2212	Anselma	Caballero	32	cdo
2213	Placida	Angeles	27	cdo
2214	Leoncia	Manuel	35	cdo
2215	Luisa	Peligro	50	cdo
2216	Baldomera	Eusebio	28	cdo

2217	Petrona	Mendoza	35	vdo
2218	Florencia	Guevarra	26	sol
2219	Ysabel	Antonio	27	cdo
2220	Marta	Mamalato	26	cdo
2221	Simeona	Guanzon	27	cdo
2222	Celestina	Advinenla	41	vdo
2223	Ancelma	Miranda	25	cdo
2224	Graciana	dela Cruz	30	cdo
2225	Lorenza	Bagtas	41	cdo
2226	Olimpia	Reyes	4	cdo
2227	Catalina	Evangelista	58	cdo
2228	Josefa	Miranda	19	sol
2229	Susana	Miranda	13	sol
2230	Paula	de Leon	37	cdo
2231	Rufina	Miranda	29	sol
2232	Silvina	Santiago	31	sol
2233	Alejandra	Marcelo	33	cdo
2234	Mamerta	Gridia	25	cdo
2235	Ana	Espiritu	41	cdo
2236	Eustaquia	Gamboa	17	sol
2237	Praxedes	Alonzo	29	cdo
2238	Candelaria	Alamario	29	vdo
2239	Juana	Sanchez	60	vdo
2240	Raymunda	Banag	35	cdo
2241	Ancaleta	Loeonardo	31	cdo
2242	Segunda	Magpoc	27	vdo
2243	Ynocencia	Bartolome	40	sol
2244	Maria	delos Reyes	41	vdo
2245	Potenciana	Geronimo	21	cdo
2246	Geronima	Ramires	21	sol

2247	Martina	Domingo	36	vdo
2248	Leoncia	Lopez	44	vdo
2249	Basilia	Liuanag	44	cdo
2250	Alejandra	dela Cruz	32	cdo
2251	Gregoria	Santiago	42	vdo
2252	Damasa	Pascual	16	sol
2253	Ynosencia	Rivera	32	sol
2254	Cornelia	Rivera	29	sol
2255	Catalina	de Gusman	44	cdo
2256	Maria	Mendoza	66	vdo
2257	Prudencia	Rivera	43	sol
2258	Luisa	Mendoza	32	sol
2259	Dominga	Romero	26	sol
2260	Maria	Miguel	60	vdo
2261	Aquilina	Ynosencio	22	sol
2262	Dionisia	Limbungtin	31	cdo
2263	Damiana	del Moral	40	vdo
2264	Gavina	Antonio	27	cdo
2265	Francisca	Guevara	28	sol
2266	Francisca	Alvurro	27	sol
2267	Romana	Rafael	19	cdo
2268	Gregoria	Rubio	46	cdo
2269	Ysidora	Mendoza	21	cdo
2270	Bernalda	Ynosencio	44	vdo
2271	Calistra	Rivera	18	sol
2272	Marta	Lusiano	29	vdo
2273	Visenta	Mañago	42	vdo
2274	Margarita	Anastasio	31	sol
2275	Victoriana	dela Ysla	28	cdo
2276	Maria	Romero	30	cdo

2277	Damiana	Mallare	27	cdo
2278	Josefa	Bamba	47	cdo
2279	Juana	Naceniano	41	
2280	Felipa	Santos	27	cdo
2281	Ysidora	Parfan	38	cdo
2282	Castora	Reyes	26	sol
2283	Jacoba	Buluzan	34	vdo
2284	Benita	Francisco	22	cdo
2285	Magdalena	Pautan	27	sol
2286	Hipolita	Ramis	29	sol
2287	Leona	Gonzales	24	cdo
2288	Rufina	Turno	19	sol
2289	Dorotea	Daltig	42	vdo
2290	Bernandina	Valorio	40	cdo
2291	Maria	Alipio	20	sol
2292	Macaria	Bernabe	29	sol
2293	Luciana	Tolentino	36	sol
2294	Emiteria	Saclolo	20	sol
2295	Petrona	Castillo	19	cdo
2296	Lorenza	de Asis	28	cdo
2297	Agapita	Bamba	28	cdo
2298	Luisa	Feliz	20	cdo
2299	Basilia	Narcizo	33	cdo
2300	Marcela	Manasay	18	cdo
2301	Mauricia	Camacho	32	sol
2302	Gavina	Nicodemus	25	cdo
2303	Rufina	Trinidad	65	cdo
2304	Esperanza	Domingo	22	sol
2305	Lucinda	de Leon	39	cdo
2306	Anatalia	Erene	42	cdo

2307	Cirila	Medina	35	vdo
2308	Dominga	Vicente	39	sol
2309	Maxima	Roque	28	cdo
2310	Basilía	Roque	45	cdo
2311	Rufina	Sales	19	cdo
2312	Beatris	Bautista	36	cdo
2313	Maria	Pacheco	32	cdo
2314	Roverta	Contreras	35	cdo
2315	Maria	Bautista	29	cdo

Appendix 9. Listed Costureras in Tondo, 1887.
NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS
1	Silvina	Rafael	32	cdo
2	Anacleta	Villanueva	42	cdo
3	Juliana	Lopez	27	cdo
4	Gabina	Aquino	34	sol
5	Andrea	Bonifacio	47	cdo
6	Maria	Tuason	25	cdo
7	Apolinaria	Limuco	25	cdo
8	Concepcion	Salomon	20	sol
9	Anastasia	Bautista	38	sol
10	Paula	Castro	17	sol
11	Patricia	Cruz	30	sol
12	Maria	Bautista	20	sol
13	Monica	Beteo	52	cdo
14	Ysabel	Celestino	20	sol
15	Joaquina	Alfonso	42	cdo
16	Eusebia	Cercado	37	cdo
17	Severa	Velazques	32	cdo
18	Anacleta	Jacinto	19	cdo
19	Marcosa	Roxas	40	cdo
20	Telesfora	de Leon	42	cdo
21	Evarista	Diega	47	cdo
22	Petrona	Palma	15	sol
23	Gregoria	Jose	26	cdo
24	Maria	Tuason	52	vdo
25	Ynes	Aguilar	46	cdo

26	Marciana	Lorenzo	15	sol
27	Eduarda	Senson	20	sol
28	Dorotea	Gallo	19	vdo
29	Catalina	Arcangel	37	vdo
30	Sotera	Tionson	17	sol
31	Bibiana	Punzalan	47	cdo
32	Pascuala	Pengco	18	sol
33	Leonarda	Lipehengco	18	sol
34	Cipriana	Feliciano	16	sol
35	Victoriana	Malonso	27	sol
36	Cristela	Balle	32	sol
37	Ana	Valle	31	sol
38	Agustina	Padua	42	cdo
39	Dominga	Frias	28	vdo
40	Maria	Perrenia	31	sol
41	Cirila	Jimenez	29	sol
42	Lorenza	Dela Cruz	16	sol
43	Luisa	Guia	21	cdo
44	Ambrosia	Feliciano	33	cdo
45	Matea	San Juan	26	cdo
46	Elentena	Ynocencio	30	cdo
47	Valentina	Uson	29	cdo
48	Bonifacia	Adiao	33	cdo
49	Ysabel	Proceso	38	cdo
50	Lazara	Cruz	38	vdo
51	Anaclea	Dela Rosa	16	sol
52	Ynes	Dela Rosa	14	sol
53	Melecia	Dela Rosa	19	sol
54	Juliana	Lagni	27	vdo
55	Bernardina	Calianga	37	vdo

56	Andrea	Manuela	37	cdo
57	Valentina	Concepcion	15	sol
58	Baltasara	Cuenca	19	sol
59	Macaria	Felipe	21	sol
60	Riaca	Domingo	24	cdo
61	Bruna	Castro	24	cdo
62	Gregoria	de Jesus	40	cdo
63	Luisa	de Jesus	38	cdo
64	Tiburcia	Diaz	30	cdo
65	Maria	Mariano	30	cdo
66	Amanda	Samano	22	sol
67	Carmen	Concisa	37	vdo
68	Tomasa	Tuazon	28	sol
69	Simforosa	Guadalupe	26	sol
70	Victoriana	Mendoza	33	vdo
71	Maria	Cruz	18	sol
72	Tomasa	Eleno	32	cdo
73	Alfonsa	Serrano	21	sol
74	Petronila	Ygnacio	50	cdo
75	Rosalia	Tiongco	19	sol
76	Julia	Malatatio	22	sol
77	Blasica	Candelaria	39	vdo
78	Maria	Mendoza	45	cdo
79	Ladiolana	Policarpio	16	sol
80	Serapia	Cruz	23	sol
81	Felisa	Capistrano	23	cdo
82	Romana	Garcia	37	vdo
83	Pelagia	Yengco	33	cdo
84	Flora	Hernandez	75	vdo
85	Petrona	Cavas	20	cdo

86	Maria	Serrano	28	cdo
87	Maria	Perales	30	vdo
88	Barcelisa	de la Cruz	42	cdo
89	Balbina	Cristobal	34	cdo
90	Estefania	de los Santos	18	sol
91	Barcelisa	Arevalo	24	cdo
92	Maria	Achuy	27	sol
93	Juana	Achuy	25	cdo
94	Guillermo	Sibog	46	cdo
95	Juana	Raymundo	32	sol
96	Bernardina	Felix	28	cdo
97	Clemencia	Bagino	47	cdo
98	Cirila	Raymundo	25	cdo
99	Esperanza	Casio	27	cdo
100	Saturnina	Cordero	37	cdo
101	Dionisia	de Lara	42	vdo
102	Eugenia	Tibay	47	vdo
103	Venancia	Geronimo	37	cdo
104	Leonora	Jimenez	41	sol
105	Florencia	San Jose	22	sol
106	Victoriana	Mendoza	32	cdo
107	Teodora	Nuñez	31	cdo
108	Ciriaca	David	35	sol
109	Bernabela	Modesto	36	vdo
110	Ynocencia	Flores	34	sol
111	Catalina	Flores	31	sol
112	Gregoria	Flores	28	sol

Appendix 10. Listed Lavanderas in Tondo, 1887.
NAP, *Vecindario de Tondo*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS
1	Antonia	Gaña	31	cdo
2	Petronila	Cruz	59	cdo
3	Margarita	Cruz	27	cdo
4	Fausta	Domingo	32	sol
5	Remigia	Canlas	52	vdo
6	Miguela	Crus	49	cdo
7	Maria Paz	Buliran	46	vdo
8	Josefa	Angeles	22	cdo
9	Rufina	Herrera	31	cdo
10	Paula	Nicolas	50	cdo
11	Ysabel	Santos	44	cdo
12	Juana	Silverio	45	vdo
13	Benita	Calixto	19	cdo
14	Apolinaria	Anigdao	50	cdo
15	Petrona	Zialsita	25	cdo
16	Paulina	Alejo	49	cdo
17	Ruperta	Petra	36	cdo
18	Agueda	Samonte	27	sol
19	Magdalena	Puentes	32	cdo
20	Leodofina	Crisostomo	33	vdo
21	Lesdejarda	de Leon	39	cdo

Appendix 11. Listed Cigarreras in Sampaloc, 1887.
 NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc*, 1887.

NO.	NAME	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	RES/MIG
1	Agapita	Felix	51	vdo	Migrant
2	Eugenia	dela Cruz	30	-	Resident
3	Juaquina	dela Cruz	25	cdo	Resident
4	Hermenegilda	dela Cruz	19	sol	Resident
5	Engracia	de Jesus	27	sol	Resident
6	Juliana	Rivera	21	cdo	Resident
7	Juliana	Gregorio	19	cdo	Resident
8	Ursula	Alfonso	30	cdo	Resident
9	Sergia	Versosa	30	cdo	Resident
10	Antonia	Ygnacio		cdo	Resident
11	Bonifacia	Paleon	42	cdo	Resident
12	Maria	Gonzaga	36	vdo	Resident
13	Arcadia	Alfonso	50	cdo	Resident
14	Eugenia	Nicomedes	36	cdo	Resident
15	Aniceta	Fajardo	55	cdo	Resident
16	Telesfora	delos Santos	31	cdo	Resident
17	Regina	Bona	22	cdo	Resident
18	Juana	Mariano	32	sol	Resident
19	Reama	delos Santos	50	cdo	Resident
20	Cirila	Corcuera	26	cdo	Resident
21	Francisca	delos Santos	47	vdo	Migrant
22	Hilaria	Salvadora	33	cdo	Migrant
23	Rita	dela Cruz	34	cdo	Resident
24	Simona	Buenaideon	47	cdo	Resident
25	Gabina	dela Cruz	42	cdo	Resident
26	Dionicia	Vicenta	28	cdo	Migrant

27	Luisa	delos Reyes	22	cdo	Resident
28	Cornelia	Jacoba	39	cdo	Resident
29	Cipriana	dela Cruz	44	cdo	Migrant
30	Marcela	Ordenez	26	cdo	Migrant
31	Potenciana	Santa Brigida	34	vdo	Resident
32	Clara	delos Reyes		cdo	Resident
33	Rita		49	vdo	Resident
34	Maria	Natividad	53	vdo	Resident
35	Alejandra	Buenavidez	33	sol	Resident
36	Macaria	Bacoto	31	vdo	Resident
37	Leoncia	Juana	46	vdo	Resident
38	Victoria	Salvador	25	sol	Resident
39	Cirila	dela Cruz	44	cdo	Resident
40	Dorotea	Francisco	19	cdo	Migrant
41	Rosa	Francisco	26	cdo	Migrant
42	Modesta	Corcuera	31	sol	Resident
43	Candida	Esguerra	20	cdo	Resident
44	Rufina	delos Santos	19	sol	Resident
45	Estefania	dela Cruz	36	cdo	Migrant
46	Maria	Gonzalez	28	cdo	Migrant
47	Engracia	de San Jose	38	sol	Resident
48	Laureana	Felipa	47	cdo	Resident
49	Macaria	Sicat	46	vdo	Migrant
50	Serapia	delos Santos	32	sol	Resident
51	Simona	Molina	38	cdo	Migrant
52	Graciana	de Leon	40	cdo	Resident
53	Francisca	Carreon	47	cdo	Migrant
54	Maria	Lancay	22	sol	Resident
55	Nicolasa	Lejarda	50	cdo	Resident

56	Margarita	Pablo	20	sol	Migrant
57	Agapita	Gonzalez	20	cdo	Migrant
58	Miguela	Legaspi	33	cdo	Resident
59	Velentina	delos Santos	40	vdo	Migrant
60	Brigida	Marcelo	22	cdo	Resident
61	Gregoria	Saclolo	24	cdo	Migrant
62	Maria	San Juan	34	cdo	Migrant
63	Dominga	delos Santos	44	cdo	Resident
64	Basilia	delos Santos	26	sol	Resident
65	Filomena	dela Rosa	26	cdo	Migrant
66	Cipriana	Jesus	54	cdo	Migrant
67	Juaquina	delos Santos	23	cdo	Resident
68	Marciana	Enriquez	36	vdo	Resident
69	Eleuteria	Ygnacio	27	cdo	Migrant
70	Valentina	del Valle	24	cdo	Migrant
71	Bonifacia	Ramos	27	cdo	Resident
72	Adriana	de Jesus	23	sol	Resident
73	Manuela	delos Santos	35	cdo	Resident
74	Basilia	Cortes	43	cdo	Resident
75	Plasia	Adriano	43	cdo	Resident
76	Maria	Adriano	41	cdo	Resident
77	Romalda	Marcelino	32	cdo	Resident
78	Adriana	Adriano	32	cdo	Resident
79	Tomasa	Cabrera	29	cdo	Resident
80	Florentina	Torres	35	cdo	Migrant
81	Ysabel	San Gabriel	20	sol	Migrant
82	Leonarda	Pablo	24	sol	Resident
83	Sinforoza	de Jesus	30	cdo	Resident
84	Aniceta	Gabriela	32	cdo	Resident
85	Hermogina	Pascual	24	cdo	Resident

86	Teresa	Bernaldo	27	cdo	Resident
87	Juana	Manzon	40	vdo	Resident
88	Victoriana	Carpiso	42	cdo	Resident
89	Sista	delos Reyes	33	cdo	Resident
90	Josefa	Julian	37	cdo	Resident
91	Basilisa	Cordero	39	vdo	Migrant
92	Celestina	Cortes	51	cdo	Resident
93	Guillerma	Jose	20	sol	Resident
94	Eleuteria	Mariano	48	vdo	Resident
95	Maximiana	Bautista	37	cdo	Resident
96	Benita	Jospe	55	vdo	Resident
97	Juana	Ronquillo	21	cdo	Resident
98	Marcelina	Martin	43	cdo	Resident
99	Agrifina	dela Cruz	27	sol	Resident
100	Ynes	dela Cruz	24	cdo	Resident
101	Juana	Francisco	19	cdo	Resident
102	Rufina	de Leon	47	vdo	Resident
103	Ysabela	de Leon	29	cdo	Resident
104	Placida	Quilente	46	vdo	Resident
105	Filomena	Ramos	44	sol	Resident
106	Valentina	Facundo	44	vdo	Resident
107	Juliana	Capulong	29	cdo	Resident
108	Eustaqina	Santiago	33	cdo	Resident
109	Paulina	Francisco	25	cdo	Resident
110	Loreta	Rosales	29	vdo	Resident
111	Barbara	Rosales	31	cdo	Resident
112	Yldefonsa	Espinosa	25	cdo	Migrant
113	Maria	Santos	38	cdo	Resident
114	Fausta	Linanag	24	sol	Resident
115	Narcisa	Bernardo	41	vdo	Resident

116	Maxima	Josefa	50	cdo	Migrant
117	Andrea	Angelino	43	cdo	Migrant
118	Petrona	Peres	32	cdo	Resident
119	Catalina	Ygnacio	30	cdo	Resident
120	Bonifacia	Cruz	34	cdo	Resident
121	Dominga	Santos	33	cdo	Resident
122	Faustina	Cruz	20	sol	Resident
123	Nicolasa	dela Cruz	31	cdo	Migrant
124	Lucia	Guevarra	32	cdo	Resident
125	Josefa	Morales	58	cdo	Resident
126	Cayetana	Aviado	34	sol	Resident
127	Magdalena	Cita	20	sol	Migrant
128	Romana	Santiago	30	cdo	Resident
129	Guadalupe	Aviado	36	cdo	Resident
130	Maria	Castillo	24	cdo	Migrant
131	Maria	Macapili	30	cdo	Resident
132	Justa	dela Cruz	54	vdo	Resident
133	Lazara	Santiago	29	cdo	Resident
134	Lorenza	Enriquez	55	vdo	Resident
135	Timotea	Ygnacio	19	sol	Resident
136	Cornelia	Adriano	25	cdo	Resident
137	Barbara	Bonifacio	34	cdo	Resident
138	Maria	de Leon	18	sol	Resident
139	Maria	Mendiola	44	cdo	Resident
140	Getrudis	Fernandez	21	sol	Migrant
141	Cornelia	dela Cruz	32	cdo	Migrant
142	Justa	Camacho	31	sol	Resident
143	Hofeza	Garcia	30	cdo	Migrant
144	Juana	Antonio	28	cdo	Resident
145	Baldomera	del Rosario	47	cdo	Migrant

146	Petra	del Rosario	27	sol	Resident
147	Cesilia	dela Cruz	21	cdo	Resident
148	Alejandra	Gonzales	48	cdo	Resident
149	Olimpia	Arcangel	42	cdo	Resident
150	Felipa	Rivera	29	cdo	Resident
151	Remunda	Cruz	21	cdo	Resident
152	Tomasa	Flores	41	cdo	Resident
153	Vicenta	Villapuerte	53	cdo	Migrant
154	Nicolasa	Talabera	19	sol	Migrant
155	Catalina	Ramoz	47	cdo	Migrant
156	Basilia	dela Cruz	34	cdo	Migrant
157	Juana	Roblez	29	cdo	Resident
158	Engracia	Bersoza	33	cdo	Resident
159	Petrona	dela Cruz	46	sol	Resident
160	Alejandra	dela Cruz	43	sol	Resident
161	Manuela	Cliafoz	25	cdo	Resident
162	Julia	Calixtro	19	cdo	Resident
163	Maria	Anastacio	28	cdo	Migrant
164	Maria	Manuel	26	sol	Resident
165	Meletona	Manuel	24	cdo	Resident
166	Maria	dela Cruz	55	cdo	Resident
167	Bernarda	Rosales	53	vdo	Resident
168	Querina	Alferes	28	cdo	Resident
169	Maria	Agustin	19	sol	Resident
170	Maria	Gregorio	32	sol	Resident
171	Marcelina	Gregorio	25	cdo	Resident
172	Juana	Lozada	16	sol	Resident
173	Eugenia	Restug	27	cdo	Migrant
174	Rofina	Diano	24	cdo	Migrant
175	Sergia	Poliquet	23	cdo	Resident

176	Dionicia	dela Cruz	30	cdo	Resident
177	Maria	Agustin	41	cdo	Resident
178	Feliciana	Abacan	25	sol	Migrant
179	Frodencia	Montaes	28	cdo	Migrant
180	Eugenia	Evangelista	33	cdo	Resident
181	Damiana	Hipolito	59	sol	Resident
182	Romana	Valenzuela	33	sol	Resident
183	Julia	delos Santos	21	sol	Resident
184	Juana	Geronimo	21	sol	Resident
185	Petrona	Magante	53	vdo	Resident
186	Tomasa	Peña	27	vdo	Resident
187	Ana	Albis	53	cdo	Resident
188	Feliza	Soto	21	sol	Migrant
189	Rufina	Cortes	28	cdo	Resident
190	Rosa	Anastacio	15	sol	Resident
191	Balbina	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
192	Maria	dela Cruz	26	sol	Resident
193	Felipa	de Jesus	37	cdo	Resident
194	Rufina	Rosales	20	sol	Resident
195	Maria	Rivera	23	cdo	Resident
196	Casimira	Adriano	20	cdo	Resident
197	Maria	delos Santos	20	sol	Migrant
198	Regina	Marcelina	36	vdo	Resident
199	Cipriana	Flores	22	cdo	Resident
200	Ana	Protasio	26	sol	Resident
201	Catalina	Majante	58	sol	Resident
202	Honorio	Sanchez	28	sol	Migrant
203	Sabrina	Sanchez	27	sol	Migrant
204	Paula	delos Santos	23	cdo	Resident
205	Paula	Santiago	22	cdo	Resident

206	Romana	Mendoza	28	sol	Resident
207	Clara	Natividad	38	sol	Resident
208	Gregoria	Capulong	24	cdo	Resident
209	Estifania	dela Cruz	28	cdo	Migrant
210	Jacinta	delos Reyes	26	cdo	Resident
211	Melchora	Gamboa	24	sol	Resident
212	Petrona	dela Cruz	19	sol	Migrant
213	Anastacia	de Leon	23	cdo	Migrant
214	Vicenta	Fulgencio	34	vdo	Resident
215	Agueda	Mateo	36	vdo	Resident
216	Fausta	de Castro	25	sol	Migrant
217	Petrona	Jacinta	48	cdo	Resident
218	Maria	Pascuala	22	cdo	Resident
219	Rufina	dela Cruz	41	vdo	Resident
220	Juana	Ramos	22	cdo	Resident
221	Bacilia	Agustin	37	cdo	Resident
222	Agatona	Ytunalde	18	sol	Migrant
223	Maria	delos Santos	53	vdo	Migrant
224	Juana	Silvestre	34	sol	Migrant
225	Bernardina	Lacandola	24	cdo	Resident
226	Basilia	Enrique	25	cdo	Resident
227	Agustina	de Guzman	28	cdo	Migrant
228	Tomasa	Martinez	51	vdo	Migrant
229	Petrona	Alvez	43	vdo	Resident
230	Braulia	Francisco	40	sol	Resident
231	Margarita	Abad	18	sol	Resident
232	Maria	Lapaz	50	cdo	Resident
233	Juana	delos Santos	41	cdo	Migrant
234	Lorenza	Jose	41	cdo	Resident
235	Silveria	Dano	24	cdo	Migrant

236	Juana	Guevara	40	vdo	Resident
237	Macaria	delos Santos	19	sol	Migrant
238	Pacova	Domingo	44	vdo	Migrant
239	Maria	Rivero	17	cdo	Migrant
240	Maria	de Leon	46	cdo	Migrant
241	Saturnina	Villanueva	20	sol	Resident
242	Vicenta	Alvares	15	sol	Resident
243	Paula	Bartolome	29	sol	Resident
244	Tiburcia	Pabian	33	cdo	Migrant
245	Evarista	Montano	43	cdo	Resident
246	Apolonia	Espiritu	26	sol	Resident
247	Flora	delos Reyes	45	cdo	Resident
248	Bonifacia	Alvares	28	vdo	Resident
249	Macaria	Fabian	49	vdo	Resident
250	Honorata	Munos	27	cdo	Resident
251	Laureana	Alvares	43	cdo	Resident
252	Cornelia	dela Cruz	21	cdo	Resident
253	Eusebia	de Luna	21	cdo	Migrant
254	Victoria	Suarez	27	cdo	Migrant
255	Tranquilina	Suares	21	sol	Resident
256	Alejandra	de Leon	27	cdo	Resident
257	Dominga	de Leon	25	sol	Resident
258	Clara	de Leon	23	sol	Resident
259	Lorenza	de Leon	21	sol	Resident
260	Benita	Dimila	21	cdo	Migrant
261	Jacobina	Vasques	44	cdo	Migrant
262	Bernabela	Gonzalez	46	cdo	Migrant
263	Jacoba	Enriques	31	cdo	Resident
264	Fermina	Roque	23	cdo	Migrant
265	Tecla	Bartolome	28	cdo	Resident

266	Engracia	Bartolome	33	vdo	Resident
267	Rufina	Asuncion	25	cdo	Resident
268	Romoalda	delos Santos	23	sol	Resident
269	Rosalia	Damiano	23	sol	Resident
270	Luisa	Francisco	52	vdo	Resident
271	Maxima	Casimira	45	cdo	Resident
272	Maria	Concepcion	19	sol	Resident
273	Hipolita	Concepcion	18	sol	Resident
274	Potenciana	Francisca	29	cdo	Migrant
275	Agustina	Francisca	30	cdo	Migrant
276	Bonifacia	de Leon	33	cdo	Migrant
277	Juana	Bautista	33	cdo	Migrant
278	Feliciana	delos Reyes	41	cdo	Migrant
279	Anatalia	Cosme	21	sol	Resident
280	Bonifacia	Cosme	24	sol	Migrant
281	Paula	delos Reyes	32	sol	Resident
282	Tomaza	dela Cruz	42	sol	Resident
283	Eugenia	Alvares	42	vdo	Resident
284	Regina	Muñoz	21	sol	Resident
285	Justa	Gonsales	24	sol	Resident
286	Raymunda	Trinidad	31	vdo	Resident
287	Victoria	Trinidad	36	vdo	Resident
288	Maria	dela Torre	47	vdo	Resident
289	Hermogina	Rivera	20	sol	Resident
290	Estifania	Dizon	29	cdo	Resident
291	Raymunda	Enriquez	36	vdo	Resident
292	Timotea	delos Santos	28	cdo	Migrant
293	Fabiana	del Rosario	28	sol	Migrant
294	Ambrocia	Rivera	31	cdo	Resident
295	Ygnacia	Anastacia	51	vdo	Resident

296	Maria	Aranzanzo	26	sol	Resident
297	Valentina	delos Santos	23	sol	Resident
298	Juana	dela Torre	43	sol	Resident
299	Benita	Sandoval	20	cdo	Resident
300	Celestina	Martin	55	cdo	Migrant
301	Maria	dela Cruz	34	sol	Migrant
302	Ysabel	dela Cruz	21	cdo	Resident
303	Maria	Zapata	20	cdo	Migrant
304	Francisca	Rafael	24	cdo	Migrant
305	Ysidora	Herrera	20	cdo	Migrant
306	Francisca	Nayra	35	cdo	Resident
307	Maria	Garcia	41	cdo	Resident
308	Martina	Raymunda	41	cdo	Resident
309	Marciana	Marcial	20	sol	Resident
310	Eduarda	Marcial	14	sol	Resident
311	Romana	delos Reyes	34	cdo	Resident
312	Maria	Garcia	40	cdo	Resident
313	Lucina	de la Cruz	26	cdo	Resident
314	Romoalda	Gerónimo	31	sol	Resident
315	Anastacia	Gerónimo	25	sol	Resident
316	Juana	Gerónimo	20	sol	Resident
317	Estifania	Ramos	31	cdo	Migrant
318	Cornelia	Borja	25	cdo	Resident
319	Leonarda	de Jesús	27	cdo	Resident
320	Venancia	Pablo	53	cdo	Resident
321	Faustina	Buenavides	18	sol	Resident
322	Juana	Kosca	45	cdo	Migrant
323	Higina	Buenavides	18	sol	Migrant
324	Isabel	Dizon	40	cdo	Resident
325	Numeriana	Estacio	18	sol	Resident

326	Lucia	Santiago	23	cdo	Migrant
327	Juana	Enriquez	30	sol	Resident
328	Guadalupe	Francisco	42	vdo	Resident
329	Venancia	de Ocampo	42	vdo	Resident
330	Petrona	Antonio	41	sol	Resident
331	Liceria	Gachalian	40	cdo	Resident
332	Tomasa	San Juan	31	vdo	Resident
333	Paula	de los Reyes	34	cdo	Resident
334	María	Olimpia	28	cdo	Resident
335	Cornelia	Atanacio	21	sol	Resident
336	Brigida	de los Santos	30	cdo	Resident
337	Vicenta	Castro	51	cdo	Resident
338	Ruperta	Decena	31	sol	Resident
339	Magdalena	Perez	44	cdo	Migrant
340	Trinidad	Camacho	18	sol	Resident
341	Martina	Moya	46	cdo	Migrant
342	Canuta	Camacho	42	cdo	Resident
343	Nicolasa	dela Cruz	38	cdo	Resident
344	Ambrosia	Demetrio	28	sol	Resident
345	Paula	Demetrio	49	vdo	Resident
346	Pilar	dela Cruz	49	vdo	Resident
347	Reymunda	Concepcion	24	sol	Resident
348	Antonia	Concepcion	22	sol	Resident
349	Matea	Concepcion	13	sol	Resident
350	Catalina	dela Cruz	30	cdo	Migrant
351	Eleuteria	Baltican	31	cdo	Resident
352	Petrona	Cabrera	56	cdo	Resident
353	Bonifacia	Caputian	21	sol	Migrant
354	Saturnina	Fajardo	24	sol	Resident
355	Hermengilda	dela Cruz	27	sol	Resident

356	Juana	de Jesus	20	cdo	Resident
357	Gregoria	de Leon	19	sol	Resident
358	Fabiana	de Jesus	18	sol	Resident
359	Calistra	Mendiola	28	cdo	Resident
360	Ambrocia	Santiago	18	sol	Resident
361	Juana	Mendiola	45		Resident
362	Marta	Pergil	24	sol	Migrant
363	Maria	Dimalanta	23	sol	Migrant
364	Paula	Villanueva	34	cdo	Resident
365	Marcelina	Gregorio	40	cdo	Resident
366	Nicolasa	Ygnacio	23	cdo	Resident
367	Segunda	Rodriguez	20	cdo	Resident
368	Maria	Polintan	27	cdo	Resident
369	Ysabel	Fajardo	22	sol	Resident
370	Leoncia	da Leon	23	cdo	Resident
371	Paula	Fajardo	34	cdo	Resident
372	Bonifacia	Remigio	37	cdo	Resident
373	Ruperta	Macapili	38	vdo	Resident
374	Pirina	Candelaria	22		Resident
375	Francisca	delos Santos	23	cdo	Resident
376	Eulalia	Gonzales	29	vdo	Resident
377	Juana	Fajardo	25	vdo	Resident
378	Agatona	Borja	37	vdo	Resident
379	Cristina	Villanueva	36	vdo	Resident
380	Ysabel	Enriquez	20	sol	Resident
381	Catalina	Matacsil	25	sol	Migrant
382	Pantaleona	dela Cruz	23	cdo	Migrant
383	Baltazara	Raymundo	30	sol	Resident
384	María	Baltóc	22	cdo	Migrant
385	Verónica	delos Reyes	39	cdo	Migrant

386	Romana	Calatan	31	cdo	Migrant
387	Antonía	Zamora	26	sol	Migrant
388	María	delos Santos	29	sol	Resident
389	Basilia	Abtasa	59	sol	Migrant
390	Anastacia	Abtasa	57	sol	Migrant
391	Maria	Santiago	37	cdo	Resident
392	Braulia	de Leon	22	cdo	Resident
393	Aniceta	Salvador	22	cdo	Migrant
394	Celina	de los Santos	21	cdo	Resident
395	Adriana	Salvador	25	sol	Migrant
396	Estefania	Villafuerte	21	cdo	Resident
397	Tomasa	dela Cruz	24	sol	Resident
398	Maria	Samano	19	sol	Migrant
399	Juana	Coronel	34	cdo	Resident
400	Elena	Marques	19	cdo	Resident
401	Eugenia	Catipunan	47	cdo	Migrant
402	Dominga	Roque	21	cdo	Migrant
403	Romana	Gonzaga	42	vdo	Resident
404	Martiniana	dela Cruz	25	cdo	Resident
405	Severina	Enriques	47	cdo	Resident
406	Rufina	Enriques	24	cdo	Resident
407	Baldomera	Pascual	44	vdo	Resident
408	Vicenta	Obispo	37	vdo	Resident
409	Jacinta	Obispo	47	cdo	Resident
410	Paula	Evangelista	19	sol	Resident
411	Luisa	de Ocampo	42	cdo	Migrant
412	Victoria	Baltasara	41	vdo	Resident
413	Graciana	Javier	24	sol	Resident
414	Bernarda	Hardana	42	vdo	Migrant
415	Quintina	dela Cruz	19	sol	Resident

416	Teodora	dela Cruz	22	sol	Resident
417	Maria	Tiongco	22	sol	Resident
418	Genoveba	de Leon	29	cdo	Migrant
419	Agapita	Abad	41	cdo	Resident
420	Macaria	de los Santos	37	sol	Resident
421	Roberta	de Guzman	25	cdo	Resident
422	María	de los Santos	25	sol	Resident
423	Juana	de los Reyes	40	cdo	Resident
424	Silveria	de la Torre	20	sol	Migrant
425	Segunda	de la Torre	16	sol	Migrant
426	Cirila	Aransaso	36	cdo	Resident
427	Brigida	de la Cruz	26	cdo	Migrant
428	Maria	Aransaso	27	cdo	Resident
429	Paula	de los Santos	29	cdo	Resident
430	Ysabel	Salazar	26	sol	Resident
431	Maria	Josefa	46	cdo	Migrant
432	Catalina	Payongayon	26	cdo	Migrant
433	Valeriana	Paya	12	cdo	Migrant
434	Juana	Mallare	22	vdo	Resident
435	Marta	Leocadio	40	cdo	Resident
436	Clara	delos Reyes	27	cdo	Resident
437	Albina	German	49	cdo	Resident
438	Apolonia	German	37	cdo	Resident
439	Gregoria	Felix	27	cdo	Resident
440	Casimira	Peralta	25	cdo	Resident
441	Juana	de la Torre	23	cdo	Migrant
442	Antonina	Hapolinario	23	cdo	Resident
443	Severina	Garcia	29	cdo	Resident
444	Quiteria	Manuel	44	cdo	Migrant
445	Atanacia	Ygnacio	37	cdo	Resident

446	Ivana	Deogracias	35	cdo	Resident
447	Hilaria	delos Reyes	33	cdo	Resident
448	Aniceta	Tiburcia	32	cdo	Resident
449	Petronila	Talampas	24	cdo	Migrant
450	Anastacia	Juana	42	cdo	Resident
451	Prisola	Luciano	32	cdo	Resident
452	Romana	Juana	60	sol	Resident
453	Nicolasa	Juana	47	sol	Resident
454	Ysabel	Ansuria	34	sol	Resident
455	Bartola	Enriques	52	cdo	Resident
456	Juliana	delos Santos	18	sol	Resident
457	Catalina	Matacsil	26	cdo	Migrant
458	Lucia	dela Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
459	Lucia	Pomento	27	cdo	Migrant
460	Alejandra	Ansiniz	38	vdo	Resident
461	Micaela	Bugauan	58	vdo	Migrant
462	Brigida	Bugauan	32	sol	Migrant
463	Lucia	Flores	18	sol	Migrant
464	Crisanta	Deogracias	33	sol	Resident
465	Juliana	delos Santos	22	sol	Resident
466	Dorotea	Salita	31	cdo	Migrant
467	Ivana	Avila	26	cdo	Resident
468	Clara	Zacarias	32	cdo	Resident
469	Sotera	Clemente	32	sol	Migrant
470	Catalina	Estrella	52	vdo	Migrant
471	Geronima	Marcelo	42	cdo	Migrant
472	Maria	Abad	33	cdo	Resident
473	Vicenta	delos Santos	27	sol	Resident
474	Urbana	Fajardo	18	sol	Resident
475	Ysidra	Rivera	35	cdo	Migrant

476	Loreta	Sista	28	cdo	Resident
477	Josefa	Rojas	40	sol	Migrant
478	Yldefonza	Quiros	20	sol	Migrant
479	Gavina	Aguilar	15	cdo	Resident
480	Ciriaca	Arcangel	14	sol	Resident
481	Filomena	Gonzales	45	cdo	Resident
482	Tecla	Francisco	40	cdo	Migrant
483	Simeona	Teran	13	sol	Resident
484	Maria	de Leon	43	cdo	Resident
485	Vicenta	Enriques	35	cdo	Resident
486	Balbina	Reyes	34	cdo	Resident
487	Apolinaria	Mariano	52	vdo	Migrant
488	Martina	Feliciano	38	cdo	Migrant
489	Maria	Aviado	23	cdo	Resident
490	Lorenza	Francisca	39	sol	Migrant
491	Tomasa	Gonzales	43	cdo	Resident
492	Filomena	Carmen	46	cdo	Migrant
493	Sista	Gerónimo	20	cdo	Migrant
494	Dominga	Zapata	33	sol	Resident
495	Francisca	Cruz	25	cdo	Resident
496	Jullana	Olimpia	22	sol	Resident
497	Eustaquia	dela Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
498	Andrea	Paula	37	cdo	Resident
499	Alejandra	delos Reyes	40	sol	Resident
500	Macaria	de la Cruz	41	cdo	Migrant
501	Agapita	Vergara	25	cdo	Resident
502	Victoria		45	cdo	Migrant
503	Segunda	Vazeo	44	cdo	Resident
504	Marcela	Dionicio	19	sol	Resident
505	Mercedes	Dionicio	16	sol	Resident

506	Ciriaca	Natividad	20	cdo	Resident
507	Petronila	Magalang	20	cdo	Resident
508	Dorotea	de Leon	27	cdo	Migrant
509	Raymunda	dela Cruz	35	cdo	Resident
510	Maria	delos Reyes	27	sol	Resident
511	Fausta	delos Reyes	21	sol	Resident
512	Macaria	delos Reyes	14	sol	Resident
513	Bernardina	Mariano	31	cdo	Migrant
514	Luisa	Marcelino	19	sol	Resident
515	Josefa	Saldaña	53	cdo	Migrant
516	Filomena	delos Reyes	20	sol	Resident
517	Hilaria	Ygnacia	28	cdo	Resident
518	Rufina	Bernardina	27	cdo	Migrant
519	Estifania	San José	38	cdo	Resident
520	Felisa	dela Crus	19	sol	Migrant
521	Apolonia	Andres	20	cdo	Resident
522	Valeriana	delos Santos	36	vdo	Migrant
523	Rufina	Bulanos	28	cdo	Resident
524	Juana	dela Cruz	42	cdo	Resident
525	Maria	José	41	vdo	Resident
526	Maria	Silverio	22	cdo	Resident
527	Ysabel	Silverio	20	cdo	Resident
528	Quiteria	Natividad	23	cdo	Resident
529	Maria	Negra	39	cdo	Migrant
530	Alfonsa	Francisca	52	vdo	Resident
531	Bruna	Francisca	24	cdo	Resident
532	Marta	Bautista	19	sol	Migrant
533	Juana	Mariano	18	sol	Resident
534	Maria	Mariano	17	sol	Resident
535	Aniceta	de los Santos	60	vdo	Resident

536	Margarita	Yzon	29	sol	Resident
537	Gregoria	Flores	25	sol	Migrant
538	Maria	de los Reyes	27	cdo	Resident
539	Aniceta	de los Santos	34	vdo	Resident
540	Ana	Remigio	22	sol	Resident
541	Eucebia	Mariano	32	sol	Resident
542	Honorara	Arcángel	38	cdo	Resident
543	Miguela	de Leon	21	cdo	Resident
544	Paúla	Félix	26	cdo	Resident
545	Agapita	de la Cruz	36	cdo	Resident
546	Maria	Enriquez	31	cdo	Resident
547	Gregoria	de la Cruz	40	cdo	Resident
548	Tomasa	Castor	23	sol	Resident
549	Juana	Ygnacio	28	cdo	Migrant
550	Sotera	Gotieres	40	sol	Migrant
551	Andrea	Gotieres	38	sol	Migrant
552	Sabina	Gotieres	32	sol	Migrant
553	Francisca	Diego	35	cdo	Resident
554	Maria	Josefa	32	cdo	Resident
555	Filomena	Dasilis	30	cdo	Resident
556	Sabina	Francisco	28	cdo	Migrant
557	Gregoria	Cabuhát	31	vdo	Migrant
558	Ambrosia	Cruz	27	cdo	Resident
559	Maria	Aleja	42	vdo	Resident
560	Rafaela	delos Reyes	25	cdo	Resident
561	Bernalda	Nicomedes	32	sol	Resident
562	Eustaquia	Baltazar	47	cdo	Resident
563	Josefa	de los Santos	36	cdo	Resident
564	Nazaria	Enriquez	21	cdo	Migrant
565	Maria	Carpio	51	vdo	Migrant

566	Eusebia	Malat	26	cdo	Migrant
567	Gugenia	Fernandez	27	cdo	Migrant
568	Juliana	delos Santos	25	cdo	Resident
569	Trinidad	de Leon	24	cdo	Migrant
570	Perfecta	Alvarez	49	cdo	Migrant
571	Marina	Pedro	39	cdo	Migrant
572	Valeriana	Torrez	20	cdo	Migrant
573	Ynes	de los Santos	29	cdo	Migrant
574	Juana	Rodriguez	30	vdo	Resident
575	Maria	Ruiz	27	sol	Migrant
576	Modesta	Domingo	27	sol	Migrant
577	Serapia	de la Cruz	38	sol	Migrant
578	Marcela	Gregorio	40	sol	Migrant
579	Agapita	Villador	34	vdo	Migrant
580	Aniceta	del Rosario	31	cdo	Resident
581	Agueda	Alvarez	27	cdo	Migrant
582	Josefa	Tolentino	35	cdo	Migrant
583	Ramona	de Lana	21	sol	Migrant
584	Gerónima	Concepcion	50	cdo	Migrant

Appendix 12. Listed Costureras in Sampaloc, 1887.
NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc*, 1887.

NO.	GIVEN	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	RES/MIG
1	Amalia	San Pedro	32	cdo	Resident
2	Saturnina	Cabrera	40	cdo	Resident
3	Sotera	Obando	42	sol	Migrant
4	Trinidad	Obando	40	sol	Migrant
5	Analalia	Leceta	31	sol	Resident
6	Fernanda	Resurecion	18	cdo	Migrant
7	Dominga	Natividad	42	cdo	Resident
8	Victorina	Carmelo	18	sol	Resident
9	Victoriana	Borja	45	sol	Migrant
10	Alejandra	Hernandez	18	cdo	Migrant
11	Jacinta			cdo	Migrant
12	Leoncia	Miranda	17	cdo	Migrant
13	Laureana	Buenavides	19	sol	Resident
14	Honorina	Cabrera	27	sol	Migrant
15	Teodora	Santiago	20	sol	Migrant
16	Magdalena	Roque	29	cdo	Migrant
17	Castora	dela Cruz	26	sol	Resident
18	Paula	dela Cruz	23	sol	Resident
19	Calixtra	Bautista	23	cdo	Migrant
20	Francisca	Granado	38	cdo	Migrant
21	Gregoria	Domingo	24	cdo	Migrant
22	Marcela	delos Santos	22	cdo	Migrant
23	Miguela	Suarez	20	sol	Migrant
24	Eulalia	Concepcion	24	cdo	Migrant
25	Josefa	Flores	43	cdo	Resident
26	Paula	Aquino	20	sol	Resident

27	Rafaela	Valdez	39	cdo	Migrant
28	Maria	Veron	46	cdo	Migrant
29	Rafaela	Batarra	39	sol	Migrant
30	Bernabela	Ramos	29	cdo	Migrant
31	Leona	Galvez	24	sol	Migrant
32	celedoña	dela Cruz	32	cdo	Migrant
33	Macaria	de Gusman	32	cdo	Migrant
34	Victuriana	Valencia	35	vdo	Migrant
35	Maria	Consolacion	34	cdo	Migrant
36	Maria	Ramos	29	sol	Resident
37	Segunda	Soriano	20	sol	Resident
38	Cirila	de Jesus	37	vdo	Resident
39	Celestina	delos Santos	22	sol	Resident
40	Florentina	Maramas	40	cdo	Resident
41	Tomasa	del Rosario	40	vdo	Migrant
42	Fraxides	Abad	37	sol	Migrant
43	Felisa	Jimenes	22	cdo	Migrant
44	Fernanda	Jimenes	42	vdo	Migrant
45	Vicenta	Pablo	39	cdo	Migrant
46	Juana	Alili	27	cdo	Migrant
47	Damiana	delos Gera	37	sol	Migrant
48	Leocadia	Ramos	26	cdo	Resident
49	Petronila	Mariano	32	vdo	Migrant
50	Anaclea	dela Cruz	31	vdo	Migrant
51	Atanasia	Manuel	18	cdo	Migrant
52	Vicenta	Mamanal	55	vdo	Migrant
53	Calmen	Aguilar	34	vdo	Migrant
54	Francisca	Santa Ana	19	vdo	Resident
55	Genobela	Santos	39	cdo	Resident
56	Margarita	Bartolome	21	sol	Resident

57	Juana	Vilareo	22	cdo	Resident
58	Martina	Tomas	25	cdo	Migrant
59	Maria	del Rosario	30	sol	Resident
60	Joaquina	Echalan	25	sol	Migrant
61	Dominga	de Leon	19	sol	Resident
62	Dominga	Rodriguez	47	vdo	Migrant
63	Matea	Flores	23	cdo	Migrant
64	Martina	Aquino	30	cdo	Migrant
65	Modesta	Aniceta	27	vdo	Migrant
66	Faustina	Francisco	35	cdo	Resident
67	Tomasa	Bautista	34	cdo	Migrant
68	Ambrocia	Escudero	31	cdo	Migrant
69	Candida	Valenzuela	21	sol	Resident
70	Felipa	Oropiano	25	sol	Migrant
71	Eusebia	Nepomuceno	26	cdo	Migrant
72	Pantaleona	Lazaro	52	cdo	Migrant
73	Benedicta	Decena	49	sol	Migrant
74	Rosenda	Mendoza	47	cdo	Resident
75	Andrea	delos Santos	17	sol	Resident
76	Hermogina	Joaquin	22	cdo	Resident
77	Maria	dela Cruz	60	vdo	Resident
78	Florentina	Santillan	44	vdo	Migrant
79	Ramona	Vito	27	cdo	Resident
80	Vicenta	Rocha	22	cdo	Resident
81	Anastacia	Dison	28	cdo	Resident
82	Eugenia	Ygnacio	21	sol	Resident
83	Gregoria	Santiago	25	sol	Resident
84	Rafaela	Castro	27	cdo	Migrant
85	Juana	Bernarda	54	cdo	Migrant
86	Rufina	dela Cruz	47	vdo	Resident

87	Ysabel	Cabador	26	cdo	Migrant
88	Fabiana	Ramos	25	cdo	Migrant
89	Estanislana	Magpayo	33	cdo	Migrant
90	Simona	Alvares	24	cdo	Resident
91	Monica	Quiambao	36	sol	Migrant
92	Catalina	Antonio	37	vdo	Migrant
93	Brigida	delos Santos	18	sol	Migrant
94	Elena	Pascual	28	cdo	Resident
95	Maria	dela Cruz	25	cdo	Migrant
96	Bernarda	del Rosario	32	cdo	Migrant
97	Dominga	Domingo	23	cdo	Migrant
98	Victoriana	Enriques	41	cdo	Resident
99	Maria	Bejar	20	cdo	Migrant
100	Eleuteria	Anop	21	sol	Resident
101	Gestrudes	Pablo	34	cdo	Resident
102	Romana	delos Santos	50	vdo	Migrant
103	Maria	Mariano	29	cdo	Resident
104	Pioquinta	Julian	36	vdo	Resident
105	Carmen	Jacson	31	cdo	Migrant
106	Josefa	Borja	27	sol	Resident
107	Dominga	Corenera	30	cdo	Resident
108	Dorotea	Vergara	50	vdo	Resident
109	Juliana	Buenaides	16	sol	Resident
110	Felipa	Borja		vdo	Resident
111	Rupeta	Gonzaga	36	cdo	Resident
112	María	Rivera	19	sol	Resident
113	Engracia	Rivera	22	cdo	Resident
114	Jacinta	Mendoza	32	vdo	Resident
115	Nieves	de la Cruz	19	sol	Resident
116	Eusebia	de la Cruz	17	sol	Resident

117	Vicenta	Pena	42	cdo	Resident
118	Ysinora	Liscuana	46	vdo	Migrant
119	Mamerta	Samson	29	sol	Migrant
120	Maria	Capistrano	29	cdo	Migrant
121	Juana	Camacho	16	sol	Resident
122	Ruperta	Ramos	23	sol	Resident
123	Joaquina	Baclas	25	cdo	Migrant
124	Simona	Miradios	35	vdo	Migrant
125	Andrea	Marcial	19	sol	Resident
126	Inocencia	Bautista	34	cdo	Migrant
127	Saturnina	Reyes	21	cdo	Migrant
128	Alejandra	Adriano	25	cdo	Resident
129	Calixta	Esguerra	35	cdo	Migrant
130	Juana	Ramos	30	sol	Migrant
131	Dorotea	Bautista	57	cdo	Migrant
132	Concepcion	delos Santos	22	cdo	Migrant
133	Fabiana	Pablo	48	cdo	Resident
134	Angela	Candelaria	27	sol	Migrant
135	Calistra	Ygnacio	33	cdo	Resident
136	Juana	Alga	22	cdo	Migrant
137	Juana		27		Migrant
138	Juana	delos Reyes	41	cdo	Resident
139	Rafaela	delos Reyes	22	cdo	Resident
140	Maria	delos Reyes	21	cdo	Resident
141	Gregoria	Corcuera	47	vdo	Resident
142	Lucia	Perales	28	cdo	Resident
143	Gabina	Perales	26	sol	Resident
144	Maria	Villanueva	22	cdo	Resident
145	Josefa	Gonzaga	22	sol	Resident
146	Martina	Bartolome	43	cdo	Resident

147	Bacilia	Sanches	41	cdo	Resident
148	Andrea	de la Cruz	55	vdo	Migrant
149	Rufina	Juan	31	cdo	Resident
150	Camila	de Gusman	31	cdo	Migrant
151	Filomena	Bernardina	22	vdo	Migrant
152	Leocadia	Basilio	34	cdo	Resident
153	Simplicia	Alcantara	20	sol	Resident
154	Monica	Garcia	42	sol	Migrant
155	Balbina	Agapita	37	vdo	Migrant
156	Veronica	Feliciano	21	sol	Migrant
157	Juliana	San Juan	20	sol	Resident
158	Portunata	San Juan	19	sol	Resident
159	Guillerma	Bernardez	20	cdo	Resident
160	Marta	Pascual	32	cdo	Resident
161	Perfecta	Flores	20	sol	Resident
162	Simporosa	Estrella	47	cdo	Resident
163	Marciana	Silverio	49	vdo	Resident
164	Faustina	de Lara	45	vdo	Migrant
165	Maria	Borja	33	cdo	Resident
166	Prisca	Cabusao	24	cdo	Resident
167	Maria	Sanches	41	cdo	Resident
168	Gregoria	Mariano	34	sol	Resident
169	Juana	Rivera	36	sol	Migrant
170	Dolores	dela Cruz	48	vdo	Migrant
171	Eugenia	Manajan	32	cdo	Migrant
172	Teodora	delos Reyes	24	sol	Migrant
173	Carmen	Suares	34	sol	Migrant
174	Agapita	Manajan	22	sol	Migrant
175	Benita	dela Cruz	26	sol	Migrant
176	Gerarda	Pogot	30	sol	Migrant

177	Silvestra	Tolentino	30	sol	Migrant
178	Maria	Pardo	38	vdo	Migrant
179	Emilia		15		Migrant
180	Petrona	Bartolome	24	vdo	Migrant
181	Engracia	Delgado	26	cdo	Migrant
182	Francisca	Baltican	25	cdo	Resident
183	Barbara	Arquiza	38	sol	Migrant
184	Catalina	Sopangco	32	cdo	Migrant
185	Matea	Ramos	19	sol	Resident
186	Francisca	Orendo	37		Resident
187	Lorenza	Manalo	26	sol	Migrant
188	Rosa	Claus	25	sol	Migrant
189	Clara	Francisco	19	sol	Migrant
190	Eucebia	Basilio	56	vdo	Migrant
191	Agatana	Benites	37	vdo	Resident
192	Paulina	Cresini	50	vdo	Migrant
193	Bernarda	Sarto	39	sol	Migrant
194	Rosalia	Salita	30	cdo	Migrant
195	Yrene	Venegas	22	sol	Migrant
196	Juana	Venegas	56	vdo	Migrant
197	Matea	del Rosario	21	sol	Resident
198	Patricia	Zacarias	18	sol	Resident
199	Tomasa	Celiz	20	cdo	Migrant
200	Victoriana	Canceco	30	cdo	Resident
201	Sotera	Francisco	41	sol	Resident
202	Roberta	Mercado	46	cdo	Resident
203	Marta	Bartolome	28	cdo	Resident
204	Gregoria	Gonzalez	53	vdo	Resident
205	Alexandra	Gonzalez	22	sol	Migrant
206	Luciana	Bautista	17	sol	Resident

207	Geronima	Navarro	53	cdo	Migrant
208	Dominga	Guzman	26	cdo	Migrant
209	Maria	Pangilinan	29	sol	Migrant
210	Vicenta	Mendiola	30	cdo	Migrant
211	Justa	Rotea	42	cdo	Migrant
212	Emigueta	Bautista	20	sol	Resident
213	Cornelia	Bautista	19	sol	Resident
214	Potenciana	Bautista	16	sol	Resident
215	Elena	Tolentino	36	sol	Migrant
216	Dolores	Dominguez	25	cdo	Migrant
217	Loreta	Rojas	40	cdo	Resident
218	Maria	Licup	31	sol	Migrant
219	Felipa	Francisco	24	cdo	Resident
220	Quirina	de los Santos	10	sol	Resident
221	Lorenza	Garcia	45	sol	Migrant
222	Simeona	Silos	28	cdo	Resident
223	Nicolasa	Fermin	23	cdo	Migrant
224	Quintina	Rivera	51	vdo	Resident
225	Juliana	Changuian	19	sol	Resident
226	Juana	Mendoza	27	cdo	Migrant
227	Clara	Pascual	24	sol	Migrant
228	Monica	de los Santos	37	cdo	Resident
229	Castora	San José	54	cdo	Resident
230	María	Cesario	51	cdo	Resident
231	Biviana	Domingo	37	vdo	Resident
232	Clemencia	Megia	31	cdo	Resident
233	Nicolasa	Acuña	24	sol	Resident
234	Romana	Pavia	45	vdo	Migrant
235	Margarita	Francisco	36	sol	Resident
236	Modesta	Cristobal	19	sol	Migrant

237	Cristina	Bayani	21	cdo	Migrant
238	Tomasa	Tolentino	18	cdo	Migrant
239	Venancia	Apelado	27	sol	Migrant
240	Maria	Alcano	29	cdo	Resident
241	Benita	Cruz	24	sol	Migrant
242	Victoria	Tesoro	25	cdo	Migrant
243	Francisca	Castro	20	sol	Migrant
244	Maria	Andaya	50	vdo	Migrant
245	Clara	Alvarado	33	sol	Migrant
246	Bernardina	Enrique	42	vdo	Migrant
247	Dalmacia	Cabalan	23	sol	Migrant
248	Maria	Rodriguez	43	cdo	Migrant
249	Rosa	Escuriguela	37	cdo	Migrant
250	Socorra	Aranzasú	23	sol	Migrant
251	Eusebia	dela Cruz	25	sol	Migrant
252	Gregoria	delos Reyes	23	cdo	Migrant

Appendix 13. List of Labanderas and Planchadoras in Sampaloc, 1887.
NAP, *Vecindario de Sampaloc*, 1887.

NO.	GIVEN	LAST NAME	AGE	STATUS	LAVA/PLANCH	MIG/RES
1	Maria	Hermogenes	22	cdo	labandera	Migrant
2	Gabina	delos Santos	52	vdo	planchadora	Resident
3	Catalina	delo Reyes	30	cdo	labandera	Resident
4	Bernalda	delos Santos	32	cdo	labandera	Resident
5	Maria		45	cdo	labandera	Resident
6	Herina	Cabrera	49	cdo	planchadora	Resident
7	Felipa	dela Cruz	38	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
8	Ysabel	Pablo	54	vdo	labandera	Resident
9	Ysabel	delos Santos	23	cdo	labandera	Resident
10	Ysidra	de Guzman	43	cdo	labandera	Migrant
11	Gregoria	Regalado	39	sol	labandera	Resident
12	Hilaria	Robles	27	cdo	labandera	Resident
13	Tomasa	San Buenaventura	58	vdo	labandera	Resident
14	Victoriana	Sanchez	19	cdo	labandera	Resident
15	Pioquinta	Alvaro	33	sol	labandera	Resident
16	Sinforosa	Gabriel	37	cdo	labandera	Resident
17	Cirila	Pablo	59	vdo	labandera	Resident
18	Castora	de Ocampo	27	sol	labandera	Resident
19	Maria	delos Santos	41	vdo	labandera	Resident
20	Mauricia	delos Santos	49	cdo	labandera	Resident
21	Marta	Gervacia	49	cdo	labandera	Migrant
22	Atanacia	delos Santos	42	vdo	labandera	Resident
23	Saturnina	Cosme	58	cdo	labandera	Resident
24	Vicenta	Candelaria	27	cdo	labandera	Resident
25	Francisca	Ponzalan	27	cdo	labandera	Migrant
26	Juana	dela Cruz	36	vdo	labandera	Migrant

27	Cirila	Santiago	20	sol	labandera	Migrant
28	Faustina	Ambrocio	24	cdo	labandera	Resident
29	Arcenia	Ysipin	27	sol	labandera	Migrant
30	Francisca	Raymundo	36	cdo	labandera	Resident
31	Roperta	Santiago	35	cdo	labandera	Resident
32	Catalina	dela Cruz	39	cdo	labandera	Migrant
33	Maria	Francisca	38	cdo	labandera	Resident
34	Maria	dela Cruz	35	cdo	labandera	Resident
35	Elena	Diaz	45	sol	labandera	Resident
36	Juana	Pablo	23	cdo	labandera	Migrant
37	Martina	de Austria	43	cdo	labandera	Migrant
38	Camela	Marcelino	44	cdo	labandera	Migrant
39	Petrona	Corpus	37	vdo	labandera	Resident
40	Ysidora	delos Santos	33	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
41	Tumasa	Rivera	41	vdo	labandera	Migrant
42	Saturnina	delos Santos	48	vdo	labandera	Migrant
43	Angila	Pajardo	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
44	Severina	Marcelino	25	sol	labandera	Resident
45	Anaclea	Carcuera	50	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
46	Crisanta	Lacandola	31	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
47	Benigna	Marcelo	27	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
48	Justa	delos Santos	38	vdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
49	Evarista	Molina	56	sol	labandera	Resident
50	Juana	Molino	49	cdo	labandera	Resident
51	Ypolita	Lejarde	40	cdo	labandera	Resident
52	Maria	Bautista	37	cdo	labandera	Migrant
53	Agapita	Pablo	47	cdo	labandera	Resident
54	Maria	Monteclaro	53	cdo	labandera	Resident
55	Eulogia	Castro	37	cdo	labandera	Migrant
56	Crisanta	delos Santos	39	vdo	labandera	Migrant

57	Maria	Bautista	30	sol	labandera	Migrant
58	Petrona	delos Santos	31	sol	labandera	Migrant
59	Maria	Candelaria	39	cdo	labandera	Resident
60	Sista	delos Reyes	35	sol	labandera	Migrant
61	Juana	Custodio	49	vdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
62	Maximiana	Ygnacio	36	vdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
63	Silvina	Alvares	47	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
64	Simeona	Adriano	31	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
65	Maximina	Marcelina	38	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
66	Basilia	Nefumoceno	36	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
67	Gregoria	Santiago	33	vdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
68	Clara	dela Cruz	30	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
69	Modesta	de Leon	26	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
70	Rufina	Claudio	22	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
71	Juana	Santa Maria	28	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
72	Estanislana	Claudio	29	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
73	Apolonia	Purisima	24	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
74	Miguela	delos Reyes	57	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
75	Balbina	Ventura	33	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
76	Cesaria	Garcia	23	cdo	labandera	Migrant
77	Bernardina	dela Cruz	28	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
78	Leoncia	Felipe	26	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
79	Pia	Abad	20	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
80	Castora	Abad	41	vdo	labandero	UNDETERMINED
81	Bictorina	Bernandino	15	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
82	Feliz	Francisco	33	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
83	Tranquilina	Francisco	40	cdo	labandera	Migrant
84	Romana	Castillo	18	sol	labandera	Migrant
85	Maxima	Cosme	23	cdo	labandera	Resident
86	Paula	Cosme	55	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED

87	Gregoria	Linanag	29	cdo	labandera	Resident
88	Florencia	Cruz	39	cdo	labandera	Resident
89	Anastacia	Cabrera	38	cdo	labandera	Resident
90	Maria	Borja	36	vdo	labandera	Resident
91	Maxima	Diaz	46	cdo	labandera	Resident
92	Apolonia	dela Cruz	24	cdo	labandera	Resident
93	Bernarda	Ventura	24	cdo	labandera	Resident
94	Dominga	Santiago	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
95	Maria	Sanchez	52	vdo	labandera	Resident
96	Ynocencia	Rivera	27	cdo	labandera	Resident
97	Narsisa	Bonipacio	29	sol	labandera	Resident
98	Teresa	Ygnacio	22	sol	labandera	Resident
99	Julia	la Caneloda	26	cdo	labandera	Resident
100	Modesta	Salvador	24	cdo	labandera	Migrant
101	Clemencia	de Gusman	47	cdo	labandera	Migrant
102	Felipa	Evangelista	54	cdo	labandera	Resident
103	Juana	dela Cruz	18	sol	labandera	Resident
104	Petrona	dela Cruz	19	cdo	labandera	Resident
105	Doretea	Obispo	37	cdo	labandera	Resident
106	Abina	Geronimo	55	vdo	labandera	Resident
107	Severina	Estanislao	38	cdo	labandera	Migrant
108	Teodora	delos Santos	19	cdo	labandera	Migrant
109	Bernardina	Arnal	54	cdo	labandera	Migrant
110	Tomasa	San Juan	30	sol	labandera	Migrant
111	Regina	Claudio	23	cdo	labandera	Resident
112	Josefa	Marcelino	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
113	Silveria	dela Cruz	33	cdo	labandera	Migrant
114	Angela	Javier	39	cdo	labandera	Migrant
115	Ana	delos Santos	26	cdo	labandera	Resident
116	Madalena	Adriana	50	vdo	labandera	Resident

117	Benedicta	delos Santos	20	sol	labandera	Resident
118	Juliana	dela Cruz	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
119	Martina	Fulgencio	21	cdo	labandera	Migrant
120	Maria	Castro	40	cdo	labandera	Migrant
121	Petrona	Pascual	47	vdo	labandera	Resident
122	Tranquilina	delos Santos	37	cdo	labandera	Resident
123	Damiana	San Juan	36	vdo	labandera	Resident
124	Sinforosa	Yzon	40	cdo	labandera	Migrant
125	Dolores	Santiago	37	cdo	labandera	Resident
126	Ramona	Ygnacio	41	cdo	labandera	Resident
127	Francisca	Concepcion	45	vdo	labandera	Resident
128	Dorotea	Santiago	28	vdo	labandera	Resident
129	Apolinaria	Santiago	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
130	Yrene	Garcia	47	cdo	labandera	Resident
131	Miguela	Benedicto	30	cdo	labandera	Resident
132	Peregrina	Alejandro	36	cdo	labandera	Resident
133	Antonia	Luciano	17	sol	labandera	Resident
134	Edurda	GArcia	41	vdo	labandera	Migrant
135	Juana	Corpus	28	cdo	labandera	Resident
136	Victoriana	Estanislao	18	sol	labandera	Resident
137	Paula	Alvares	29	cdo	labandera	Resident
138	Carmen	Fuentes	29	cdo	labandera	Resident
139	Petrona	Santiago	19	sol	labandera	Resident
140	Aniceta	Raymundo	35	cdo	labandera	Resident
141	Perfecta	Cruz	46	cdo	labandera	Resident
142	Potenciana	Concepcion	45	cdo	labandera	Resident
143	Paulina	Garcia	29	cdo	labandera	Migrant
144	Darmacia	dela Cruz	30	cdo	labandera	Migrant
145	Ygnacia	Samson	39	cdo	labandera	Migrant
146	Gregoria	Leonco	41	cdo	labandera	Migrant

147	Victoria	Francisco	25	cdo	labandera	Migrant
148	Alejandra	Cruz	35	cdo	labandera	Migrant
149	Juana	Josepa	39	vdo	labandera	Migrant
150	Esperidiona	Garcia	47	cdo	labandera	Resident
151	Anastacia	Felipe	27	sol	labandera	Resident
152	Honorata	Cruz	41	cdo	labandera	Resident
153	Matea	Fajardo	19	sol	labandera	Migrant
154	Rafaela	Estanislao	20	cdo	planchadora	Resident
155	Maria	Carcuera	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
156	Saturnina	Lascano	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
157	Felipa	Rodriguez	49	vdo	labandera	Resident
158	Silveria	Cosme	35	cdo	labandera	Resident
159	Maria	de Leon	43	vdo	labandera	Migrant
160	Macaria	Gonzales	41	cdo	labandera	Migrant
161	Margarita	Santiago	19	sol	labandera	Resident
162	Juana	Santiago	40	vdo	labandera	Resident
163	Clemencia	Nicomedeiz	61	cdo	labandera	Resident
164	Maria	dela Cruz	61	cdo	labandera	Migrant
165	Ysidra	Santiago	42	cdo	labandera	Resident
166	Francisca	Dimalanta	24	sol	labandera	Resident
167	Juana	Dimalanta	20	sol	labandera	Resident
168	Maria	Dimalanta	18	sol	labandera	Resident
169	Josefa	del Prado	49	cdo	labandera	Resident
170	Miguela	Bonifacia	44	sol	labandera	Resident
171	Telesfora	Orbina	27	cdo	planchadora	Resident
172	Maria	Asuncion	48	cdo	labandera	Migrant
173	Martina	Alejandra	41	cdo	labandera	Migrant
174	Sabina	Concepcion	24	sol	labandera	Resident
175	Dorotea	Gamboa	15	sol	labandera	Resident
176	Petrona	Torres	20	sol	labandera	Resident

177	Fulgencia	delos Santos	44	cdo	labandera	Migrant
178	Satornina	Fajardo	32	sol	labandera	Resident
179	Maria	Lorenzo	26	cdo	labandera	Resident
180	Seberina	Garcia	31	sol	labandera	Migrant
181	Seferina	Arcadio	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
182	Seberina	Diaz	31	sol	labandera	Resident
183	Martina	Samzon	22	sol	labandera	Resident
184	Florencia	Mona	22	cdo	labandera	Migrant
185	Teodora	Alogres	37	sol	labandera	Resident
186	Martina	Alogres	33	sol	labandera	Resident
187	Cayetana	Alvares	39	cdo	labandera	Resident
188	Hermogena	Alvares	45	vdo	labandera	Resident
189	Maria	Cabrera	22	sol	labandera	Resident
190	Saturnina	Alvares	47	vdo	labandera	Resident
191	Ambrocia	Martin	30	sol	labandera	Resident
192	Maria	Martin	19	sol	labandera	Resident
193	Laoncia	Martin	18	sol	labandera	Resident
194	Victoriana	Gonzalez	60	cdo	labandera	Resident
195	Raymunda	Alvares	21	cdo	labandera	Migrant
196	Eugenia	Faustina	47	vdo	labandera	Resident
197	Margarita	Martin	44	cdo	labandera	Resident
198	Maria	Alvares	26	sol	labandera	Resident
199	Tomasina	Ygnacio	54	vdo	labandera	Migrant
200	Vicenta	Ramos	21	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
201	Braulia	Sanchez	57	cdo	labandera	Resident
202	Eulalia	de Ocampo	26		labandero	Resident
203	Eusebia	Cornel	44	vdo	labandera	Resident
204	Silvestra	Cortes	49	vdo	labandero	Migrant
205	Matea	Quison	22	cdo	labandero	Resident
206	Gregoria	Barasi	22	cdo	labandera	Resident

207	Marcela	Fermin	18	cdo	labandera	Resident
208	Josefa	Daguis	52	vdo	labandera	Migrant
209	Petrona	Enriquez	39	sol	labandera	Resident
210	Carmen	Valencia	38	vdo	labandera	Resident
211	María	Enriquez	17	sol	labandera	Resident
212	Inocencia	Enriquez	16	sol	labandera	Resident
213	Maria	Salita	39	cdo	labandero	Migrant
214	Rosa	Pescasio	61	vdo	labandera	Resident
215	Cirila	Regalado	39	cdo	labandera	Resident
216	María	Lectura	45	sol	planchadera	Resident
217	Francisca	Cabrera	44	cdo	labandero	Resident
218	Manuela	Benites	41	cdo	labandera	Resident
219	Tomasa	de la Cruz	15	sol	labandera	Resident
220	Andrea	Mamcat	33	sol	labandera	Migrant
221	Adriana	Enriquez	54	cdo	labandera	Resident
222	Joaquina	Corcuera	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
223	Maria	Medina	35	sol	labandera	Resident
224	Crisanta	Ygnacio	54	vdo	labandera	Migrant
225	Sinforosa	Rodriguez	48	vdo	labandera	Resident
226	Eusebia	Racho	26	sol	labandera	Migrant
227	Escolastica	Baltazar	40	cdo	labandera	Migrant
228	Hilaria	Samonte	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
229	Filomena	dela Cruz	21	cdo	labandera	Migrant
230	Sotera	dela Cruz	41	cdo	labandera	Resident
231	Cayetana	Decena	20	sol	labandera	Resident
232	Brigida	Manalili	40		labandera	Migrant
233	Simeona	Ramos	43	cdo	labandera	Resident
234	Juana	Francisco	52	cdo	labandera	Resident
235	Felipa	Altiveros	39	vdo	labandera	Resident
236	Petra	Gagauanan	41	cdo	labandera	Resident

237	Pantaleona	Vasques	20	cdo	labandera	Migrant
238	Eleuteria	Gonzales	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
239	Luciana	Fajardo	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
240	Martina	Custodio	52	vdo	labandera	Resident
241	Sitorina	Rodriguez	48	cdo	labandero	Resident
242	Ygnacia	Nevo	31	vdo	labandera	Migrant
243	Maximina	Teodorica	52	vdo	labandera	Resident
244	Apolinaria	Fajardo	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
245	Segunda	Garcia	35	cdo	labandera	Resident
246	Tomasa	Salomon	41	cdo	labandero	Resident
247	Ruferta	Puentes	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
248	Agrifina	Morales	26	cdo	labandero	Migrant
249	Damasa	de los Santos	42	sol	labandera	Resident
250	Alejandra	Flores	33	cdo	labandera	Resident
251	Bernarda	Gregoria	26	cdo	labandera	Resident
252	Catalina	Enriques	32	cdo	labandera	Resident
253	Victoria	Mendoza	52	vdo	labandera	Migrant
254	Lorcusa	Angeles	46	cdo	labandera	Migrant
255	Gregoria	Mendoza	28	cdo	labandera	Migrant
256	Juana	dela Cruz	32	sol	labandera	Migrant
257	Nicolasa	Divinagracia	23	sol	labandera	Migrant
258	Antera	dela Cruz	33	cdo	labandera	Migrant
259	Josefa	Micaela	42	cdo	labandera	Migrant
260	Ciriaca	Dionicio	29	sol	labandera	Migrant
261	Agustina	Legaspi	58	vdo	labandera	Resident
262	Ysabela		20	cdo	labandera	Resident
263	Telesfora	dela Cruz	58	vdo	labandera	Migrant
264	Juana	Gonzaga	52	vdo	labandera	Resident
265	Maria	Albares	52	cdo	labandero	Resident
266	Simeona	Fajardo	20	cdo	labandera	Resident

267	Maria	Martin	24	sol	labandera	Resident
268	Juliana	Martin	23	sol	labandera	Resident
269	Francisca	Garcia	23	cdo	labandera	Migrant
270	Miguela	dela Cruz	38	sol	labandera	Migrant
271	Simona	dela Cruz	44	cdo	labandera	Migrant
272	Epipania	Aguilar	24	sol	labandera	Resident
273	Quintina	Santiago	45	vdo	labandera	Resident
274	Angela	Clemente	21	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
275	Sotera	delos Santos	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
276	Roperta	Cayetano	33	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
277	Juana	Malanta	33	cdo	labandera	Migrant
278	Juliana	Potenciano	25	sol	labandera	Resident
279	Paula	de Ocampo	41	sol	labandera	UNDETERMINED
280	Margarita	Cruz	25	cdo	labandera	Resident
281	Bonifacia	dela Cruz	30	sol	labandera	Resident
282	Barbara	Pablo	62	cdo	labandera	Resident
283	Clara	Mendoza	47	cdo	labandera	Migrant
284	Nicolasa	Javier	52	vdo	labandera	Migrant
285	Gavina	Javier	21	sol	labandera	Resident
286	Cayetana	Javier	15	sol	labandera	Resident
287	Maria	dela Cruz	28	cdo	labandera	Migrant
288	Saturnina	Borja	47	cdo	labandera	Resident
289	Bernalda	del Rosario	31	cdo	labandero	Migrant
290	Casimira	Garcia	44	sol	labandera	Migrant
291	Lucina	Crisostomo	40	sol	labandera	Resident
292	Flora	Bastican	20	cdo	labandero	Resident
293	Tomasa	Bartolomé	57	cdo	labandero	Migrant
294	Maxima	de los Santos	19	sol	labandera	Resident
295	Nicolasa	de los Santos	15	sol	labandera	Resident
296	Francisca	Bansa	27	sol	labandera	Migrant

297	Louisa	Lacandola	42	vdo	labandera	Migrant
298	Bartola	de la Cruz	40	cdo	labandero	Resident
299	Maria	Bautista	15	sol	labandero	Migrant
300	Juana	Paula	60	vdo	labandero	Resident
301	Eulalia	Seminiano	63	vdo	labandera	Migrant
302	Paulina	Ramos	28	cdo	labandero	Migrant
303	Tomasa	Bacane	26	sol	labandera	Migrant
304	Silvina	de la Cruz	57	vdo	labandera	Migrant
305	Cleotilde	Corcuera	49	vdo	labandera	Resident
306	Oliva	Buenviaje	31	cdo	labandera	Migrant
307	Josefa	Payongayong	33	sol	labandera	Migrant
308	Escolastica	Hernandez	29	sol	labandera	Migrant
309	Sotera	Lazaro	22	sol	labandera	Migrant
310	Lorenza	Muños	46	cdo	labandero	UNDETERMINED
311	Bernabela	Cosme		cdo	labandera	Resident
312	Vrecila	de la Cruz	31	cdo	labandera	Resident
313	Placida	Villanueva	41	vdo	labandera	Migrant
314	Engracia	Cabrera	21	sol	labandera	Migrant
315	Francisca	Pascual	30	cdo	labandera	UNDETERMINED
316	Matea	de Leon	21	vdo	labandera	Migrant
317	Angela	Agustin	32	vdo	labandera	Migrant
318	Ygnacia	del Rosario	27	sol	labandera	Migrant
319	Candida	Angeles	36		labandera	Migrant
320	Antonia	Cosme	27	cdo	labandero	Resident
321	Dionisia	Ramos	18	cdo	labandero	Migrant
322	Juana	Claudio	27	sol	labandero	Migrant
323	Eulogia	Rivera	21	cdo	labandera	Migrant
324	Veronica	Medina	31	cdo	labandera	Migrant
325	Faustina	Fulgencio	30	cdo	labandero	Migrant
326	Tomasa	Mendoza	47	cdo	labandera	Migrant

Appendix 14. List of Women Property Owners and their Structural Assets, c1881.
NAP, *Fincas Urbana*.

NO.	NAME	STRUCTURE TYPE	MATERIAL COMPOSITION	STREET	PUEBLO	SOURCE
1	Maria Ubaldo	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	2a Calle Longos	BINONDO	"sds9565"
2	Francisca Desiderio	Casita	Ligeros	Aceiteros	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
3	Maria de la Cruz	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9565"
4	Josefa Contreras	Casa	Mamposteria	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9565"
5	Catalina Lopez	Casa	Ligeros	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9564"
6	Jacinta Miguel	Casa	Fuertes	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9564"
7	Alonzo_Juliana	Casa	Ligeros	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9561"
8	Alonzo_Juliana	Casa	Ligeros	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9561"
9	Tuazon_Cirila	Casita	Fuertes	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9561"
10	Tuazon_Cirila	Casita	Fuertes	Aguila	TONDO	"sds9561"
11	Paula Pascual	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Agusan		"sds9584"
12	Catalina Delgado	Casa	Fuertes	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
13	Clara Natividad	Casa	Tabla y Hierro	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
14	Maria Yparraguirre	Casa	Madera y Nipa	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
15	Sta. Maria_Dorotea	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
16	Natividad_Clara	Casa	Mamposteria	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
17	N. Toribio_Modesta	Casa	Ligeros	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
18	Yparraguirre_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
19	Larate_Silvestra	Casa	Ligeros	Alejandro VI	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
20	Saturina Alvarez	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
21	Aleja Abayde	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
22	Cristina Alcabendes	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
23	Andrea Atayde	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
24	Avelina Ayllon	Casita	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
25	Maria A. Jose	Casa	Piedra, Madera, Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
26	Ysabel Cabo	Casa	Madera y Lata	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
27	Alejandra Claudia	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
28	Macaria Flores	Casa		Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
29	Martina Francisco	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
30	Macaria Flores	Casa	Madera y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
31	Albino Goyenechea	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
32	Clara de Guzman	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
33	Petra Lopetedi	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
34	Trinidad Mercile	Casa	Materiales Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"

35	Florentina Noqueira	Casa	Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
36	Celestina del Monte	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
37	Paula N. del Rosario		Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
38	Vicenta Torres	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
39	Carmen Valencia	Camarin	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
40	Silveria Villamos	Casa	Madera y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
41	Dilvestra Larate	Casa	Tabla y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
42	Maria Angela Ares	Casa	Mamposteria	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
43	Rufina Sarmiento	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
44	de Guzman_Clara	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
45	Lopetedi_Petra	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
46	Moreno_Natalia	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
47	Pedemonte Celestina	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
48	Pedemonte Celestina	Casa	Tabla y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
49	N. del A. Rosario_Paula	Casa	Mamposteria	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
50	Tuazon_Tomasa	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
51	Tuazon_Tomasa	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
52	Valerreia_Carnacion	Camarin	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
53	Villamar_Siberia	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
54	Angelo y Arce_Maria	Casa	Mamposteria	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
55	Atayde_Aleja	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
56	Atayde_Aleja	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
57	Atayde_Aleja	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
58	Atayde_Aleja	N	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
59	Atayde_Aleja	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
60	Alenlunda_Cristina	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
61	Alenlunda_Cristina	Casa	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
62	Ayllin_Abelina	Casita	Madera, Piedra y Hierro	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
63	Alma Jose_Maria	N	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
64	Alma Jose_Maria	N	Fuertes	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
65	M. Adriano_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
66	Nicolasa Rosario	Casa	Ligeros	Angiahn	SAMPALOC	"sds9563"
67	Felipa Asuncion	Camarin	Ligeros	Angustias	SANTA CRUZ	"sds9563"
68	Maria Soledad	casa	mamposteria	anloague	SANTA CRUZ	"sds9565"
69	Fabiana Concepcion	Casa	Cal y Canto, Madera y Hierro	Arlegui	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
70	Perfecta Cabrera	Casa	Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
71	Perfecta Cabrera	Casa	Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
72	Sergia Calderon	Casita	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
73	Teodora de Dios	Casa	Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"

74	Clemencia Ygnacio	Casa	Cana y Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
75	Feliciana de Leon	Casa	Cana, Hierro y Lata	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
76	Petra Lopedeti	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
77	Concepcion Juan	Casa	Masera, Cana y Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
78	Juana Jacinto	Casa	Mamposteria	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
79	Fabiana Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
80	Perfecta Cabrerea	Casa	Tabla con Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
81	Perfecta Cabrerea	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
82	Sergia Calderon	Casita	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
83	Tedora de Dios Monroy	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
84	Ca. Ynchausty	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
85	Feliciana de Leon	Casa	Cana , Tabla y Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
86	Petra Sepetedi	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
87	Mauricia Otadi	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
88	Natalia Pereyra	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
89	Juana Jacinto	Casa	Mamposteria	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
90	Clemencia Ygnacio	Casa	Fuertes	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
91	Concepcion S. Juan	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Arlegui	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
92	Culobong_Aveadia	Casa	Ligeros	Arrocero	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
93	Piedad_Bautista	Casa	Fuertes	Arrocero	TONDO	"sds9583"
94	Ciriaca Covambo	Camarin	Mamposteria	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
95	Clara Lichaoco	Casa	Fuertes	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
96	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Mamposteria	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
97	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Mamposteria	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
98	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Mamposteria	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
99	Juliana Mauricio	Casa (4 Puertas)	Mamposteria	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
100	Luciana Monroy	Casa	Fuertes	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
101	Luciana Monroy	Casa	Fuertes	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9565"
102	Dominga Santiago	Casa	Fuertes	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
103	Eugenia Lichaoco	Casa	Fuertes	Asuncion	TONDO	"sds9564"
104	Regina Simtanaco	Casa	Cana y Hierro	Avanque	TONDO	"sds9563"
105	Bartola Abdan	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Madra	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
106	Cirila Barrio	Casa	Tabala, Cana, Nipa y Madera	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
107	Victoria Castaneda	Casita	Madera y Nipa	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
108	Maria de Guzman	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
109	Evarista de Guzman	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
110	Barrio_Cirala	Casa	Fuertes	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
111	Castaneda_Victoria	Casita	Ligeros	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
112	Ga. Guerrero_Joaquina	Casa	Fuertes	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"

113	M. de Guzman_Maria	Casa	Hierro, Cana y Nipa	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
114	de Guzman_Evanista	Casa	Ligeros	Aviles	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
115	Custina Capili	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Azcarraga	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9564"
116	Benedicta Feliciano	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Azcarraga	BINONDO	"sds9564"
117	Marreza Agustin	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Azcarraga	BINONDO	"sds9563"
118	de Jesus_Benita	Casita	Ligeros	Balicbalic	BINONDO	"sds9583"
119	de Jesus_Benita	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Balicbalic	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
120	Teresa Morello	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Balmes	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
121	Ca. Ynchausti	Casa	Fuertes	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
122	Ca. Ynchausti	Casa	Fuertes	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
123	Ca. Ynchausti	Casa	Fuertes	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
124	Ca. Ynchausti	Casa	Fuertes	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
125	Ca. Ynchausti	Casa	Fuertes	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
126	Tereza Morello	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Balmes	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
127	Victoria Asuncion	Casa	Fuertes y Ligeros	Bambang	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
128	Seguerra Balleneros	Casa	Fuertes y Ligeros	Bambang	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
129	Victoria Asuncion	Casa	Piedra, Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bambang	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
130	Juliana Reyes	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Bambang	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
131	Bernarda Yalon	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Tabla	Bambang	TONDO	"sds9584"
132	Ciriaca Millar	Casita	Mamposteria	Bancaso	TONDO	"sds9564"
133	Ysabel Simpamco	Casa	Fuertes	Bancaso	TONDO	"sds9564"
134	Ynes Chico	Casa	Madera, Hierro y Piedra	Bangbang	TONDO	"sds9584"
135	Ramon Ferreras	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Barbosa	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
136	Nieves Romero	Casa	Mamposteria	Barbosa	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
137	Antonia Algarte	Casa	Fuertes	Barbosa	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
138	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Mamposteria	Barbosa	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
139	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	Barbosa	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
140	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	Barbosa	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
141	Petrona Fernandez	Casa with 3 Habitaciones	fuertes	Barcelona	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
142	Petrona Fernandez	Camarin with 7 Habitaciones	fuertes	Barcelona	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
143	V. Salgado_Maria	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Baregui	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9561"
144	Velasquez_Ceferma	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Baregui	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9561"
145	Severina Cuyugan	Casa	Mamposteria	Bariancillo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
146	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa and Camarin Interior	Fuertes	Barraca	BINONDO	"sds9565"
147	Vicenta Reyes	Camarin	Mamposteria	Barraca	BINONDO	"sds9565"
148	Valentina Legaspi	Camarin	Fuertes	Barraca	BINONDO	"sds9565"
149	Honorata Legaspi	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Barrio de Baclaran	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
150	Engracia Angeles	Casa	Fuertes, Madera y Hierro	Barrio de Beata	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
151	Engracia Angeles	Camarin	Fuertes, Madera y Hierro	Barrio de Beata	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"

152	Engracia Angeles	Camarin	Fuertes, Madera y Hierro	Barrio de Beata	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
153	Dna. Josefa Arevalo	Casa	Hiero, Tabla y Cana	Barrio de Bilibid	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
154	Eduviges Bustamante	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Barrio de Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
155	Juana Caslos	Casita	Madera y Hierro	Barrio de Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
156	Ancelma de los Santos	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Barrio de La Huerta	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
157	Ancelma de los Santos	Camarin	Mamposteria	Barrio de La Huerta	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
158	Pioquita Ynciong	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Barrio de Pariancillo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
159	Saturnina Luciong	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa con Hierro	Barrio de Pariancillo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
160	Margarita Santos	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Barrio de Pongalo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
161	Valeriana Zaragoza	Casa	Fuertes	Barrio de Pongalo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
162	Josefina Padilla	Casa	Tabla, Nipa y Madera	Barrio de Sahueta	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
163	Ramona Rodriguez	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Barrio de Sahueta	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
164	Gavina Moja	Posesion	Tabla y Hierro	Baseo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
165	Avrotea Andres	Camarin	Piedra, Cana y Nipa	Beata	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
166	Ursula Felipa	Casa	Madera, Cana y Piedra	Beata	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
167	Maria Ochoa de Matias	Casa	Fuertes	Beata	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
168	Ycasanas_Juana	Casa	Fuertes	Benavides	PANDACAN	"sds9561"
169	Clemente_Juana	Casa	Fuertes	Benavides	PANDACAN	"sds9561"
170	Fernandez_Eduvigez	Casa	Tabla y Hierro	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
171	Gonzalez_Anastasia	Casa	Ligeros	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
172	Joseun_Valentina	Casa	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
173	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
174	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
175	Leyba_Concepcion	Casa	Madera y Lata	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
176	Mauricio_Juliana	Casa	Mamposteria	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
177	Miguel_Felipa	Casita	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
178	Bantig_Ysabel	Casita	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
179	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
180	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Camarin	Fuertes	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
181	Vera_Victoria	Casa	Ligeros	Benavides	BINONDO	"sds9561"
182	Josefa Arevalo	Casa	Hierro, Tabla y Cana	Bilibid	BINONDO	"sds9563"
183	Juana Carlos	Casa	Fuertes	Bilibid	BINONDO	"sds9563"
184	Maria Carlos	3 Posesiones	Masera y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
185	Julia Josefa	Casa	Fuertes	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
186	Romana Natividad	Casa	Fuertes	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
187	Rosuela de la Rosa	Casa	Fuertes	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
188	Lucila Zamora	Casa	Fuertes	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
189	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Masera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
190	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Masera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"

191	Jose Zaragoza	Casa	Masera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
192	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Masera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
193	Gavina M. del Castillo	Casita	Madera y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
194	Julia Josefa	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
195	Fransisca de Jesus	Casa	Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
196	Romana Natividad	Casa	Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
197	Rosenda de la Rosa	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
198	Paz Salvador	Casa	Piedra, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
199	Jacoba Tiemblo de M.	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
200	Lucila Zamora	Casa	Cana, Tabla y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
201	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
202	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
203	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
204	Dolores Zaragoza	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
205	Rufina Alez	Casa	Cana y Hierro	Bilibid	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
206	Ysabel de Leon	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Bustillos	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
207	Nicolosa Robles	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Bustillos	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
208	de Leon_Ysabel	Casa	Fuertes	Bustillos	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
209	Robles_Nicolasa	Casa	Ligeros	Bustillos	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
210	Petrona Crisostomo	Casa	Fuertes	Caballeros	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
211	Petrona Fernandez	Casa	Fuertes	Caballeros	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
212	Cornelia Laochangco	Casa (4 Puertas)	Fuertes	Caballeros	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
213	Eugenia Lichauco	Posesion (6 Puertas)	Fuertes	Caballeros	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
214	Candida Lim	Casita	Fuertes	Cabecilla	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
215	Casiana Guigogue	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Nipa	calle del barrio de Agojo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
216	Maria Tuazon	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	calle del barrio de Agojo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
217	Josefa Cembrano	casa	Fuertes	callejon de martinez	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
218	Natalia Moreno	Casa	Madera y Nipa	Calzada del Alix	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
219	Sergia Litonjua	casa	Fuertes	Camba	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
220	Gregoria Mariano	casa	Mamposteria	Camba	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
221	Cirila Ochangco	camarin	Fuertes	Camba	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
222	Gabriela Gormundez	Casa	Fuertes	Camba	SAMPALOC	"sds9564"
223	Sergia Litonjua	Casa (4 Puertas)	Fuertes	camba y lavezares	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
224	Carmela Acuna	Casa	Fuertes	Candelaria	SAMPALOC	"sds9563"
225	Praxedes Pozon	Casita	Ligeros	Candelaria	TONDO	"sds9564"
226	Ygnacia de Leon	Camarin	Mamposteria	Caniogan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
227	Ygnacia de Leon	Camarin	Mamposteria	Caniogan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
228	Marcela Omana	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Caniogan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
229	Lorenza San Pedro	Casa	Cana, Tabla y Nipa	Canonigo Minana	TONDO	"sds9584"

230	Juliana Reyes	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Capasigam	PACO	"sds9579quiapo"
231	Simplicia Miguel	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Capasigan	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
232	Juliana Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria	Capasigan	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
233	Benita Javier	Casa	Mamposteria	Capsigan	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
234	Rosario_Naria	Camarin	Mamposteria	Carballo	PASIG	"sds9561"
235	Reyes_Juliana	Casa	Fuertes	Carballo	BINONDO	"sds9561"
236	Estanislao de Sta. Brigida	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Carlano	BINONDO	"sds9583"
237	Buenaventura Raymundo	Camarin	Mamposteria	Carriedo		"sds9579quiapo"
238	Cruz vioikareak_Cirila	Casa	Fuertes	Casa	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
239	Matilde Camus	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	Castanbide		"sds9583"
240	Vicenta Fransico Ageo	Casa	Fuertes	Castillejos	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
241	Policarpia Fernandez	casa	Fuertes	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
242	Clara Magante	casa	Fuertes	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
243	Paula Quiogue	casa	Fuertes	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
244	Enitacia Jose	Casita	Ligeros	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9564"
245	Sinforosa Sopangco	Casa	Fuertes	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9564"
246	Alejo Gavina	Casa	Ligeros	Clavel	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9563"
247	Raymunda Reyes	Camarin (4 Puertas)	Mamposteria	claveria	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
248	Faustina Matias	Camarin	Fuertes	Clavet	BINONDO	"sds9564"
249	Ma. Concepcion Leyva	casa	Fuertes	coca y beata	BINONDO	"sds9565"
250	Luciana Monroy	casa	Fuertes	Colon	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
251	Carmen Barredodeveda y Calderon	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
252	Carmen Barredodeveda y Calderon	2 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
253	Cirila del Barrio	Casa	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
254	Julia Jorge	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
255	Maria Trinidad Manuel Hzanzamendez	Casa	Hierro, Tabla y Nipa	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
256	Valeriana Alonzo	Casa	Fuertes	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
257	Carmen Barredo	Casa	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
258	Carmen Barredo	2 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
259	Julia Jorge	Casa	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
260	Maria Trinidad Manuel	Casa	Hierro, Tabla y Cana	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
261	Filomena Villaroel	Casa	Mamposteria	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
262	Valeriana Alauro	Casa	Fuertes	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
263	Santos_Satera	Casa	Ligeros	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
264	Salamanca_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
265	Salamanca_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
266	Blanco_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
267	Blanco_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Concepcion	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
268	Leonalda Bernabe	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Concordia	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"

269	Josefa Jurado	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Concordia	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
270	Maria Salanova	Casa	Cal y Canto y Hierro	Concordia	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
271	Josefa Jurato	Casa	Mamposteria	Concordia	SAMPALOC	"sds9563"
272	Maria Salanova	Casa	Cal y Canto	Concordia		"sds9563"
273	Josefa Cembrano	Camarines	Mamposteria	Corcuera	ERMITA	"sds9565"
274	Penabella Domingo	Casa	Ligeros	Cortafuego	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
275	Juana Arevalo	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
276	Carmen Barredodeveda y Calderon	2 Pensiones	Mamposteria	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
277	Natalia Plasal de Rosell	Casa	Piedra y Madera	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
278	Feliciana de Leon	Casa	Hierro	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
279	Maria Leocadio	Casa	Teja	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
280	Carmen Mijares	Casa	Madera y Teja	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
281	Florentina Noguiera	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
282	Florentina Noguiera	4 Accesorias	Mamposteria y Hierro	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
283	Vicenta Reyes	Accesorias	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
284	Juana Arevalo	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
285	Carmen Barredo	2 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
286	Natalia de Casal de R.	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
287	Feliciana de Leon	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
288	Maria Teocadio	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
289	Carmen Mijares	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
290	Florentina Noguerra	Casa, 4 Accesorias	Mamposteria	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
291	Vicenta S. Reyes	Accesorias	Mamposteria	Crespo	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
292	los sindicatos de Maria Padilla	Casa	Fuertes	Crespo		"sds9563"
293	Dalmasia de Leon	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Cruz	TONDO	"sds9584"
294	Vicenta Torres	Casa	Fuertes	Curtidor	TONDO	"sds9563"
295	Ynarra Reyes de Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	Curtidoz	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
296	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	M	Dasmarinas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
297	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	Dasmarinas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
298	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	Dasmarinas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
299	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	Dasmarinas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
300	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	Dasmarinas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
301	Josefa Cembrano	Casa	Mamposteria	david	BINONDO	"sds9565"
302	Emilia Yparraguirre	Camarin	Fuertes	david	BINONDO	"sds9565"
303	Araullo_Juana	Casa	Fuertes	Diaz	BINONDO	"sds9561"
304	C. Sianes_Dominga	Casa	Fuertes	Diaz	BINONDO	"sds9561"
305	C. Sianes_Dominga	Camarin	Ligeros	Diaz	BINONDO	"sds9561"
306	Ortega_Valentina	Casa	Ligeros	Diaz	BINONDO	"sds9561"
307	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Casa	Mamposteria	Diaz	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9561"

308	Tentora Varsovia	Casa	Fuertes	Divisoria		"sds9565"
309	Cruz de Leon_Hilaria	Casa	Ligeros	Divisoria		"sds9583"
310	Cruz de Leon_Hilaria	Camarin	Ligeros	Divisoria		"sds9583"
311	Tomasa Bonoan	Casa	Fuertes	duguinto		"sds9565"
312	Tomasa Bonoan	Casa	Fuertes	duguinto	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
313	Aristona Francisco	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
314	Marcelina Guidote	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
315	Emilia Rojas	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
316	Aristona Franco	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
317	Marcelina Guidote	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
318	Yiaza Ygnacio	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
319	Emilia Rojas	Casa	Mamposteria	Echague	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9563"
320	Ma. Concepcion Leyva	Casa	Fuertes	Elcano	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
321	Julita Lichauco	Casa	Fuertes	Elcano	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
322	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Fuertes	Elcano	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
323	Tiburcia Ortiz	Casa	Mamposteria	Elcano	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
324	Sabina Pantanco	Casa	Fuertes	Elcano	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
325	Sabina Pantanco	Casa	Fuertes	Elcano	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
326	Pelagia Velasques	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Elisondo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
327	Pelagia Velasquez	Casa	Mamposteria	Elizondo		"sds9563"
328	Ocampo_Paulina	Casa	Ligeros	Ermita	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
329	Arcadia Marolanda	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Erran	QUIAPO	"sds9584"
330	Circiaca Pascual	Casa	Fuertes	Escaldo	STA. CRUZ	"sds9579quiapo"
331	Ciriaca Pascual	Casa	Fuertes	Escaldo	STA. CRUZ	"sds9563"
332	Dominga Santiago	Camarin	Fuertes	Espeleta		"sds9579quiapo"
333	Maria de Vera Ygnacio	Casita	Tabla y Cana	Espleta		"sds9563"
334	Teodorica Ocampo	Casa	Fuertes	estandi		"sds9565"
335	Ysidera Pera	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Evueda (San Rafael)	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
336	Areccli_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Frante a la Ynglessia	PANDACAN	"sds9583"
337	Ygnacia Tarnate	Casa	Mamposteria	Frasol de Miminute	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
338	Flora Gil de Jesus	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Fraternidad	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
339	Gregoria de Luna	Casa	Tabla, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Fraternidad	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
340	Eunobia Cruz	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Fraternidad		"sds9579quiapo"
341	Pascuala Sevilla	Casa	Madera, Hierro y Piedra	Fraternidad		"sds9579quiapo"
342	Lucia Zamora	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Fraternidad	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
343	Josefa Paterno	2 Casas	Mamposteria	Frente a la Yglesia	INTRAMUROS	"sds9584"
344	Maria Araceli y Martinez	Casa	Fuertes	Frente a la Yglesia	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
345	Antera Pantoja	2 Accesorias	Fuertes	Fundicion	TONDO	"sds9565"
346	Cornelia Laochangco	4 Camarines	Fuertes	Fundidor	TONDO	"sds9565"

347	Eusebia San Victores	Casa	Ligeros	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9565"
348	Valentina Villanueva	Casa	Ligeros	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9565"
349	Luisa de la Cruz	Casa	Tabla, Hierro y Cana	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9565"
350	Vicenta Cruz	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9564"
351	Andrea Diaz	Casa	Ligeros	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9564"
352	Nemedes Merder	Casa	Mamposteria	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9564"
353	Pragidas Santos	Casa	Ligeros	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9564"
354	Gregoria Tuazon	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Gagalangin	TONDO	"sds9564"
355	Mamerta Trinidad	Casa	Ligeros	Gagalangin	ERMITA	"sds9564"
356	Andrea Cruz	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Gagalangin	ERMITA	"sds9564"
357	Concepcion Cayetano	Casa	Fuertes	Gallera	BINONDO	"sds9583"
358	Gutierrez_Dolores	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Gallera	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
359	Concepcion Leyva de Martinez	Casa	Mamposteria	Galvay	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
360	Guepangco_Anastasia	Camarin	Materiales Fuertes	Gandara	SAMPALOC	"sds9561"
361	Modesta Toribio	Casa	Materiales Fuertes	Gastambide	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
362	Teomasa Tuazon	Camarin	Materiales Fuertes y Hierro	Gastambide	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
363	Cayetana Villamag	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Gastambide	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
364	Toribia Moya Vale de Barcelona	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Gastambide	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
365	N. Toribio_Modesta	Casa	Fuertes	Gastambide	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
366	Tuazon_Tomasa	Casa	Fuertes	Gastambide	BINONDO	"sds9583"
367	Muya_Toribia	Casa	Fuertes	Gastambide	BINONDO	"sds9583"
368	Cortes_Rosario	Casita	Tabla y Lata	Gen. Gandara	BINONDO	"sds9561"
369	Mauricio_Juliana	Casa	Mamposteria	Gen. Gandara	BINONDO	"sds9561"
370	Mauricio_Juliana	Casa	Mamposteria	Gen. Gandara	BINONDO	"sds9561"
371	Mauricio_Juliana	Casa	Mamposteria	Gen. Gandara	BINONDO	"sds9561"
372	Ponce_Francisca	Casa	Ligeros	Gen. Gandara	BINONDO	"sds9561"
373	Cembtano_Josefa	Casa	Fuertes	Gen. Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
374	P. Casal de Rosell_Natalia	Casa	Fuertes	Gen. Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
375	Ruizdalgado_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	Gen. Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
376	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Casa	Mamposteria	Gen. Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
377	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Casa	Mamposteria	Gen. Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
378	Saracho_Maria	Camarinsito	Madera y Hierro	Gen. Yzquiredo	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
379	N_Hermogeues	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Gen. Yzquiredo	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
380	Natalia de Rosell	Casa	Fuertes	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
381	Concepcion Ruizdelgado	Casa	Fuertes	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
382	Vicenta S. Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria,Madera y Hierro	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
383	Vicenta S. Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria,Madera y Hierro	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
384	Juan Clauz	Casa	Fuertes	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
385	Consuelo San de Vizmanes	Casa	Cal y Canto	General Solano	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"

386	Josefa Cembrano	Casa	Piedra,Madera y Teja	Gral. Solano	SAMPALOC	"sds9584"
387	Ramos_Antonia	Casa	Ligeros	Guipit	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
388	Vicenta Reyes	Camarin	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
389	Maria Teorres vda. de Carall	Casa	Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
390	Maria Teorres vda. de Carall	Camarin	Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
391	Maria Teorres vda. de Carall	Pensiones	Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
392	Pelagia Velasques	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
393	Pelagia Velasques	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
394	Aleja Atayde	Casa	Fuertes	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
395	Vicenta S. Reyes	Camarin	Mamposteria	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
396	Maria Torres	Casa	Fuertes	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
397	Maria Torres	Camarin	Fuertes	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
398	Maria Torres	Posesiones	Fuertes	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
399	Pelagia Velasquez	Casa	Mamposteria	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
400	Pelagia Velasquez	Casa	Mamposteria	Gunao	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
401	Aleja Atayde	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Gusao	ERMITA	"sds9579quiapo"
402	Eduarda de los Santos	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Herran	ERMITA	"sds9584"
403	Espiritu_Jacinta	Casa	Ligeros	Herran	ERMITA	"sds9583"
404	Fernandez_Fabiana	Casa	Ligeros	Herran	ERMITA	"sds9583"
405	Magdalena Navarro	Casa	Ligeros	Huertas	SANTA CRUZ	"sds9564"
406	Raymunda Lino	Casa	Ligeros	Huertas	SANTA CRUZ	"sds9564"
407	Petrona Trinidad	Casa	Fuertes	Huertas	SANTA CRUZ	"sds9564"
408	Vicenta Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria	Jabonero	BINONDO	"sds9565"
409	Dolores Valeriano	Camarin	Madera y Teja	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
410	Atanacia Quepaqngco	Casa	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
411	Catalina Goicochea	Casa	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
412	Martina Guzman	Posesiones	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
413	Cornelia Laochangco	Casa	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
414	Cornelia Laochangco	Posesion (2 Puertas)	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
415	Cornelia Laochangco	Camarin (5 Puertas)	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
416	Ma.Concepcion Leyva	Camarin	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
417	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Mamposteria	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
418	Vicenta Miguela	Camarin	Fuertes	Jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
419	Juana Zamora	Camarin	Piedra, Madera, Cana y Nipa	Jesus canto Yndustria		"sds9579quiapo"
420	Cecilia Garcia	Casa	Fuertes	Jolo	TONDO	"sds9565"
421	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Mamposteria	Jolo	BINONDO	"sds9565"
422	Pantaleona Lazaro	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	La_____		"sds9583"
423	Tranquilina Arriola	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Labores	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
424	Rosa Y. Rosario	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Labores	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"

425	Cecila San Luis	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Labores	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
426	Flavia Gonzaga	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Lardizabal	TONDO	"sds9583"
427	Gonzaga_Flaviana	Casa	Ligeros	Lardizabal	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
428	Maria Candelaria	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Nipa	Lavanderos	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
429	Mendiola_Elena	Casa	Ligeros	Lavanderos	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
430	Maria Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
431	Maria Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
432	Maria Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
433	Julia Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
434	Julia Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
435	Susana Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
436	Esposicion Sarapio	Casa	Fuertes	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
437	Gavina Francisco	Casita	Fuertes	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
438	Gavina Francisco	Casita	Fuertes	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
439	Benita Guerrero	Casita	Fuertes	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
440	Luciana Monroy	Casa	Fuertes	Lavezares	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
441	Dolores Ventura	Casa	Ligeros	Lecheros	TONDO	"sds9565"
442	Jacoba de la Cruz	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Lecheros	TONDO	"sds9564"
443	Andrea Silverio	Casa	Ligeros	Lecheros	TONDO	"sds9564"
444	Manuela de los Santos	Casa y Camarin	Mamposteria	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9565"
445	Manuela de los Santos	Casa	Mamposteria	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9565"
446	Clara Guerrero	Casa	Fuertes	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
447	Rosa Morelos	Casa	Fuertes	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
448	Rosa Morelos	Camarin	Fuertes	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
449	Josefa Navarrete	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Madera	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
450	Margareta Santos	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
451	Eulalia Salonga	Casa	Madera. Cana y Nipa	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
452	Ursula Teodoro	Casa	Ligeros	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
453	Maria Torroza	Casa	Ligeros	Lemery	TONDO	"sds9564"
454	Maria Aquino	Casa	Madera y Tabala	Limanzana	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
455	Benedicta Cruz	Casa	Cana, Madera y Lata	Longos	BINONDO	"sds9564"
456	Gregoria Decona	Casa	Cana y Teja	Longos	BINONDO	"sds9564"
457	Apolonia Fransisco	Casa	Fuertes	Longos	BINONDO	"sds9564"
458	Eugenia Rosario	Casa	Cana y Lata	Longos	BINONDO	"sds9564"
459	Bruna Tuazon	3 Accesorias	Mamposteria	Longos	BINONDO	"sds9564"
460	Catalina Aquina	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Looban	PACO	"sds9584"
461	Saturnina Escalana	Casa	Fuertes	Looban	PACO	"sds9584"
462	Magdalena Senoran	Casa	Tabla, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Looban	PACO	"sds9584"
463	Maria Tupas	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Looban	PACO	"sds9584"

464	Honorata Paulino	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Macina (Rafael)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
465	Dolores Valeriano	Casa	Madera y Teja	mad cor jaboneros	BINONDO	"sds9565"
466	Marcela Deogracias	Casa	Fuertes	Madrid	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
467	Marcela Deogracias	Media Agua	Mamposteria	Madrid	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
468	Cecilia Garcia	Casa	Fuertes	Madrid	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
469	Adriana Melgarejo	Casa	Fuertes	Madrid	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
470	Juana Ocampo	Accesorias (5 Puertas)	Fuertes	Madrid	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
471	Juana Ocampo	Media Agua	Fuertes	madrid int	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
472	Alonzo_Juliana	Casa	Ligeros	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
473	Cho Jangco_Martina	Casa	Fuertes	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
474	Ygnacio_Maria	Casita	Cana y Nipa	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
475	Manalo_Dolores	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
476	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Camarin	Mamposteria	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
477	Ventura_Maria	Casa	Mamposteria	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
478	Lampano_Pusebia	Casa	Ligeros	Magdalena	BINONDO	"sds9561"
479	Victorina C. Esraquin vda. de Yrisary	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Malacanang	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
480	Erasquin_Victorina	Casa	Fuertes	Malacanang	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
481	San Reyes_Vicenta	Casa	Mamposteria	Malate	MALATE	"sds9583"
482	Marcela Tarnate	Casa	Mamposteria	Mamante	TONDO	"sds9564"
483	Rufina Sta Cruz	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Mamia (San Rafael)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
484	Luisa Coerion	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Manrique	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
485	Carrion_Luisa	Casa	Ligeros	Manrique	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
486	Novalles_Ana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Marcelino	ERMITA	"sds9583"
487	Mendoza_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Marina	ERMITA	"sds9583"
488	Ruiz_Juana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Marina	ERMITA	"sds9583"
489	Aguilar_Eulalia	Casa	Fuertes	Marina	ERMITA	"sds9583"
490	Ayllose_Avelina	Casas	Ligeros	Marina	ERMITA	"sds9583"
491	Avelma Ayllon	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	Marques	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
492	Avelina Ayllon	Casa	Mamposteria	Marquez	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
493	Matela Reyes	Casa	Fuertes	Marquez	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
494	Matela Reyes	Posesion and Camarin	Fuertes	Marquez	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
495	Teodora Calderon	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
496	Ana Castaneda	Camarin	Mamposteria	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
497	Basilia Joaquin	Camarin	Mamposteria	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
498	Elicea Nieves	Camarin	Fuertes	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
499	Carlota Seguismundo	Casa	Ligeros	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
500	Maria Tenorio	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Madera	Matadero	TONDO	"sds9584"
501	Dionicia Sumulong	Casa	Mamposteria	Maybonga	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
502	Maria Mendoza	Casa	Mamposteria	Maybonga	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"

503	Dionisia Sumulong	Casa	Mamposteria	Maybonga	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
504	Maria Wood	Casa	Mamposteria	Meisic (sta elena)	BINONDO	"sds9565"
505	Lorenza Damian	Casa	Hierro y Tabla	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9564"
506	Lorenza Daluz	Casa	Mamposteria	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9564"
507	Petrana Feliciana	Casa	Fuertes	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9564"
508	Petrana Feliciana	Casa	Fuertes	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9564"
509	Juana S. Ynana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9564"
510	Manuela Amador	Camarin	Fuertes	Meisic	BINONDO	"sds9563"
511	Lucia Bautista	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
512	Cesaria Bonpua	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
513	Maria Molina	Casa	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
514	Juliana Trinidad	2 Accesorias	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
515	Luisa Bautista	Casa	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
516	Cesarca Bonifacio	Casa	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
517	Maria Molina	Casa	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
518	Juliana Trinidad	Camarin, 2 Accesorias	Fuertes	Mendoza	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
519	Limona Espinosa	Casita	Cana y Teja	Mercado	TONDO	"sds9564"
520	Julia Tuazon	Casa	Madera, Nipa, Lata y Piedra	Mercado	TONDO	"sds9584"
521	Ana Alcantara	6 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Mercado	TONDO	"sds9563"
522	Ysidra Garcia	Casa	Mamposteria	Miranda	TONDO	"sds9563"
523	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Fuertes	Miranda	TONDO	"sds9563"
524	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Fuertes	Miranda	TONDO	"sds9563"
525	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Fuertes	Miranda	TONDO	"sds9563"
526	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Fuertes	Miranda	TONDO	"sds9563"
527	Benita Mendoza	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Misericordia	STA. CRUZ	"sds9563"
528	Doroteo Jose	Casa and Camarin	Ligeros	Malinao	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
529	Benita de	Casita	N	N	PASIG	"sds9583"
530	Garcia_Juliana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	N	PASIG	"sds9583"
531	Rojas_Monica	Casa	Ligeros	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
532	Garcia_Juana	Casa	Fuertes	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
533	Garcia_Juana	Casita	Fuertes	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
534	Garcia_Juana	Casita	Cana y Teja	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
535	Garcia_Juana	Casita	Cana y Teja	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
536	Garcia_Juana	Camarin	Fuertes	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
537	Garcia_Benita	Casita	Madera y Hierro	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
538	Atayde_Aleja	Casa	Fuertes	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
539	Atayde_Andrea	N	Ligeros	N	PASIG	"sds9561"
540	Bobadilla_Ynosensia	Casa	Ligeros	N	PASIG	"sds9583"
541	Angela San Luis	Casa	Piedra, Masdera, Cana y Nipa	Nagtajan	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"

542	Catalina de Guzman	Casa	Fuertes	Naguit	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
543	Seguerra Yson	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Naguit	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
544	Evarista Pereyda	Casita	Fuertes y Ligeros	Naguit (Tanduay)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
545	Tesana Reyes	Casa	Hierro	Naguit (Tanduay)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
546	Juana Reyes	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Hierro	Naguit (Tanduay)	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
547	Elisea Gimenez	Tienda	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Namayan	MANDALUYONG	"sds9584"
548	Comelia Laochangco	Casa	Fuertes	Namayan	MANDALUYONG	"sds9584"
549	Cirila del Rosario	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Namayan	MANDALUYONG	"sds9584"
550	Braulia Guipanto	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Narciso	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
551	Basilía y del Rosario	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Narciso	PANDACAN	"sds9579quiapo"
552	Silvestra Zarate	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Noria	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
553	Natalia Plasal de Rosell	Casa	Piedra y Madera	Norzagaray	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
554	Natalia de Casal de R.	Casa	Fuertes	Norzagaray	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
555	Francisca Bendana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
556	Ysabel Lontoc	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
557	Romana Gunones	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
558	Vicenta S. Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria, Madray Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
559	Yrolonia Concepcion	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
560	Angela Roxas	Camarin	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9584"
561	Bendano_Francisca	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
562	Baltazar_Ciriaco	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
563	Concepcion_Apolonia	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
564	La O_Julian	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
565	Lontoc_Ysabel	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
566	Quirones_Romana	Casa	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
567	Roxas_Angela	Camarin	Fuertes	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
568	S. Reyes_Vicenta	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
569	S. Miguel_Eusebia	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Novaliches	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9561"
570	Paz Narciso Eladia	Casa	Fuertes	Novia	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
571	Cirila Barrio	Casa	Mamposteria	Novia cor. Concepcion	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
572	Natalia Casal	Casa	Fuertes	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
573	Juana Garcia	Casa and Accesorias	Mamposteria	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
574	Ma. Concepcion Leyva	Casa	Fuertes	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
575	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Mamposteria	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
576	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Mamposteria	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
577	Dolores Martinez	Casa	Mamposteria	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
578	Manuela Mijares	Casa	Mamposteria	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9565"
579	Maria Blanco	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9584"
580	Cuadra_Ansechua	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"

581	Cuadra_Ansechua	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
582	Cuadra_Ansechua	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
583	Hernandez de Gil_Petra	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
584	Lopez de Fernandez_Josefa	Casa	Fuertes	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
585	Nogueira_Florentina	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
586	Penabella Domingo	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
587	Alonzo_Juana	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
588	Aragon_Manuela	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
589	Bumanlay_Macaria	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
590	Bumanlag_Clemente	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
591	Baltazar_Jacinta	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
592	Ocampo_Valeriana	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
593	Reyes_Ysabelo de los	Casa	N	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
594	del Rosario_Cristina	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
595	Trinidad Alejandra	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
596	D. Ygnacio Felisarda	Casa	Ligeros	Nueva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
597	Blanco_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Nuva	BINONDO	"sds9583"
598	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Mamposteria	Olivares	BINONDO	"sds9565"
599	Benita Magsajo	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Palatio	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
600	Aleobendas_Cristina	Casa	Ligeros	Palaya de la Ermita	ERMITA	"sds9583"
601	Vita Valenzuela	Casa	Madera, Piedra y Teja	Palma	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
602	Vita Valenzuela	Casa	Madra, Piedra y Nipa	Palma	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
603	Petrona Zavala	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Palomar	TONDO	"sds9565"
604	Gregoria Bello	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Palomar	TONDO	"sds9565"
605	Cua Buco Chino	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Palomar	TONDO	"sds9564"
606	Ynes de los Reyes	Casa	Ligeros	Palomar	TONDO	"sds9564"
607	Zaneta Salcedo	Casa	Ligeros	Palumpon	TONDO	"sds9564"
608	Julia Conding	Casa	Mamposteria	Panancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
609	Victoria Tuazon	Casa	Fuertes y Ligeros	Panancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
610	Salvador Concepcion	Camarin	Piedra, Madera y Teja	Parian	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
611	Manuela Velasquez	Casa	Cal y Canto	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9565"
612	Julia Conding	Casa	Mamposteria y Teja	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
613	Saturnina Celario	Casa	Mamposteria	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
614	Saturnina Celario	Camarin	Hierro	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
615	Severina Tensuon	Casa	Mamposteria	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
616	Victoria Tuazon	Casa	Piedra y Hierro	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9579quiapo"
617	Modesta Fernandez	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"
618	Engracia de la Rosa	Casa	Fuertes	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"
619	Juana Rojas	Casa	Fuertes	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"

620	Gervaria de la Rosa	Casa	Fuertes	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"
621	Maria de los Santos	Camarin	Fuertes	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"
622	Maria de los Santos	Casa	Ligeros	Pariancillo	PASIG	"sds9564"
623	Benigna Aguilar	Casa	Fuertes	Parriancillo	PASIG	"sds9563"
624	Tomasa Pabalan	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Penafrancia	PACO	"sds9584"
625	Bernarda Yalon	Camarin	Mamposteria y Teja	Penafrancia	PACO	"sds9584"
626	Dolores Escralla	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Penafrancia	PACO	"sds9584"
627	Higina Gamarra	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Penafrancia (San Jose)	PACO	"sds9584"
628	Luisa Lichauco	Casa	Fuertes	Peryona	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
629	Gregoria de Luna	Camarin	Piedra, Zinc, Madera y Cana	Plaza de Gerona	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
630	Yparraguirre_Emilía	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Plaza de Mercado		"sds9583"
631	delos Reyes_Apolonia	Casa	Ligeros	Plaza de Mercado		"sds9583"
632	Carmen Angeles	Kiosko	Madera y Hierro	Plaza de Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
633	Carmen Angeles	Kiosko	Mamposteria y Hierro	Plaza de Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
634	Juliana Mauricio	Casa	Fuertes	Plaza de Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
635	Avelma Ayllon	Casa	Madera	Plaza de San	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
636	Raimunda Flores	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Plaza de Sta Ana	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
637	Maria Trinidad	Casita	Ligeros	Plaza de Tondo		"sds9564"
638	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Plaza Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
639	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Plaza Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
640	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Plaza Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
641	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Plaza Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
642	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Plaza Miranda	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
643	Petra de Leon	casa	Fuertes	Principe		"sds9565"
644	Petra de Leon	Camarin and 4 Accesorias	Ligeros	Principe		"sds9565"
645	Romana Manalac	Casa	Fuertes	Principe		"sds9565"
646	Vicenta Hernandez	Camarin	Fuertes	Principe y lavezares	BINONDO	"sds9565"
647	Maria Ubaldo	5 Accesorias	Fuertes	puralelsia las de longos		"sds9565"
648	Josefa Zozaya	Casa	Cal y Canto	Quiapo	MALATE	"sds9579quiapo"
649	Ursula Rosales	Casa	Fuertes	Quintos	MALATE	"sds9579quiapo"
650	Simplicia Miguel	Casa	Fuertes y Hierro	Real	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
651	Macaria de la Cruz	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Real	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
652	Narsiza Vasquez	Casa	Nipa y Tabla	Real	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
653	Honorata Ochoa	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Real	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
654	Guintina Angeles	Casa	Mamposteria	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9584"
655	Pantaleona Alonso	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Real	MANDALUYONG	"sds9584"
656	Sor Tibucia Aynes	Casa	Fuertes	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
657	Juana Bunagan	Casa	Madera, Piedra y Hierro	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
658	Cirila Cruz Villareal	Casa	Madera, Hierro y Piedra	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"

659	Manuel Franco	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
660	Genovela Faustino	Camarin	Zinc y Cana	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
661	Paula Figuena	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
662	Regina Gonzales	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
663	Benedicta Javier	Casa	Piedra y Madera	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
664	Teresa Morello	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
665	Teresa Morello	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
666	Ygnacia Olave	Casa	Ligeros	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
667	Paz Eugenia Salvador	Casa	Madera, Piedra y Hierro	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
668	Paz Eugenia Salvador	Camarin	Madera, Piedra, Hierro y Teja	Real	ERMITA	"sds9584"
669	Concepcion Sarmiento	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
670	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
671	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
672	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
673	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
674	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
675	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
676	Concepcion Sarmiento	Accesoria	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
677	Antonia Sarlabus	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
678	Magdalena Senoran	Camarin	Mamposteria	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
679	Vicenta Torres	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
680	Bernarda Yalon	Accesoria	Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
681	Bernarda Yalon	Accesoria	Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
682	Bernarda Yalon	Accesoria	Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
683	Felipe Zamora	Casa	Fuertes	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
684	Rita del Valle	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
685	Josefa de la Cruz	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Real	PACO	"sds9584"
686	Ayllose_Avelina	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Real	PACO	"sds9583"
687	Arriola_Placida	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Real	PACO	"sds9583"
688	Coria_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
689	Lopetedi_Petra	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
690	Natividad_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
691	Ruiz_Juana	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
692	Ramirez_Corinta	Casa	Tabla y Hierro	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
693	Silvestre_Felipa	Casa	Mamposteria	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
694	San Diego_Ysabella	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
695	Castilla_Dolores	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
696	Acuesta_Telesfora	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
697	Benites_Juanita	Casa	Ligeros	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"

698	Concepcion Petrana	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
699	Francisco_Gerarda	Casa	Ligeros	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
700	Ruis L. Josefa	Casa	Ligeros	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
701	Angeles_Quintina	Casa	Mamposteria	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
702	Alonzo_Pantaleona	Casa	Ligeros	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
703	Bunagan_Juana	Casa	Fuertes	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
704	Maria Carlos	Pensiones	Madera y Hierro	Real	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
705	Abad_Ramona	Casa	Fuertes	Real (Ermita)	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
706	Catalia Gabriela	Casa	Madera y Nipa	Real (San Antonio)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
707	Catalina Oida Santiago	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Real (San Roque)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
708	Buenaventurada Oidialio	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Madera	Real (Sta Clara)	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
709	Maria Bernardo	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Real de Namayan		"sds9584"
710	Engracia Flores	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Real de San Rafael	ERMITA	"sds9579quiapo"
711	Engracia Flores	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Real de San Rafael	ERMITA	"sds9579quiapo"
712	Gorgonia Raymundo	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Real del pueblo	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
713	Gorgonia Raymundo	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Real del pueblo	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
714	Ypannaguirre_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Real y Malate	MALATE	"sds9583"
715	Ypannaguirre_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Real y Malate	MALATE	"sds9583"
716	Luna_Bibiana	Casa	Ligeros	Real y San Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9583"
717	Francisca Reyes	Casa	Fuertes	Reten	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
718	Eulidia Zunig	N	Cana y Nipa	Reten	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
719	Joquina Ortiz	Casita	Ligeros	Rio Segudo		"sds9564"
720	Maria Soledad	Casa	Ligeros	Rosario	BINONDO	"sds9565"
721	Eugenia Lichauco	Casa	Ligeros	Rosario	BINONDO	"sds9565"
722	Juliana Mauricio	Casa with 2 Tiendas de Bajo	Mamposteria	Rosario	BINONDO	"sds9565"
723	Tiburcia Ortiz	Casa	Mamposteria	Rosario	BINONDO	"sds9565"
724	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	Rosario	BINONDO	"sds9565"
725	Liceria Taylo	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Rueda (Sta Clara)	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
726	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa	Fuertes	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
727	Juliana Mauricio	Casa (2 Puertas)	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
728	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion (2 Puertas)	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
729	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
730	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
731	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
732	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion (2 Puertas)	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
733	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
734	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
735	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
736	Juliana Mauricio	Posesion	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"

737	Tiburcia Ortiz	Casa and Accesorias	Fuertes	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
738	Raymunda Reyes	Accesorias (3 Puertas)	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
739	Vicenta Reyes	Accesorias	Mamposteria	s Fernando	BINONDO	"sds9565"
740	Ciriaca Covambo	Posesion	Mamposteria	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
741	Ygnacia Eusebio	Camarin	Mamposteria	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
742	Manuela Geronimo	Casa with 5 Accesorias	Mamposteria	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
743	Emilia Yparraguirre	Accesorias	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
744	Emilia Yparraguirre	Accesorias	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
745	Emilia Yparraguirre	Accesorias	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
746	Ma. Concepcion Leyva	Camarin	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
747	Ma. Concepcion Leyva	Camarin	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
748	Julita Lichauco	Casa	Fuertes	s jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
749	Concepcion Estevan	3 Accesorias	Mamposteria	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
750	Concepcion Estevan	3 Accesorias	Mamposteria	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
751	Potenciana Goquico	Casa	Mamposteria	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
752	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa	Fuertes	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
753	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa	Fuertes	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
754	Victoria Lim	Casa	Fuertes	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
755	Juana Ocampo	Camarin (3 Puertas)	Fuertes	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
756	Juana Ocampo	Media Agua (3 Puertas)	Fuertes	s Nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
757	Petra Orive	Camarin	Fuertes	s nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
758	Benita y Benigna Orive	Camarin	Fuertes	s nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
759	Catalina Quijano	Casa	Fuertes	s nicolas	BINONDO	"sds9565"
760	Maria Diua	Casa	Mamposteria	s. jacinto	BINONDO	"sds9565"
761	Ygnacia Eusebio	Camarin	Mamposteria	sacristia	BINONDO	"sds9565"
762	Luciana Limquinco	Casa	Mamposteria	sacristia	BINONDO	"sds9565"
763	Juliana Mauricio	Casa (3 Puertas)	Mamposteria	sacristia	BINONDO	"sds9565"
764	Catachina Ramirez	2 Posesiones	Fuertes	Sagunto		"sds9564"
765	Tuazon_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	Salazar	BINONDO	"sds9561"
766	Alma Jose_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	Salmará	BINONDO	"sds9561"
767	Eusebia dela Cruz	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	San Anton	BINONDO	"sds9583"
768	Salvadora Ocampo	Casa	Hierro, Madera y Piedra	San Anton	BINONDO	"sds9583"
769	Lazara_Pantalcona	Casa	Ligeros	San Anton		"sds9583"
770	Alma Jose_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	San Anton		"sds9561"
771	Bonifacia Cueto	Casa	Madera, cana y nipa	San Antonio		"sds9584"
772	Juliana Jose	Casa	Madera y nipa	San Antonio		"sds9584"
773	Armiola_Florentina	Casita	Ligeros	San Antonio	SAMPALOC	"sds9583"
774	Luisa Lichauco	Casa	Fuertes	San Fernando	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
775	Luisa Lichauco	2 Pensiones	Fuertes	San Fernando	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"

776	Eugenia Lichaoco	Casa	Fuertes	San Francisco	SAMPALOC	"sds9584"
777	Ciriaca Santos	Casa	Canas, Nipa y Madera	San Francisco	SAMPALOC	"sds9584"
778	Ynes Seminiano	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	San Francisco	SAMPALOC	"sds9584"
779	Julia Conding	Casa	Mamposteria y Hierro	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
780	Guintino Pablo	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Hierro	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
781	Pelagia Velasques	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Hierro	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
782	Julia Conding	Casa and 2 Accesorias	Mamposteria	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9563"
783	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9563"
784	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9563"
785	Pelagia Velasquez	Casa	Mamposteria	San Geronimo	INTRAMUROS	"sds9563"
786	Ciriaca Anseco	Casa	fuertes	san jose		"sds9565"
787	Evangelina Ygbson	Casa and Camarin	Fuertes y ligeros	San Jose	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
788	Ysidra Serafin	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
789	Bunca Ynocencio	Casa	Fuertes y ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
790	Tranquilina Sabson	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
791	Victoria Tuazon	Camarin	Hierro y Teja	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
792	Bria Ynocencio	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Piedra	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
793	Sotera Ramos	Casa	Cana y Nipa	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9584"
794	Damasa Serrano	Casa	Cana y Nipa	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9584"
795	Atayde_Andrea	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
796	Atayde_Andrea	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
797	Petra_Luisa	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
798	Rosales_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
799	Bartolome_Gregoria	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
800	AraneLa_Anrede	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
801	Alonzo_Juliana	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
802	Cojito_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
803	Cojito_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
804	Dargua_Eulagia	Camarin	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
805	Juan_Ferera	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
806	Juan_Ferera	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
807	Leyba_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
808	Leyba_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
809	Leyba_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
810	Leyba_Concepcion	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
811	Litoughuia_Docita	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
812	Manosca_Rosalia	Casita	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
813	Monroy_Cecila	Casita	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
814	Miguel_Estefania	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"

815	Revilla_Teodora	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
816	Revilla_Teodora	2 Accesorias	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
817	Revilla_Teodora	3 Accesorias	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
818	Revilla_Teodora	4 Accesorias	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
819	Revilla_Teodora	3 Accesorias	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
820	Revilla_Teodora	4 Accesorias	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
821	Revilla_Teodora	Camarin	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
822	Santisteban_Antonia	Casita	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
823	Tuazon_Cirila	Casita	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
824	Tuazon_Cirila	Casita	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
825	Urota_Clemencia	Casa	Fuertes	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
826	Urbano_Juana	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
827	Villareal_Leonora	Casita	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9561"
828	Petra_Luisa	Casa	Ligeros	San Jose	BINONDO	"sds9583"
829	Buenaventura Ylos	Casa	Ligeros	San Lazaro	BINONDO	"sds9584"
830	Bautista_Estefania	Casa	Cana y Madera	San Luis	BINONDO	"sds9583"
831	Encarnacion Felipa	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	BINONDO	"sds9583"
832	Pereyra_Enriqueta	Casa	Mamposteria	San Luis	STA. CRUZ	"sds9583"
833	Penabella Domingo	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
834	Panabella Domingo	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
835	Penabella Domingo	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
836	Rosales_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
837	Rivera_Pautaleona	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
838	Rivera_Pautaleona	Casa	Madera y Hierro	San Luis	ERMITA	"sds9583"
839	Maria Antonio	Casa	Tabla y Nipa	San Marcelino	ERMITA	"sds9584"
840	Facunda Oliverzua	Casa	Madera, Cana, Nipa y Lata	San Marcelino	ERMITA	"sds9584"
841	Apolinaria Reyes	Casa	Maderay Hierro	San Marcelino	ERMITA	"sds9584"
842	Micaela Gonzales	Casa	Hierro, Tabla y Piedra	San Marcelino	PACO	"sds9584"
843	Ocampo_Salvadora	Casa	Fuertes	San Marcelino	PACO	"sds9583"
844	Angela Roxas	Pensiones	Mamposteria	San Miguel	PACO	"sds9584"
845	Maria Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	San Miguel	PACO	"sds9584"
846	del Rosario_Maria	Casa	Fuertes	San Miguel		"sds9561"
847	Catalina Antonio	Casa	Fuertes y ligeros	San Nicolas	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
848	Josefa Bartolome	Casa	Mamposteria	San Nicolas	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
849	Ysidora Cruz	Casa	Fuertes y ligeros	San Nicolas	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
850	Catalina Antonio	Casa	Madera, Cana y Piedra	San Nicolas	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
851	Josefa Bartolome	Casa	Mamposteria	San Nicolas	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
852	Anaclea del Rosa	Casa	Fuertes	San Pedro	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
853	Brigida Alonzo	3 Camarin	Mamposteria	San Pedro	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9563"

854	los sindicatos de Maria Padilla	Casa	Fuertes	San Pedro	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9563"
855	Enrica Facata	Casa	Cal y Canto	San Rafael		"sds9584"
856	Silvestre_Felipa	Casa	Ligeros	San Rafael		"sds9583"
857	Juatu_Enrica	N	Cal y Canto	San Rafael		"sds9561"
858	Candelaria Alonzo	Casa	Fuertes	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
859	Maria Yia	Teatro	Madera y Hierro	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
860	Candelaria Alonzo	Casa	Fuertes	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
861	Andrea Mareial	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
862	Mareial_Andrea	Casa	Ligeros	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
863	de los Santos_Silvestra	Casa	Ligeros	San Roque	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
864	Lucia A. Benedicto	Casa	Mamposteria y teja	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
865	Natalia Plasal de Rosell	Casa	Piedrya y Madera	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
866	Maxima Veyra	2 Accesorias	Mamposteria y Teja	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
867	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
868	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
869	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
870	Matilde Reyes	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
871	Paz Salvador	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
872	Mamuela Zaragoza	Casa	Mamposteria	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
873	Lucia Benedicto	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
874	Natalia de Casal de R.	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
875	Maxima Negra	2 Accesorias	Mamposteria	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
876	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
877	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
878	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
879	los sindicatos de Maria Padilla	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
880	los sindicatos de Maria Padilla	Casa	Fuertes	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
881	Ca. Tuazon	Casa	Mamposteria	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
882	Nanuela Zaragoza	Casa	Mamposteria	San Sebastian	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
883	Benita Garcia	Casita	Madera y Hierro	Sanchez Barcastigue	QUIAPO	"sds9584"
884	Selvestra Flores	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Santa Meza	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
885	Marcosa Agustin	Casita	Ligeros	Santa Monica	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
886	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, Madera y Teja	Santa Rosa		"sds9579quiapo"
887	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, madera y Teja	Santa Rosa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
888	Juliana Mauricio v.d de Alberto	Casa	Mamposteria, madera y Teja	Santa Rosa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
889	Florentina Noguiera	2 casas	Mamposteria y Hierro	Santa Rosa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
890	Cridorica Ocampo	Casa	Fuertes	Santa Rosa		"sds9579quiapo"
891	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	Santa Rosa	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
892	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	Santa Rosa	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"

893	Puliana Molina	Camarin	Piedra y Hierro	Santa Rosa	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
894	Simona Bautista	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
895	Maria Blanco	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Madera	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
896	Genovela Faustino	Casa	Tabla, Cana y Nipa	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
897	Alejandra San Jose	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
898	Bernarda Yalon	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Tabla	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9584"
899	Blanco_Maria	Casa	Ligeros	Santiago	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9583"
900	Ysabel Dimasdan	Casa	Mamposteria	Santolan	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
901	Baldomera Santos	Casa	Fuertes y Ligeros	Santolan	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
902	Narcisa V	Casa	Ligeros	Santolan	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
903	Ysabel Dimandan	Casa	Mamposteria	Santolan	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
904	Paula Goyapeo	Casa	Tabla, Piedra y Nipa	Santolan	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9579quiapo"
905	Antera Megia	Casa	Tabla, Piedra y Teja	Santolan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
906	Baldomera Santos	Casa	Tabla, Piedra y Nipa	Santolan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
907	Narzisa Victorino	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Santolan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
908	Ysidra Yampin	Casa	Hierro	Santolan	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
909	Tomasa Ramirez	Casa	Piedra, Madera y Hierro	sevilla	TONDO	"sds9565"
910	Tomasa Ramirez	Casa	Madera y Hierro	sevilla	TONDO	"sds9565"
911	Dolores Gomez	Casa	Fuertes	sevilla	BINONDO	"sds9565"
912	Maria Perez	Casa	Ligeros	sin nombre	BINONDO	"sds9564"
913	Juana Villanueva	Casita	Ligeros	soledad	BINONDO	"sds9565"
914	Rufina Aurelio	Casita	Ligeros	soledad	BINONDO	"sds9565"
915	Piervita Gotengco	Camarin	Madera y Piedra	Soledad	BINONDO	"sds9564"
916	Ysabel Melgarejo	Casa	Fuertes	Soledad	BINONDO	"sds9564"
917	Catalina Silvestra	Casa	Fuertes	Soledad	BINONDO	"sds9564"
918	Maria Bernardo	Casa	Fuertes	Soledad	BINONDO	"sds9564"
919	Damazig_Anabresia	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Soler	BINONDO	"sds9561"
920	Dujua_Mariana	Alapuhér	Cana y Hierro	Soler	BINONDO	"sds9561"
921	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
922	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
923	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
924	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
925	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
926	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
927	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
928	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
929	Leyba_Concepcion	Accesoria	Fuertes	Soler	PASIG	"sds9561"
930	Mauricio_Juliana	Casita	Mamposteria	Soler	BINONDO	"sds9561"
931	Mauricio_Juliana	Casita	Mamposteria	Soler	BINONDO	"sds9561"

932	Teodorica de Ocampo	Casa	Fuertes	Sta Ana	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
933	Avelina Ayllon	Casa	Mamposteria	Sta Ana	BINONDO	"sds9563"
934	Raymunda Flores	Casa	Fuertes	Sta Ana	TONDO	"sds9563"
935	Ysidra Aragon	Camarin	Cana, Nipa y Piedra	Sta Clara	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
936	Crismira Vita Changco	Camarin	Fuertes	Sta Elena	TONDO	"sds9564"
937	Candelaria Palacio	Casa	Mamposteria	Sta Maria	TONDO	"sds9584"
938	Apolonia Ventura	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Sta Maria	TONDO	"sds9584"
939	Juliana Diaz	Casa	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Sta Maria	TONDO	"sds9584"
940	Juana Basa	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Sta Mesa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
941	Fabiana Domingo	Camarin	Cana y Nipa	Sta Mesa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
942	Ercolastica Blanco	Casa	Madera, Hierro y Piedra	Sta Mesa	SANTA MESA	"sds9579quiapo"
943	Mariana de Jesus	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Sta Monica		"sds9564"
944	Prisca Salcedo	Casa	Ligeros	Sta Monica		"sds9564"
945	Florentina Noguerra	Casa	Mamposteria	Sta Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
946	Martina Paterno	Casa	Fuertes	Sta Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
947	Eustaquia Baltazar	Camarin	Cana, Nipa y Madera	Sta. Mesa	ERMITA	"sds9583"
948	Juana Basa	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Sta. Mesa	ERMITA	"sds9583"
949	Juliana Mauricio	Casita	Mamposteria	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
950	Juliana Mauricio	Casita	Fuertes	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
951	Juliana Mauricio	Casita	Fuertes	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
952	Teodorica Ocampo	Casa	Fuertes	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
953	Teodorica Ocampo	Casa	Fuertes	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
954	Martina Paterno	Accesoria	Fuertes	Sta. Rosa	ERMITA	"sds9563"
955	Vicenta Reyes	Casa	Mamposteria	sto cristo	STA ANA	"sds9565"
956	Vicenta Reyes	Accesoria	Mamposteria	sto cristo	SAMPALOC	"sds9565"
957	Balbosa Santiago	Casa	Fuertes	Sto Cristo	TONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
958	Ciriaca Covambo	Casa	Mamposteria	sto. Cristo	TONDO	"sds9565"
959	Ciriaca Covambo	Posesion	Mamposteria	sto. Cristo	TONDO	"sds9565"
960	Ygnacia Eusebio	Camarin	Mamposteria	sto. Cristo	TONDO	"sds9565"
961	Ygnacia Eusebio	Camarin	Mamposteria	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
962	Manuela Gonzales	Posesiones	Mamposteria	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
963	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa	Fuertes	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
964	Emilia Yparraguirre	Casa and Camarin Interior	Fuertes	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
965	Mira Gavina	Casa	Fuertes	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
966	Luciana Monroy	Casa	Fuertes	sto. Cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
967	Raymunda Reyes	Camarin	Mamposteria	sto. cristo	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
968	Maria Lopez	Casa	Tabla, Nipa y Cercos de Piedra	Sulucan	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
969	Leonarda Espiritu	Casa	Hierro	Tanduay	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
970	Catalina de Guzman	Casa		Tanduay	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"

971	Cornelia Laochanco	Casa		Tanduay	SAMPALOC	"sds9579quiapo"
972	Maria Liprim	Camarin	Cana y Hierro	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
973	Ca. Ynchausty	Casa	Cal y Canto	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
974	Ca. Ynchausty	Casa	Fuertes	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
975	Ca. Ynchausty	Camarin	Fuertes	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
976	Maria Lupin	Pensiones	Cana y Hierro	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
977	Remigia Salamanca	Casa	Fuertes	Tanduay	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
978	Jacinta Cecilio	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Tanque	QUIAPO	"sds9584"
979	Albarado_Petrona	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Taron	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
980	Santender Severa	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Taron	QUIAPO	"sds9583"
981	Ysabel Saide	Media Agua	Fuertes	Tayuman	PACO	"sds9563"
982	Natalia Santiago	Casa	Fuertes	Tayuman	PACO	"sds9579quiapo"
983	Maria Lauengco	Casa	Fuertes	Soler		"sds9565"
984	Ygnacia Olave	Accesoria	Fuertes	Tribunal	TONDO	"sds9584"
985	Ygnacia Olave	Accesoria	Fuertes	Tribunal	TONDO	"sds9584"
986	Ygnacia Olave	Accesoria	Fuertes	Tribunal	TONDO	"sds9584"
987	Antonina Algarte	Casa	Fuertes	Tribunal	TONDO	"sds9584"
988	Apolonia Fransisco	Casa	Fuertes	Tunibia	TONDO	"sds9564"
989	Filomena Cuisumbing	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Tutuban	TONDO	"sds9565"
990	Juan Valera	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Ulilang Kawayan	TONDO	"sds9584"
991	Fransisca Albarez	Casa	Cana, Nipa y Tabla	Ulilang Kawayan	TONDO	"sds9584"
992	Fransisca Albarez	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Ulilang Kawayan	TONDO	"sds9584"
993	Albarez_Francisca	Casa	Ligeros	Ulilang Kawayan	PACO	"sds9583"
994	Ygnacio_Felizarda	Casa	Ligeros	Uli-Uli	PACO	"sds9561"
995	Lucina Ordonez	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Urbina	PACO	"sds9579quiapo"
996	Cipriana Evangelista	Casa	Madera y Hierro	Vergara	PACO	"sds9579quiapo"
997	Maria Diaz	Casa	Piedra, Tabla y Hierro	Vergara	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9579quiapo"
998	Crisanta Manajan	Casa	Madera	Vergara	SAN MIGUEL	"sds9579quiapo"
999	Crisanta Manajan	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Vergara	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
1000	Cipriana Evangelista	Casa	Fuertes	Vergara	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
1001	Maria Yia	Casa	Fuertes	Vergara	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
1002	Carmin Natividad	Casa	Fuertes	Vergara	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
1003	Marcelina Guidote	Casa	Mamposteria	Villalobos	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
1004	Josefa Zozaya	2 Pensiones	Hierro	Villalobos	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
1005	Marcelina Guidote	Casa with Accesorias	Mamposteria	Villalobos	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
1006	Josefa Zozaya	2 Posesiones	Fuertes	Villalobos	QUIAPO	"sds9563"
1007	Eladea P	Casa	Fuertes	Voria	QUIAPO	"sds9579quiapo"
1008	Clara Lichaoco	3 Media Aguas	Fuertes	ylang ylang	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
1009	Ysabel Pantano	Casa	Fuertes	ylang ylang	QUIAPO	"sds9565"

1010	Raymunda Reyes	Accesorio (4 Puertas)	Mamposteria	ylang ylang	QUIAPO	"sds9565"
1011	Vicenta Reyes	Accesorias	Mamposteria	ylang ylang	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
1012	Pelagia Velasquez	Casa	Mamposteria	Ylaya	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
1013	Alejandra Villareal	Casa	Tabla, Hierro y Cana	Ylaya	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
1014	Alejandra Villareal	Casa	Cana y Lata	Ylaya	SAN NICOLAS	"sds9565"
1015	Remigia Andres	2 casas	Techo y Lata	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9565"
1016	Sista Catalan	3 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1017	Paulina Castaneda	Camarin	Madera, Cana y Nipa	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1018	Placida Cabrera	Casa	Fuertes	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1019	Placida Cabrera	Camarin	Ligeros	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1020	Monica Daridan	Casita	Ligeros	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1021	Vecianina Escoto	Casa	Madera, Cana y Hierro	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1022	Juana Marquez	Casa	Fuertes	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1023	Maria Maquibo	Casa	Ligeros	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1024	Apolonia Medina	Casa	Fuertes	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1025	Juana Magat	Casa	Ligeros	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1026	Faustina Nolasco	Casa	Fuertes	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1027	Flordelina Ocampo	3 Posesiones	Mamposteria	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1028	Dolores Policarpio	Casa	Cana y Lata	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1029	Luisa Reyes	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1030	Tomasa Supangco	Casa	Mamposteria	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1031	Luisa Trinidad	Casa	Ligeros	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1032	Regina Tuazon	Casa	Fuertes	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9564"
1033	Casimira Antonio	Casa	Madera y Cana	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1034	Soledad Aguirre	Casa	Mamposteria	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1035	Angela de los Angeles	Casa	Mamposteria	Ylaya	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1036	Ana Ker y Conde	N	N	Yntramuros	BINONDO	"sds9583"
1037	Maria Texon	N	N	Yntramuros	BINONDO	"sds9583"
1038	Maria Carlos	Casita	Cana y Hierro	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1039	Valentina Capigal	Casa	Pidera, Madera, Hierro y Teja	Yris	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
1040	Victorina Gomez	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Yris	INTRAMUROS	"sds9579quiapo"
1041	Vicenta Hernandez	Casa		Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1042	Vicenta Hernandez	Casa		Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1043	Vicenta Hernandez	Casa		Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1044	Vicenta Hernandez	Casa		Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1045	Vicenta Hernandez	Casa		Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1046	Trinidad Mernife	Casa	Hierro y Nipa	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1047	Teresa Morello	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1048	Teresa Morello	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"

1049	Micaela O. Arechavala	Casa	Hierro	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1050	Sabina de Mercus	Casa	Hierro	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9579quiapo"
1051	Victoriana Gomez	Casa	Cana y Nipa	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1052	Vicenta Remiendez	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1053	Vicenta Remiendez	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1054	Vicenta Remiendez	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1055	Vicenta Remiendez	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1056	Vicenta Remiendez	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1057	Trinidad Monije	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1058	Tareda Morello	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1059	Paula del Rosario	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1060	Micaela Arechava	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1061	Sabina Pineda de Lorens	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1062	Fransisco Sainz	Casa	Fuertes	Yris	BINONDO	"sds9563"
1063	Flores_Petrona	Casa	Ligeros	Ysaac Peral	BINONDO	"sds9583"
1064	Paglalo_Julia	Casa	Ligeros	Ysaac Peral	BINONDO	"sds9583"
1065	Gonzales_Dolores	Casa	Ligeros	Ysaac Peral	BINONDO	"sds9583"
1066	Maria Faustino	Casa	Fuertes	Salazar	ERMITA	"sds9561"
1067	Maria Faustino	Casa	Cal y Canto	Salazar	ERMITA	"sds9561"
1068	Maria Faustino	Camarin	Fuertes	Salazar	ERMITA	"sds9561"
1069	Vicenta Cojuatco	Camarin	Madera y Hierro	Zapa		"sds9565"
1070	Ciriaca David	Camarin	Mamposteria	Zapa		"sds9564"
1071	Elaviana Herrera	Casa	Mamposteria	Zapa		"sds9564"
1072	Apolonia Fransisco	Casa	Fuertes	Zaragoza		"sds9564"

Appendix 15. Publicly Announced Cases Involving Women as Plaintiff or Defendant, 1860-1896.
NAP, *Gaceta de Manila*.

NO.	YR	MO.	DAY	PAGE	COURT	CASE	PLAINTIFF	DEFENDANT
1	1862	Feb	4	4	Quiapo	x	N/A	Brigida
2	1862	Feb	4	4	Unknown	x	Don H.J. Layquen	Don Pedro Velarde and Doña Maximina Arcon
3	1868	Jan	11	7	Manila	maltreatment	Juan Orendain	N/A
4	1868	Jan	18	7	Unknown	theft	Maximo Cristoval and Ana Vergara	Macario Navarro and company
5	1868	Jan	18	7	Unknown	theft	(Not Specified)	Maximo Borromeo
6	1868	Jan	20	3	Unknown	theft	N/A	Potenciana Morales e Ignacio de Luna
7	1868	Feb	4	8	Unknown	rape	N/A	Agustina Crisostomo
8	1868	Feb	5	7	Manila	theft	N/A	Agaton Paderes Cruz
9	1868	Feb	6	7	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Isabel de Guzman
10	1868	Feb	19	7	San Jose	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
11	1868	Feb	24	4	San Jose	x	(Not Specified)	Doña Regina Gimenez
12	1868	Feb	24	4	San Jose	injuries	N/A	Gaspar Baltazar
13	1868	Mar	1	7	Quiapo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
14	1868	Mar	31	5	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Tomasa Esguerra
15	1868	Apr	2	4	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Hipolita de los Santos
16	1868	Apr	3	7	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Pedro Benitez
17	1868	Apr	18	6	Binondo	forced entry	Doña Alfonza Rivera	Adriano Espinosa & 5 unspecified others.
18	1868	April	25	6	Binondo	disrespect	(Not Specified)	Doña Sinforesa Sanchez de Leon
19	1868	Apr	26	7	Manila	theft	Mariano Castro & Maxima	(Not Specified)
20	1868	Apr	30	7	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Ancieto Inza
21	1868	May	14	3	Quiapo	injuries	Ong-Pangco	Margarita Reyes
22	1868	May	17	5	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
23	1868	May	26	6	Manila	estafa	N/A	Don Tranquilino Mijares
24	1868	Jun	6	5	Tondo	slander	N/A	Damasa Capitulo
25	1868	Jun	13	5	Manila	theft	N/A	N/A
26	1868	Jun	21	7	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Eusebia de la Cruz

27	1868	Jun	24	7	Manila	bribery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
28	1868	Jun	27	7	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
29	1868	Jun	27	7	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Marcela Arquiza
30	1868	Jul	3	24	Binondo	bribery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
31	1868	Jul	11	83	Quiapo	weapons	(Not Specified)	Rosalio Flores
32	1868	Jul	12	90	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Mariano Celemin
33	1868	Jul	17	126	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
34	1868	Jul	18	134	Quiapo	kidnapping	Doña Clemencia Oreta	Benito Raymundo
35	1868	Jul	18	134	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Maria Eulalia Villalon
36	1868	Jul	30	219	Manila	falsification	(Not Specified)	Ignacia Arginia and Nicario Alday
37	1868	Aug	8	288	Binondo	robbery	Maria Peñuero	(Not Specified)
38	1868	Aug	11	306	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Doña Josefa Sanchez
39	1868	Aug	13	324	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
40	1868	Aug	19	362	Manila	illegal products	(Not Specified)	Caunta de los Reyes
41	1868	Sept	2	475	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
42	1868	Sept	2	476	Manila	fake money	(Not Specified)	Juana Angel and Modesto de Mesa
43	1868	Sept	2	476	Manila	assault	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
44	1868	Sept	11	539	Binondo	theft	Doña Regina Gimenez	Julian Natividad
45	1868	Sept	18	591	Manila	attempted murder	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
46	1868	Sept	24	632	Tondo	weapons	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
47	1868	Sept	24	632	Tondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Matea Valdez
48	1868	Sept	25	641	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
49	1868	Sept	26	651	Manila	assault	(Not Specified)	Remigio Tangan and Others
50	1868	Sept	29	671	Tondo	attempted murder	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
51	1868	Oct	3	703	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Mariano Alverto
52	1868	Oct	3	703	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Domingo Lerma
53	1868	Oct	7	732	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
54	1868	Oct	10	755	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Don Sebastian Castro
55	1868	Oct	16	792	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Alvaro Alcantara
56	1868	Oct	17	796	Manila	theft	Nasaria Rogas	(Not Specified)

57	1868	Oct	17	796	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
58	1868	Oct	20	819	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Vicnete de la Cruz
59	1868	Oct	22	834	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
60	1868	Oct	22	834	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
61	1868	Oct	24	850	Manila	x	Don Miguel Sanchez	Doña Clemencia Crisostomo
62	1868	Oct	27	872	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
63	1868	Oct	28	879	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Pantaleona Carrion
64	1868	Oct	28	879	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Roberto de la Cruz
65	1868	Oct	29	885	Tondo	fake money	(Not Specified)	Eulalia Li-Tunjpa and 3 men
66	1868	Oct	31	901	Tondo	forced entry	(Not Specified)	Ong-Changco
67	1868	Nov	3	920	Binondo	use of weapon	(Not Specified)	Co-Chitco and others
68	1868	Nov	8	959	Manila	cattle-rustling	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
69	1868	Nov	8	959	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
70	1868	Nov	11	976	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Vicente Eusebio
71	1868	Nov	14	987	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
72	1868	Nov	17	999	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Macaria Lopez
73	1868	Nov	18	1004	Quiapo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Manuel Aquino
74	1868	Nov	19	1008	Tondo	vagrancy	N/A	Luis de la Cruz
75	1868	Nov	19	1009	Tondo	theft	N/A	Macaria Lopez
76	1868	Nov	23	1033	Quiapo	escape	(Not Specified)	Petronila de la Cruz
77	1868	Nov	27	1065	Manila	illegal gambling	(Not Specified)	Doña Josefa Sanchez
78	1868	Dec	4	1113	Tondo	rape	Flaviana Laderas	Leon Sepulvida
79	1868	Dec	4	1113	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Vicenta Safra
80	1868	Dec	5	1120	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
81	1868	Dec	6	1128	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
82	1868	Dec	9	1146	Manila	rape	Anaclea Rojas	Benito Garcia
83	1869	Jan	12	76	Manila	estafa	Laureana Fernandez	Cirila Galvez
84	1869	Jan	13	83	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
85	1869	Jan	13	83	Manila	falsification	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
86	1869	Jan	15	99	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Liverata de la Cruz and Matea Salandacan

87	1869	Jan	22	148	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Faustino Andaya and Faustina
88	1869	Jan	22	148	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
89	1869	Jan	24	163	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
90	1869	Jan	27	183	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
91	1869	Jan	29	200	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
92	1869	Jan	30	207	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
93	1869	Feb	11	288	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Sebastian
94	1869	Feb	20	356	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
95	1869	Feb	26	400	Tondo	theft	N/A	Damasa Perez
96	1869	Mar	13	509	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Silvestre Ibañez
97	1869	Mar	17	537	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
98	1869	Apr	7	664	San Jose	x	N/A	N/A
99	1869	Apr	9	680	Quiapo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Don Luis Ortiz
100	1869	Apr	10	687	Tondo	x	N/A	N/A
101	1869	Apr	13	708	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Faustino Andaya and Veronica
102	1869	Apr	21	767	San Jose	x	(Not Specified)	Antonia Torres, Chua-Quico, Co-Quico, Sy-Siengco and Chua-Sico
103	1869	Apr	23	783	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Feliciano Clemente, Domingo de los Santos and Palcida
104	1869	Apr	24	789	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Eugenio Zabala
105	1869	Apr	24	789	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
106	1869	Apr	25	798	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Martin Gonzalez
107	1869	Apr	30	834	San Jose	injuries	(Not Specified)	Estevan Nepomuceno
108	1871	Feb	8	275	Quiapo	murder	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
109	1871	Feb	9	283	Manila	use of weapon	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
110	1871	Feb	12	298	Intramuros	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
111	1871	Feb	16	323	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Benigna Galves
112	1871	Feb	16	323	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Ong Sayco and his fellow accused
113	1871	Feb	18	335	Tondo	x	Don Cayetano Linart	Doña Placida Paulino and daughters Melenciana and Andrea Visconde
114	1871	Feb	19	344	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Anazario Bernardo and others
115	1871	Feb	22	364	Sta. Cruz	estafa	(Not Specified)	Maxima Peregrino
116	1871	Feb	28	399	Manila	ran over	(Not Specified)	Ciriaca Buragay and Norverto Cabral

117	1871	Mar	10	479	Quiapo	x	Don Pedro Regino	Doña Maria Verzosa
118	1871	Mar	12	495	Quiapo	rape	Victorina de la Cruz	Camilio Francisco
119	1871	Mar	14	505	Binondo	disrespect	(Not Specified)	Saturnino Celis
120	1871	Mar	16	522	Intramuros	vagrancy	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
121	1871	Mar	18	538	Tondo	vagrancy	(Not Specified)	Patricio Francisco
122	1871	Mar	25	579	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
123	1871	Apr	1	627	Tondo	escape	(Not Specified)	Juana Alguran and Maria Guilo
124	1871	Apr	16	717	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	Juana Dizon
125	1871	Apr	17	721	Tondo	x	N/A	N/A
126	1871	Apr	23	766	Quiapo	x	Doña Soledad Martinez	(Not Specified)
127	1871	Apr	25	779	Sta. Cruz	rape	Brigida Carballo	Tan Sitco
128	1871	Apr	27	794	Quiapo	theft	Catalina Pavilando	Benigna Galves
129	1871	Apr	27	795	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
130	1871	Apr	29	814	Tondo	illegal detention	Clemencia Saфра	Don Samuel Trinidad and others
131	1871	May	2	830	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
132	1871	May	3	833	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Isabel Lorenzo and others
133	1871	May	9	872	Manila	murder	Benito Silhar (the murdered individual)	Jacinto de la Cruz
134	1871	May	12	898	Sta. Cruz	x	N/A	N/A
135	1871	May	16	925	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Domingo Saracho
136	1871	May	29	1014	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Juan Concepcion
137	1871	May	29	1014	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Benigna Galves
138	1871	Jun	5	1058	Sta. Cruz	adultery	(Not Specified)	Gregoria Bautista and others
139	1871	Jun	9	1086	Sta. Cruz	rape	Doña Tomasa Cuson	Quintin Tiobengco
140	1871	Jun	9	1086	Sta. Cruz	adultery	(Not Specified)	Sotera Francisco
141	1871	Jun	11	1100	Sta. Cruz	rape	(Not Specified)	Quintin Tiobengco and others
142	1871	Jun	17	1144	Quiapo	kidnapping	Juana Alejandra (the kidnapping victim)	Basilio Ventura
143	1871	Jun	17	1145	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Andres Evangelista
144	1871	Jun	21	1173	Intramuros	x	N/A	N/A
145	1871	Jul	15	111	San Jose	theft	(Not Specified)	Olivo Marmol and others
146	1871	Jul	21	155	Sta. Cruz	grave injuries	(Not Specified)	Ventura Rodriguez, Marcelo and Patronillo

147	1871	Jul	21	155	Sta. Cruz	rape	(Not Specified)	Tan Sitco
148	1871	Aug	1	230	Sta. Cruz	illegal collection	Pedro Lopez	Justiniana Dizon
149	1871	Aug	2	239	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Prudencia de los Angeles and Cayetano Nicomedes
150	1871	Aug	25	419	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Isaac de los Santos
151	1871	Aug	27	435	Quiapo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Basilio Ventura
152	1871	Aug	28	440	Quiapo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Don Feliciano Ignacio
153	1871	Sep	3	483	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Alejandra Lopez
154	1871	Sep	12	542	Sta. Cruz	feud	(Not Specified)	Rufina Galila
155	1871	Sep	26	655	Binondo	theft	Regina San Buenaventura	Olvia Marmol and others
156	1871	Sep	30	682-683	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Pablo Dios
157	1871	Oct	1	690	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
158	1871	Oct	5	720	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	Martin Petate Inocencio
159	1871	Oct	7	736	Quiapo	injuries	Maria Asuncion Basilia	Pedro Bergeño
160	1871	Oct	10	756	Quiapo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Pedro de los Reyes
161	1871	Oct	29	878	Binondo	adultery	(Not Specified)	Alejandro Mallari
162	1871	Nov	4	913	Tondo	homicide	(Not Specified)	Don Esteban Nadres
163	1871	Nov	10	958	Manila	fake money	(Not Specified)	Macario de Jesus
164	1871	Nov	15	995	Quiapo	posioning animals	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
165	1871	Nov	15	995	Quiapo	estafa	Doña Tomasa Rueda	Justo Estrella
166	1871	Nov	15	995	Tondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Nicolasa Lipio and others
167	1871	Nov	19	1028	Intramuros	fake money	(Not Specified)	Macario de Jesus
168	1871	Nov	19	1028	Intramuros	theft	Don Marcos Venelino	Magdalena Enriquez and others
169	1871	Nov	24	1062	San Jose	x	(Not Specified)	Jose de la Cruz
170	1871	Nov	24	1062	Tondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Bernabe Contreras and others
171	1871	Nov	26	1079	San Jose	theft	(Not Specified)	Magdalena de Guzman and others
172	1871	Dec	12	1191	Tondo	use of weapon	Juana de los Santos	(Not Specified)
173	1871	Dec	14	1208	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Ambrosia Mariano and Fabiana Villanueva
174	1871	Dec	17	1230	Tondo	robbery	Pantaleona de Olaso	Isabelo Fermin and others
175	1889	Mar	22	490	Sta. Cruz	robbery	(Not Specified)	Josefa Pascual and Policarpio Ramos

176	1889	Mar	25	510	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	Faustino Tudia
177	1889	Mar	30	538	Quiapo	robbery	Agueda Alvares	Lino Herrera
178	1889	Mar	31	542	Manila	x	Doña Rosario Salanoza	Don Antonio Zuñiga
179	1889	Apr	6	586	Binondo	adultery	Paulina Adriano	Marcelino Cordero
180	1889	Apr	9	606	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
181	1889	Apr	9	606	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Clemente Alvaro
182	1889	Apr	9	606	Binondo	theft	Don Segundo Fernandez	Saturnina de la Cruz
183	1889	Apr	9	606	Intramuros	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
184	1889	Apr	14	642	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Gervasio Vargas
185	1889	Apr	14	642	Binondo	robbery	Fulgencia Gregorio	Pio Mesa
186	1889	Apr	26	698	Binondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Jacoba Daniel (a) Mamay
187	1889	May	4	746	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Francisco Gloria
188	1889	May	4	746	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Faustino de la Cruz
189	1889	May	5	754	Binondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
190	1889	May	9	774	Binondo	theft	Policarpia Aquino	Pedro Corpus
191	1889	May	9	774	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Silvestre de la Cruz
192	1889	May	10	802	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
193	1889	May	12	790	Binondo	x	Doña Concepcion Corroles	Don Eulogio Mendoza
194	1889	May	25	878	Binondo	injuries	Augustina Salvador (deceased)	Eulogia Domingo
195	1889	May	25	878	Intramuros	x	Representative of Don Jose Maria Venegas	Doña Francisca Paula Albañil
196	1889	May	26	886	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Ambrosia Fernandez
197	1889	Jun	3	934	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Maxima Inductivo
198	1889	Jun	17	1034	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Felician de la Cruz
199	1889	Jun	20	1054	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Joaquina Magbitang
200	1889	Jun	25	1078	Tondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Agapito Tolentino, Antonia Vazquez o Reyes
201	1889	Jun	26	1086	Binondo	x	Administration Board of Public Works	Doña Luisa Abren, Don Mateo Abren and Don Gregorio Abren
202	1889	Jun	27	1094	Binondo	fake money	(Not Specified)	Silveria de la Cruz
203	1889	Jun	27	1094	Binondo	kidnapping	Vicenta Sanchez (the victim)	Cirilo Principe
204	1889	Jun	29	1102	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Mateo Antonino Felix

205	1889	Jun	30	1106	Tondo	estafa	Doña Carmen Pozuelo (Española Insular and victim)	Tomas de la Vega
206	1889	Jul	2	1118	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Teodora Ramos
207	1889	Jul	2	1118	Binondo	x	Administration Board of Public Works	Doña Dominga Gil y Jurado and (her grandchild) Don Arturo Regado Lopez
208	1889	Jul	5	1142	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Cirilo Principe
209	1889	Jul	12	1174	Binondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
210	1889	Jul	14	1182	Binondo	x	Representative of the Administration Board of Public Works	Doña Luisa Abren, Don Mateo Abren and Don Gregorio Abren
211	1889	Jul	14	1182	Binondo	x	Doña Gualberta de los Reyes	Don Antonio Lechuga
212	1889	Jul	16	1194	Binondo	x	N/A	N/A
213	1889	Jul	20	1226	Binondo	theft	Doña Elena Cabada	Luisa de los Angeles and Vicente Villon
214	1889	Jul	26	1258	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Leon Linda and others
215	1889	Jul	27	1266	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
216	1889	Jul	28	1274	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Sy-Juangco and Chua-Juico
217	1889	Jul	30	1282	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	Lucia Aguiar
218	1889	Aug	2	1306	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Eusebia Torres
219	1889	Aug	2	1306	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Canuto Buencamino
220	1889	Aug	4	1322	Tondo	x	Representative of Don Bernabe Garcia	Dña Josefa Aguirre and Dña Maria Villanueva
221	1889	Aug	4	1322	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Saturnina de la Cruz
222	1889	Aug	6	1334	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
223	1889	Aug	7	1342	Manila	xx	N/A	N/A
224	1889	Aug	9	1358	Manila	feud	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
225	1889	Aug	11	1370	Manila	feud	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
226	1889	Aug	13	1378	Tondo	x	Representative of the executor of Don Jose Perez Garcia	Doña Maria Sagrario Berballa
227	1889	Aug	14	1382	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Maria Faustino
228	1889	Aug	14	1382	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Joaquina Magbitan
229	1889	Aug	15	1386	Tondo	x	Representative of Doña Manuela Vicente Velazquez	Don Narciso Sarza
230	1889	Aug	15	1386	Binondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Jacoba Daniel (a) Mamay
231	1889	Aug	15	1386	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
232	1889	Aug	15	1386	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Francisco Lacsamana
233	1889	Aug	16	1390	Manila	kidnapping	Bonifacia de los Reyes	Pedro Alfonso and others

234	1889	Aug	21	1422	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
235	1889	Aug	22	1430	Quiapo	murder	(Not Specified)	Adriano de la Cruz
236	1889	Aug	22	1430	Tondo	rape	(Not Specified)	Agapito Tolentino
237	1889	Aug	22	1430	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Margarita Fernandez
238	1889	Aug	24	1442	Quiapo	rape	Brigida Cipriano	Cornelio Torra
239	1889	Aug	27	1458	Quiapo	theft	Eugenia Aguilar and Nemesio Melgar	Benedicto Arcangel
240	1889	Aug	27	1458	Binondo	disrespect	(Not Specified)	Doña Rosario Salanova
241	1889	Aug	28	1466	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
242	1889	Aug	28	1466	Tondo	kidnapping	Victorina Aguinaldo	(Not Specified)
243	1889	Aug	29	1474	Binondo	rape	Maria Merced (13 years old)	Salvador Adaña
244	1889	Aug	31	1490	Tondo		(Not Specified)	Ignacio Bagtas
245	1889	Aug	31	1490	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Basilia de los Santos
246	1889	Aug	31	1490	Manila	infidelity	(Not Specified)	Ventura Cabiago
247	1889	Aug	3	1510	Tondo	x	Representative of the executor of Don Jose Perez Garcia	Doña Maria Sagrario Borbolla
248	1889	Sep	6	1534	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
249	1889	Sep	7	1538	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
250	1889	Sep	7	1538	Sta. Cruz	x	Doña Julia Dalmacente	Doña Marcela Custodio
251	1889	Sep	8	1546	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Maria Pineda, Guillermo Tumaog & Basilio Mariñas
252	1889	Sep	10	1558	Tondo	x	Representative of Don Bernabe Garcia	Dña Josefa Aguirre and Dña Maria Villanueva
253	1889	Sep	11	1566	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
254	1889	Sep	11	1566	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Saturnino Macalmele
255	1889	Sep	12	1570	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Jose Alvarez and others
256	1889	Sep	12	1570	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
257	1889	Sep	13	1574	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Juliana Santos and Pascual Magajas (couple)
258	1889	Sep	14	1578	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Antonia Bartolome and others
259	1889	Sep	15	1582	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Brigido de la Cruz
260	1889	Sep	15	1582	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
261	1889	Sep	17	1590	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
262	1889	Sep	18	1594	Binondo		(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)

263	1889	Sep	21	1610	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Buenaventura Filipinas
264	1889	Sep	24	1619	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Ramona Gonzalez
265	1889	Sep	26	1627	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Basilia Victoria, Catalina Soriano & Hilaria Soriano
266	1889	Sep	28	1635	Quiapo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Prudencio de los Santos
267	1889	Sep	28	1635	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Paulino Pandaranao
268	1889	Sep	28	1635	Binondo	disrespect	(Not Specified)	Doña Rosario Salanova
269	1889	Sep	29	1639	Binondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Dionisia Bacani and Victoria Bacani
270	1889	Oct	2	1655	Binondo	falsification	(Not Specified)	Segundo Acong
271	1889	Oct	2	1655	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Isidoro Ningas and Logia
272	1889	Oct	4	1667	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
273	1889	Oct	4	1667	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	Bibiano Cabanela
274	1889	Oct	4	1667	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
275	1889	Oct	6	1675	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
276	1889	Oct	8	1687	Binondo	injuries	Nicolasa Gatdula	Apolonio Gatdula
277	1889	Oct	9	1691	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Filomena dl Cruz, Juana Baustista & Mariano Eleuterio
278	1889	Oct	9	1691	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Romana Gonzalez
279	1889	Oct	9	1691	Binondo	theft	Pedro Corpus	Policarpia Aquino
280	1889	Oct	13	1711	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Juana Josef and others
281	1889	Oct	13	1711	Binondo	theft	Manuel	Manuela de los Santos
282	1889	Oct	13	1711	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
283	1889	Oct	15	1719	Sta. Cruz	x	N/A	N/A
284	1889	Oct	18	1731	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
285	1889	Oct	18	1731	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
286	1889	Oct	26	1799	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
287	1889	Oct	26	1799	Quiapo	disrespect	(Not Specified)	Mariano de la Cruz
288	1889	Oct	27	1803	Quiapo	encroachment	(Not Specified)	Gabriela de la Cruz
289	1889	Oct	27	1803	Binondo	x	(Not Specified)	Nicolasa Roman and others
290	1889	Oct	31	1823	Binondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Josefa de la Cruz and Tomas Recaido
291	1889	Nov	1	1827	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Felipe Ricacho
292	1889	Nov	1	1827	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Simeon Rodriguez

293	1889	Nov	1	1827	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Donata de la Cruz (a) Atang
294	1889	Nov	5	1848	Pateros	x	Doña Teresa Calingo	Paz España Santos and Rosa Tuason
295	1889	Nov	7	1851	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
296	1889	Nov	12	1871	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Clara Patdo
297	1889	Nov	12	1871	Quiapo	x	lawyer and representative of Doña Maria Devera	Lawyer of Doña Gregoria Murte
298	1889	Nov	14	1879	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Dominga Gutierrez
299	1889	Nov	16	1891	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
300	1889	Nov	17	1955	Manila	arson	(Not Specified)	Gervancia de los Santos
301	1889	Nov	19	1967	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Joaquina Magbitan
302	1889	Nov	21	1976	Binondo	theft	Silvina Trinidad	Victor Panotes and others
303	1889	Nov	21	1976	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Joaquina Magbitan and others
304	1889	Nov	26	1999	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
305	1889	Nov	29	2023	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Mauricia Lobes Pineda
306	1889	Dec	5	2051	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
307	1889	Dec	13	2088	Sta. Cruz	injuries	(Not Specified)	Marcela Custodio and Severino Hinagan
308	1889	Dec	15	2095	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
309	1889	Dec	17	2103	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
310	1889	Dec	18	2111	Binondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Jacoba Daniel (a) Mamay
311	1889	Dec	18	2111	Binondo	x	Administrative Board of Public Works	Doña Dominga Gil, her son, and grandson
312	1889	Dec	19	2115	Manila	x	Melencia Gonzalez (a) Menchay	Vita Causapen
313	1889	Dec	21	2127	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Mariano Rosales and Juan Mendiola
314	1889	Dec	25	2151	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Ludovico Chaves
315	1890	Jan	5	28	Binondo	maltreatment	Maria de los Angeles	Filomena Malcampo Yapque
316	1890	Jan	5	28	Binondo	estafa	Don Antonio Marcelo Pulido	Carolina Fernandez and Jose Alvarez
317	1890	Jan	12	60	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
318	1890	Jan	20	116	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Buenventura Castro (a) Venturanza
319	1890	Jan	21	121	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
320	1890	Jan	21	121	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
321	1890	Feb	2	180	Manila	illegal detention	Rufina de la Cruz	Gobernadorcillo de la Pueblo de Pineda

322	1890	Feb	4	188	Binondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Augustina Reyes
323	1890	Feb	4	188	Binondo	kidnapping	The daughter of D. Jose & Dña. Pilar Delgado	Don Ramon Verzosa
324	1890	Feb	5	192	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Josefa de la Cruz
325	1890	Feb	8	204	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Manuela de los Santos
326	1890	Feb	15	247	Manila	homicide	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
327	1890	Feb	15	247	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Pedro Corpus
328	1890	Feb	19	264	Manila	x	Don Juan Cabarrus	Doña Catalina Medina
329	1890	Feb	23	292	Quiapo	x	Gerónima Victorio	Don Antonio Franco
330	1890	Feb	23	292	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
331	1890	Mar	2	328	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Maxima Sta. Cruz and Pedro Ignacio
332	1890	Mar	4	336	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Mariano Manayan
333	1890	Mar	5	340	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Esperanza Nicolas and others
334	1890	Mar	5	340	Manila	falsification	(Not Specified)	Ignacia de la Cruz
335	1890	Mar	5	340	Manila	x	Representative of Doña Dorotea Beltran	Heirs of D. Cristobal Recridor and Dña Vicenta Jurado
336	1890	Mar	7	348	Manila	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
337	1890	Mar	7	348	Binondo	x	Don Enrique Huerua de Toledo	Maria Colina, Maxima Exequiel, and 3 men
338	1890	Mar	12	376	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
339	1890	Mar	14	387	Manila	x	Petra Gason	Juana de la Cruz and Juan Balibit
340	1890	Mar	19	420	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Agustin Bartolome and others
341	1890	Mar	21	428	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Agustina Bartolome and others
342	1890	Mar	27	456	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Graciano Fernandez
343	1890	Mar	31	676	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Isabelo Nuque
344	1890	Apr	18	760	Tondo	injuries	Inés Punsalem	(Not Specified)
345	1890	Apr	19	764	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Gregorio Espinosa
346	1890	Apr	22	780	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Buenaventura Castro (a) Venturanza
347	1890	Apr	22	780	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Justa (a) Vita Cansapin
348	1890	Apr	22	780	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Rosa de los Santos
349	1890	Apr	23	781	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Silvestre Estrelia
350	1890	Apr	24	792	Quiapo	murder	(Not Specified)	Ambrosio Pono and others

351	1890	Apr	25	800	Tondo	fake marriage	N/A	N/A
352	1890	May	3	844	Manila	estafa	Andrea Peñalosa	Maria Alarcon
353	1890	May	6	856	Quiapo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Rosa Beltran
354	1890	May	6	856	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Bonifacia Pili (a) Pasia and Mariano Palilco
355	1890	May	8	868	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
356	1890	May	8	868	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Librada Geronimo
357	1890	May	12	888	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Don Anastasio Papa
358	1890	May	13	896	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Donata de la Cruz
359	1890	May	15	908	Quiapo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Doroteo Felizario
360	1890	May	17	916	Quiapo	homicide	(Not Specified)	Monico Ladía
361	1890	May	21	936	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Magdalena Fuentes
362	1890	May	23	948	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Telesfori Andres
363	1890	May	25	960	Quiapo	abandonment	(Not Specified)	Emeronciana Salvador
364	1890	May	25	960	Tondo	theft	Agueda Reyes	Crispina Rivera and others
365	1890	May	26	964	Manila	x	Attorney representing Don Vicente Michel	Doña Maria Ventura
366	1890	May	30	984	Tondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Severo Alcantara
367	1890	May	31	988	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Baldomero Fuentes
368	1890	Jun	6	1016	Quiapo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Lino Herrera and others
369	1890	Jun	6	1016	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Teodora Villanueva
370	1890	Jun	6	1016	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Don Ramon Verzosa
371	1890	Jun	7	1020	Sta. Cruz	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
372	1890	Jun	8	1024	Tondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Segundo Acong
373	1890	Jun	10	1032	Manila	x	Attorney representing Doña Vicenta Saturnina Reyes	Doña Irene de los Reyes
374	1890	Jun	10	1032	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	Cirilo Pea and others
375	1890	Jun	14	1048	Binondo	illegal detention	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
376	1890	Jun	14	1048	Manila	x	Don Juan Bautista Cabarrus	Doña Catalina Medina
377	1890	Jun	15	1052	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
378	1890	Jun	15	1052	Sta. Cruz	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
379	1890	Jun	17	1060	Sta. Cruz	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
380	1890	Jun	27	1116	Sta. Cruz	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Eustaquio Huertasuela

381	1890	Jun	28	1120	Manila	x	Doña Maria Ira Pascasio (deceased)	Doña Maria Villanueva and Doña Josefa Aguirre
382	1890	Jun	29	1124	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Benedicto Caramansana
383	1890	Jul	6	28	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Francisca Lacsamana
384	1890	Jul	10	44	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Clemencia Natividad and Daniel Medina
385	1890	Jul	15	68	Manila	x	Representative of Doña Dorotea Beltran	Heirs of D. Cristobal Recridor and Dña Vicenta Jurado
386	1890	Jul	16	76	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Crispina Rivera and others
387	1890	Jul	19	96	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
388	1890	Jul	19	96	Manila	homicide	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
389	1890	Jul	19	96	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
390	1890	Jul	20	100	Binondo	kidnapping	Antonia Pascual	Agapito de los Santos
391	1890	Jul	20	100	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
392	1890	Jul	20	100	Manila	x	By the syndicate of Doña Maria Barbara Padilla	Don Lorenzo Calvo
393	1890	Aug	4	160	Binondo	x	Doña Maxima Guerrero	Don Miguel Bayona and Don Mariano de Sigler
394	1890	Aug	7	180	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
395	1890	Aug	12	204	Manila	x	Monica Cabaling	(Not Specified)
396	1890	Aug	12	204	Manila		(Not Specified)	Fernando Manajan
397	1890	Aug	15	216	Tondo	rape	Cristina Cabalquinto	Agapito Tolentino
398	1890	Aug	21	244	Tondo		(Not Specified)	Ignacio Bagtas
399	1890	Aug	22	250	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
400	1890	Aug	27	279	Intramuros	theft	(Not Specified)	Maxima Ramirez and Emilio Trinidad
401	1890	Sep	5	320	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Don Nicolas Nelson
402	1890	Sep	5	320	Sta. Cruz	homicide	Hilario Alqueza Hipolito (deceased)	Cirilo Conde
403	1890	Sep	11	344	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
404	1890	Sep	23	396	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Rufina de los Reyes and others
405	1890	Sep	26	408	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
406	1890	Sep	27	412	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Hermógena Silvestre
407	1890	Sep	28	416	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Perfecto Baldon
408	1890	Sep	29	420	Quiapo	kidnapping	Maria Consolacion	Prudencio de los Santos
409	1890	Sep	30	424	Manila	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Catalina de los Santos and Francisca Santiago
410	1890	Oct	10	472	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)

411	1890	Oct	11	476	Tondo	illegall entry	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
412	1890	Oct	12	480	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Silvestre Estrella
413	1890	Oct	14	488	Tondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Saturnina Hernandez
414	1890	Oct	14	488	Manila	theft	Doña Catalina Vasquez	(Not Specified)
415	1890	Oct	15	492	Tondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
416	1890	Oct	16	496	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Doña Carmen Rodriguez and Don Gonzalo Montecino
417	1890	Oct	19	508	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Damian Fediere
418	1890	Oct	21	516	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Isidro Vivar and others
419	1890	Oct	29	564	Tondo	corruption of minor	Cornelia San Buenaventura (11 y/o) and Cristina Tabquinto	Antonia Vazquez and Agapito Tolentino
420	1890	Oct	29	564	Binondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Doña Carmen Mañalac and Don Mariano Jacinto
421	1890	Nov	1	584	Manila	theft	Juana Ignacio	Sotero Patron
422	1890	Nov	2	588	Binondo	theft	Vicente Te Quico and his spouse Maria Valentina	Vi-Cao (a) Cuy Cao
423	1890	Nov	6	604	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
424	1890	Nov	12	640	Binondo	false accusation	(Not Specified)	Juana Bonifacio
425	1890	Nov	20	680	Manila	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
426	1890	Nov	22	688	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
427	1890	Nov	22	688	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
428	1890	Nov	22	688	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
429	1890	Nov	30	728	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Telesforo Apostol
430	1890	Dec	1	732	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Filomena Mariano (a) cabo Minang
431	1890	Dec	2	736	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
432	1890	Dec	6	755	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Brigida de los Santos and Romualdo Bustamante
433	1890	Dec	6	755	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Balbina Santiago San Pedro
434	1890	Dec	6	755	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Catalino Arquiza
435	1890	Dec	6	756	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	Gregoria Dizon
436	1890	Dec	6	756	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Bonifacia Pili and others
437	1890	Dec	10	780	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Mariano Rosales and others
438	1890	Dec	13	808	Tondo	x	Representative of Don Jose Maria Venegas	Doña Juana Señorán
439	1890	Dec	14	816	Quiapo	illegal detention	(Not Specified)	Don Severino Bartolome

440	1890	Dec	14	816	Manila	estafa	Florencia Ignacio and Bulutong	(Not Specified)
441	1890	Dec	14	816	Intramuros	injuries (grave)	(Not Specified)	Gregoria Dizon
442	1890	Dec	15	820	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
443	1890	Dec	16	828	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
444	1890	Dec	20	852	Intramuros	x	Representative of Doña Damiana Martin	Don Eulogio Mendoza y Consortes
445	1890	Dec	21	860	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Mateo Antonio Felix and others
446	1890	Dec	26	880	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	Vicente Tiburcio
447	1896	Jan	6	24	Tondo	injuries	Juana Lavandero	(Not Specified)
448	1896	Jan	6	24	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Nasario Gaspar and others
449	1896	Jan	8	30	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
450	1896	Jan	8	30	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
451	1896	Jan	10	40	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Fernando Martinez Manuel and others
452	1896	Jan	12	48	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
453	1896	Jan	12	48	Manila	estafa	Don Andres Domingues	Nepomucena Corpus
454	1896	Jan	12	48	Manila	gambling	(Not Specified)	Francisca del Rosario and others
455	1896	Jan	12	48	Intramuros	arson	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
456	1896	Jan	13	51	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
457	1896	Jan	13	51	Binondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Doña Victoria Quero y Nera (Mestiza Español)
458	1896	Jan	14	56	Intramuros	murder	Florentino Suerte Felipe (Deceased)	Ana de los Reyes
459	1896	Jan	14	56	Sta. Cruz	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
460	1896	Jan	16	64	Manila	x	Doña Ana Zanngroiz	Don Jose A. Paterno
461	1896	Jan	17	68	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Maria de los Santos or Roberta Garcia
462	1896	Jan	18	72	Quiapo	adultery	(Not Specified)	Gavina de la Virgen
463	1896	Jan	18	72	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
464	1896	Jan	19	76	Tondo	x	Don Fabian Distor	Justa Villanueva
465	1896	Jan	20	80	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
466	1896	Jan	22	88	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
467	1896	Jan	23	91	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Dionidia Ruatu
468	1896	Jan	24	95	Quiapo	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
469	1896	Jan	24	95	Manila	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)

470	1896	Jan	29	115	Manila	false accusation	(Not Specified)	Eulalia Tantoco
471	1896	Feb	5	144	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Telesfora Muldon Maon
472	1896	Feb	7	152	Quiapo	x	N/A	N/A
473	1896	Feb	7	152	Binondo	x	Doña Andrea Garcia	Attorney representing Don Francisco Martinez
474	1896	Feb	8	156	Intramuros	theft	Buenaventura Poblete	(Not Specified)
475	1896	Feb	8	156	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
476	1896	Feb	9	160	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Miguel Garcia
477	1896	Feb	12	172	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
478	1896	Feb	13	176	Intramuros	injuries (grave)	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
479	1896	Feb	17	192	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Fernando Martinez Manuel and others
480	1896	Feb	18	196	Tondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Silvestra de la Cruz
481	1896	Feb	18	196	Binondo	falsification	(Not Specified)	Griseo de los Santos and Matea
482	1896	Feb	19	200	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Roberta Garcia y Roxas
483	1896	Feb	22	212	Binondo	x	Doña Maria Hernandez	Don Martin Santos and Don Ignacio Buson
484	1896	Feb	27	232	Binondo	falsification	(Not Specified)	Melensia
485	1896	Feb	27	232	San Jose de Navotas	x	Doña Maria Peñalver	Don Rosauro Andres
486	1896	Feb	28	236	Manila	feud	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
487	1896	Feb	29	240	Manila	robbery	Faustina Pandicho	Pedro Rivera and others
488	1896	Feb	29	240	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
489	1896	Mar	1	244	Quiapo	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
490	1896	Mar	1	244	Tondo	x	Don Escolastico Fernandez	(couple) Doña Monica de la Cruz and Don Isidoro Valentin
491	1896	Mar	3	252	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Filomena Mariano (a) Tabo Minang
492	1896	Mar	3	252	Manila	maltreatment	Gregoria de Jesus y Sande	Don Miguel Garcia
493	1896	Mar	6	264	Manila	maltreatment	Andrea Arcadia Beltrán	Lorenza Basilio Luna
494	1896	Mar	18	311	Manila	rape	(Not Specified)	Don Antonio Navarro
495	1896	Mar	18	311	Manila	illegal detention	(Not Specified)	Atanasio de los Reyes
496	1896	Mar	20	320	Binondo	theft	Gabriela Moya	(Not Specified)
497	1896	Mar	20	320	Intramuros	robbery	(Not Specified)	Victor Apan
498	1896	Mar	21	324	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Juliana de los Santos, Pedro Macapal Lusano and Silvino David Macapal

499	1896	Mar	27	347	Intramuros	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
500	1896	Mar	29	356	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Eulogio Mahdaloyo
501	1896	Mar	29	356	Tondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
502	1896	Mar	29	356	Tondo		Macaria Pascual	Andres de la Cruz
503	1896	Mar	30	360	Pasig	x	Josefa Salvador	Manuel Veisa
504	1896	Apr	1	368	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
505	1896	Apr	1	368	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	Matina Gallar Gallasa
506	1896	Apr	2	372	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Silverio Ruiz
507	1896	Apr	7	384	Binondo	x	Attorney representing the children of D. José Ma. Nicolas+	Doña Benedicta Dionisio
508	1896	Apr	13	411	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Benita Cervantes
509	1896	Apr	13	411	Quiapo	homicide	(Not Specified)	Remigio Pasco and others
510	1896	Apr	13	411	Tondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Leoncio Arcangel and others
511	1896	Apr	14	416	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
512	1896	Apr	14	416	Binondo	x	Gaspar Antonio	Maria Rodriguez
513	1896	Apr	17	427	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Soledad Gonzalez, Gil Rivera and others
514	1896	Apr	18	432	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Maria Mañocca and Ciriaco Aquino (Couple)
515	1896	Apr	19	436	Tondo	corruption of minor	(Not Specified)	Leoncio Arcangel and others
516	1896	Apr	19	436	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Jorge Domingo
517	1896	Apr	20	440	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
518	1896	Apr	20	440	Manila	robbery	Tecla Sunga and Licerio Gasparas	Romualdo Medina and others
519	1896	Apr	22	448	Intramuros	injuries	(Not Specified)	Venancio Bernabé
520	1896	Apr	25	460	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Engracio de los Santos
521	1896	Apr	28	472	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
522	1896	Apr	28	472	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Saturnina de la Cruz
523	1896	Apr	28	472	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Ana de los Reyes and Maxima Mariñas
524	1896	Apr	29	475	Manila	x	N/A	N/A
525	1896	May	4	495	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Veronica Tolentino and Gregorio Perfecto Cruz
526	1896	May	7	507	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Telesfora Muldon Maon
527	1896	May	8	512	Binondo	x	Attorney of Don Felipe Roxas and Doña Raymunda Chuidian	Don Miguel Serrano

528	1896	May	9	516	Quiapo	versus state	(Not Specified)	Romana Dejame Corcuera and others
529	1896	May	12	528	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
530	1896	May	12	528	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
531	1896	May	12	528	Tondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
532	1896	May	15	540	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
533	1896	May	15	540	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
534	1896	May	29	596	Intramuros	x	N/A	N/A
535	1896	May	29	596	Parañaque	x	Representative of Don Marcelino Valdez	Doña Antonia Fajardo and Don Justo Inciong
536	1896	May	31	604	Binondo	illegal entry	(Not Specified)	Maria Encarnacion and Olazo
537	1896	May	31	604	Intramuros	x	Don Jose M. A. Paterno and Debrera Ignacio	Don Jose M. A. Paterno y Zamora
538	1896	May	31	604	Binondo	x	Emerenciana Chan-Chanco	Vicenta Francisco
539	1896	Jun	2	612	Manila	theft	Maria Valencia	(Not Specified)
540	1896	Jun	6	628	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Gabriela Marcelo
541	1896	Jun	6	628	Binondo	estafa	Petrona Bartolome and Luis Lázaro	Pedro Atanacio
542	1896	Jun	7	632	Quiapo	theft	(Not Specified)	Bernardina de Jesde
543	1896	Jun	11	648	Binondo	homicide	(Not Specified)	Feliciano Fulgencio
544	1896	Jun	12	652	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Cipriana Mabitan
545	1896	Jun	13	656	Manila	x	Don Felipe G. Calderon	Doña Eulogia de los Santos
546	1896	Jun	14	660	Binondo	x	Leonardo Javier	Brigida Mariano
547	1896	Jun	16	668	Quiapo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
548	1896	Jun	18	676	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Gregorio de Jesus
549	1896	Jun	18	676	Tondo	maltreatment	Guillermo de los Santos	Flora Choco
550	1896	Jun	21	688	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
551	1896	Jun	21	688	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Sixta Sanchez Ramon
552	1896	Jun	23	696	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Felix Guevara and others
553	1896	Jun	26	708	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
554	1896	Jun	26	708	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
555	1896	Jun	28	716	Parañaque	x	Don Maximo Rodriguez	Antonia Cruz
556	1896	Jun	28	716	Parañaque	x	Doña Paulina Francisco and Don Apolonio Celebrando	Doña Antonia Fajardo and Don Justo Inciong

557	1896	Jun	28	716	Manila	rape	(Not Specified)	Don Antonio Navarro
558	1896	Jun	30	724	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
559	1896	Jul	7	752	Quiapo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Josefa Andrade
560	1896	Jul	7	752	Manila	homicide	Antonia Almasan Avalua+	(Sin Reo)
561	1896	Jul	7	752	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Anacleto Saguinsin and others
562	1896	Jul	9	760	Tondo	rape	(Not Specified)	Don Alberto Concellon
563	1896	Jul	10	764	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
564	1896	Jul	10	764	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Magdalena Gonzalez and others
565	1896	Jul	12	772	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
566	1896	Jul	14	780	Binondo	illegal entry	Attorney of Don Eusebio Parra Nicolas	(Sin Reo)
567	1896	Jul	14	780	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Jea-Pianco (Chinese Infiel)
568	1896	Jul	14	780	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Pedro Ponerga and Tabora
569	1896	Jul	16	788	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
570	1896	Jul	16	788	Intramuros	theft	(Not Specified)	Castor Corence (a) Terio
571	1896	Jul	17	792	Tondo	arson	Doña Rosalia Flores	(Not Specified)
572	1896	Jul	18	795	Tondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
573	1896	Jul	19	802	Tondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	Melacio Gatmaytan y Vivas
574	1896	Jul	22	814	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Agrifina de los Reyes
575	1896	Jul	22	814	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo) but Dorotea Mendoza is accused
576	1896	Jul	25	826	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
577	1896	Jul	27	834	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Melencia Salonga and others
578	1896	Jul	29	842	Pateros	x	Don Simplicio Tuazon	Tomasa Reymundo
579	1896	Jul	30	848	Manila	x	Don Luis Geru	Doña Carmen Meñalac
580	1896	Jul	30	848	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
581	1896	Jul	31	850	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Andres Yumang
582	1896	Aug	3	862	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Pascual Jasmin
583	1896	Aug	4	866	Manila	robbery	Felipe Rebaja	(Not Specified)
584	1896	Aug	5	870	Binondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	Dorotea de la Cruz
585	1896	Aug	6	874	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Maria de la Cruz, Braulio Manuel, Leoncio Antonio and Perfecto San Jose
586	1896	Aug	8	882	Manila	x	Don Alejandro Raposa lawyer to Doña Eulogia Arcillas	Ciriaco Betco

587	1896	Aug	11	894	Manila	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
588	1896	Aug	11	894	Tondo	illegal entry	Sotera Salvador and Ancieto Lucis	(Sin Reo)
589	1896	Aug	12	898	Manila	x	Lawyer of Don Vicente Gonzalez	Doña Maria Kiel
590	1896	Aug	13	902	Tondo	kidnapping	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
591	1896	Aug	14	906	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
592	1896	Aug	19	926	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
593	1896	Aug	21	934	Tondo	theft	(Not Specified)	Agueda Andaya
594	1896	Aug	21	934	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
595	1896	Aug	21	934	Binondo	injuries	Fasifica Polaquer	(Not Specified)
596	1896	Aug	22	938	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	Eugenio Ferrer y Guillermo
597	1896	Aug	22	938	Binondo	arson	(Not Specified)	(Sin Reo)
598	1896	Aug	22	938	Manila	bribery	(Not Specified)	Cristina Arevalo
599	1896	Sep	2	975	Manila	gambling	Don Manuel Garcia y Garcia	7 women and a man
600	1896	Sep	6	991	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
601	1896	Sep	6	991	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
602	1896	Sep	6	991	Binondo	theft	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
603	1896	Sep	8	999	Quiapo	x	Attorney Dom Venancio Ruiz representing Don Cayetano Luna	Doña Carolina Mayorga
604	1896	Sep	8	999	Intramuros	murder	(Offended) Ancieta David	Epifano Aguilar
605	1896	Sep	8	999	Manila	estafa	(Not Specified)	Severino Salazar
606	1896	Sep	8	999	Tondo	rape	Attorney representing Doña Anacleto Gregorio	Joaquin Arriola
607	1896	Sep	10	1007	Manila	fake marriage	Doña Rufina Romero	(Her Husband and Chinese Christian) Jose Lim-Tianjan Muñoz
608	1896	Sep	10	1007	Binondo	x	(Not Specified)	Doña Eduvigis Garcia (job is 'electricista domiciliado) and others
609	1896	Sep	11	1011	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	Don Juan Navarro
610	1896	Sep	11	1011	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
611	1896	Sep	14	1022	Binondo	injuries	(Offended) Luciano Jamos	Buenaventura Filipinas
612	1896	Sep	17	1035	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
613	1896	Sep	18	1039	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Vicenta Estrella y Mercado
614	1896	Sep	19	1048	Binondo	robbery	(Not Specified)	Fernando Mallari
615	1896	Sep	22	1055	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	Vicenta Estrella

616	1896	Sep	24	1063	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
617	1896	Sep	25	1067	Quiapo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
618	1896	Sep	26	1071	Quiapo	x	(Not Specified)	Leonardia de los Angeles y de Leon
619	1896	Sep	26	1071	Binondo	maltreatment	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
620	1896	Oct	2	1095	Binondo	murder	(Deceased) Pascuala Tolentino	(Sin Reo)
621	1896	Oct	6	2007	Tondo	estafa	Attorney s representing Don Jose Lerma	Eustaquia Caballera and Engracio Caballero
622	1896	Oct	7	2011	Quiapo	abduction	(Victim) Vicenta Francisco (10 years old)	Macaria de los Santos
623	1896	Oct	10	2025	Manila	robbery	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
624	1896	Oct	12	2033	Manila	injuries	(Not Specified)	Marine Fermin Niño
625	1896	Oct	14	2041	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Modesta Castillo y Ramos and others
626	1896	Oct	15	2045	Navotas	threats	(Not Specified)	Pascuala Hinoio and others
627	1896	Oct	20	2064	Binondo	injuries	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
628	1896	Oct	20	2065	Binondo	estafa	(Not Specified)	Victorio Tamayo
629	1896	Oct	27	2095	Binondo	x	(Not Specified)	(Not Specified)
630	1896	Oct	29	2101	Intramuros	x	N/A	N/A
631	1896	Oct	31	2113	Quiapo	robbery	(Victim) Eucebia Santiago	Felipa de la Cruz
632	1896	Nov	7	2141	Manila	theft	(Not Specified)	Lucia Pangan y Maglalang

Appendix 16. Notarized Transactions involving Women in Manila Province, 1871-1896.
NAP, *Protocolos de Manila*.

Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Dna	Residence
					GENARO HEREDIA F# 007920930						
1	7	Dec 1895	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Paula Tianco	33	S	Industrial	N/A	Yes	San Fernando, Pampanga
2	13	Nov 1895	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Paula Tianco	33	S	Industrial	N/A	Yes	San Fernando, Pampanga
3	33	Nov 1895	Authorization	M	Ciriaco Perez	39	M	N/A	Esp. Pen.	Yes	Ermita
4	63	Nov 1895	Loan with Mortgage	M	Bernabe del Rosario	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Sta. Cruz
5	65	Nov 1895	Authorization	M	Zacarias Leza	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
6	75	Dec 1895	Last Will and Testament	F	Maria Asuncion	75	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Montalban
7	83	Dec 1895	Last Will and Testament	F	Feliciana Concepcion	86	W	N/A	N/A	N/A	Malinao, Pasig
8	95	Dec 1895	Public Auction of Property	M	Benito Saquitan	N/A	N/A	Industrial	N/A	N/A	N/A
9	122	Dec 1895	Cessation of Complaint	F	Bonifacia de los Reyes	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo

10	141	Dec 1895	Last Will and Testament	F	Francisca Hilaria	85	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
					NARCISO MIR F# 007920775						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Dna	Residence
1	37	1891	Purchase of Property	F	Luisa del Castillo	N/A	M	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
2	74	1891	Purchase of a Tobacco Factory	M	Benito Tan Auco	N/A	S	Industrial	Chino	No	N/A
3	105	1891	Admission of Debt	F	Luisa Roessler	N/A	N/A	N/A	German	Yes	N/A
4	114	1891	Personal Bond	M	Luis Alonso	N/A	M	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	Sta. Cruz
5	122	1891	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Calixta Manining	N/A	S	Costurera	N/A	Yes	N/A
6	173 - 175	1891	Special Powers	F	Dolores Blanco	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
7	200 - 202	1891	Description of Property for Son	F	Rafaela Cabo	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
8	242 - 245	1891	Purchase of Property	F	Dorotea Anido	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Intramuros

9	252 - 255	1891	Purchase of Property	M	Lorenzo del Rosario	N/A	M	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
10	256 - 257	1891	Payment of Mortgage	M	Rafael Reyes	N/A	M	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	N/A
11	257 - 261	1891	Inheritance	M	Vicente Chumpoco	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
12	304 - 307	1891	Description of Property	F	Rafaela Cabo	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
13	317 - 321	1891	Granting Special Powers	M	Manuel Ortiz	N/A	M	Employee	N/A	Yes	N/A
14	328 - 331	1891	Representing Son	F	Rafaela Cabo	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
15	342 - 345	1891	Purchase of Property	F	Josefa Barretto	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
16	346 - 351	1891	Pacto de Retroventa	M	Mariano Chiudian	N/A	M	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
17	364 -	1891	Rendering of Assets to Heirs	F	Teresa Morello (executor)	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
18	374 - 378	1891	Proxy for Female Property Owner	F	Vicenta Ruiloba	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
19	391 - 393	1891	Power of Attorney (Sister)	M	Francisco Oliver	N/A	W	Colonel	N/A	Yes	N/A
20	393 - 397	1891	Inheritance	M	Joaquin Alforello	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

21	401 - 405	1891	Letter of Payment to Creditor	M	Telesforo Chiudan	N/A	S	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	N/A
22	429 - 433	1891	Purchase of Property	F	Emilia Barcelon	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Manila
23	438 - 442	1891	Purchase of Property	F	Vicenta Torres	N/A	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	N/A
24	444 - 446	1891	Special Powers (Guardian)	F	Luisa Fernandez	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila
25	446 - 448	1891	Special Powers	F & M	Matilde & Alejandro Villegas	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
26	448 - 449	1891	Parental Consent to Marry	M	Jose de la Calle	N/A	M	Mil. Dr.	N/A	Yes	N/A
27	545 - 547	1890	Authority to Collect Pension	F	Candida Ynpo	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	N/A
28	592 - 601	1891	Sale of Kiosk	M	Buenaventura Lacasas	N/A	N/A	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	Manila
29	602 - 609	1891	Incorporation of Business	M & F	B. Lacasas & Aurea del Castillo	N/A	N/A	Comerciantes	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
30	611 - 616	1891	Last Will and Testament	M	Gines Gotzens	N/A	S	Veterinarian	N/A	Yes	N/A
31	621 - 623	1891	Legal Services	F	Juana Zaragoza	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
32	701 - 703	1892	Authorization	M	Josefa Fortich	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila

33	737 - 744	1892	Obligations (Guardian)	M	Allan Boyle	N/A	M	Engineer	N/A	Yes	Manila
34	756 - 760	1892	Authorization (Wife)	M	Jose Arguelles	N/A	M	Ship Captain	N/A	Yes	Manila
35	783 - 787	1892	Cessation of Debt	F	Rita del Valle	N/A	N/A	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Manila
36	792 - 798	1892	Last Will and Testament	M	Joaquin Martinez Sy-Tiongday	N/A	M	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	Manila
37	800 - 802	1892	Authorization (Pension)	F	Matilde Portillo	35	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila
38	802 - 803	1892	Authorization (Pension)	F	Eulogia Torres	40	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila
39	807 - 812	1892	Purchase of Property	F	Camila Giraudier	25	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Barcelona
40	818 - 820	1892	Authorization (Pension)	F	Dolores Bustamante	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila
41	835 - 837	1892	Authorization (Pension)	F	Narcisa Vega	N/A	W	Pensionista	N/A	Yes	Manila
42	839 - 842	1892	Last Will and Testament	F	Camila Santo	35	S	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Manila
43	860 - 866	1892	Cessation of Debt	N/A	Order of Recollects	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
44	868 - 870	1892	Cessation of Debt	M	Gonzalo Tuazon	N/A	N/A	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	Manila
45	870 - 873	1892	Purchase of Property	M	Crisanto de los Reyes	N/A	W	Gov't Official	N/A	Yes	Manila

46	905 -	1892	Distriubution of Inheritance	M	Manuel Perez Marqueti	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
					FRANCISCO SALANOVA F#007915218						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Don a	Residence
1	27	1871	Last Will and Testament	M	Jose Aguirre	N/A	W	N/A	Esp.	Yes	N/A
2	37	1871	Purchase of Property	F	Ponciana Manzano	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
3	48	1872	Purchase of Property	F	Sabina Velasco	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
4	50	1872	Purchase of Property	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
5	83	1872	Purchase of Property	F	Josefa Lanog	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Pasig
6	97	1872	Last Will and Testament	M	Salome Patino	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
7	137	February 1872	Proof of Purchase	F	Cirila de la Cruz	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
8	184	February 1872	Power of an Attorney	F	Dorotea de los Reyes	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
9	186	February 1872	Power of an Attorney	F	Narcisa Francisco	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Cavite

10	196	March 1872	Attorney's Services	F	Maria & Germania Navarrete and Hipolita Alcantara	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Esp. (2) & India	(All) Yes	(All) Binondo
11	198	March 1872	Attorney's Services	F	Dorotea de los Reyes and Narcisa Francisco	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(1st) Quiapo & (2nd) Cavite
12	201	March 1872	Loan with Mortgage	F	Betina Basterrechea	N/A	W	N/A	Fil. Esp.	Yes	Intramuros
13	202	March 1872	Last Will and Testament	F	Maria Petrona Rinonda	N/A	S	N/A	Fil. Esp.	Yes	Intramuros
14	210	April 1872	Attorney's Services	F	Dolores Fortich	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. (Esp)	Yes	Sta. Cruz
15	213	April 1872	Attorney's Services	F	Mallari Sisters (4)	N/A	N/A	N/A	(All) India	(All) Yes	(All) Binondo
16	216	April 1872	Revocation of Attorney's Services	F	Dorotea dl Reyes and Narcisa Francisco	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(1st) Quiapo & (2nd) Cavite
17	226	June 1872	Purchase of Property	F	Nicasia Francisco	N/A	W	N/A	India	Yes	Intramuros
18	246	June 1872	Purchase of Property	F	Lucia Abreu	N/A	S	N/A	Fil. Esp.	Yes	Binondo
19	258	July 1872	Authorization (Property & Rents)	F	Paulina Rojas	N/A	W	N/A	Espanol	Yes	N/A
20	267	Aug 1872	Money for Land	F	Laureana de los Santos	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	No	Quingua, Bulacan
21	273	???	Attorney's Services	F	Sista de la Cruz	N/A	M	N/A	India	Yes	N/A

22	285	???	Attorney's Services	F	Juana Concepcion	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Salinas, Cavite
23	315	Dec 1872	Purchase of Property	M	Jose Luciano Roca	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
24	360	May 1873	Loan with Mortgage	M & F	Agustin Natividad & Geronima Leano	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
25	371	Oct 1872	Property Accreditation	F	Francisca de la Cruz	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
26	433	1873	Attorney's Services	F	Germania & Maria Navarrete and Hipolita Alcantara	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Esp. (2) & India	(All) Yes	(All) Binondo
27	447	Feb 1873	Purchase of Property	M	Doroteo de Angeles	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
28	449	???	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Manlapas	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
29	453	Feb 1873	Last Will and Testament	F	Ysabel del Rosario	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz
30	474	???	Loan with Mortgage	M	Andres	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Pandacan
31	494	???	Settlement of Debts	F	Sabina Ramos del Pilar	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Lian, Batangas
32	501	???	Pacto de Retroventa	M & F	Augusto Natividad & Geronima Leano	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(Both) Navotas
33	518	1873	Property Dispute	M & F	Federico Olegario & Ursula Esqueto	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(M) Tondo & (F) Binondo

34	526	1873	Last Will and Testament	F	Lorenza de Mesa	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
35	532	1873	Straight Loan	F	Juliana Mauricio	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
36	566	1873	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Manlapas & Ynes Gatmaitan	N/A	W (1)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
37	583	1873	Certification of Ownership	F	Ysidra Alcantara	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Trozo
38	606	Feb 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Angela Castillo	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	Yes	Binondo
39	607	Feb 1871	Loan with Mortgage	M	Samson Rodriguez	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
40	622	Feb 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Fermina Fernandez	N/A	N/A	N/A	India	Yes	Dilao
41	682	April 1871	Authority to Collect	F	Marcia Javier	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
42	683	April 1871	Purchase of Property	M	Catalino Melchor	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
43	694	April 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Tomasa Adriano	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
44	702	April 1871	Authority to Collect Pension	F	Manuela Ruiz	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
45	703	April 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Sabina de la Cruz	N/A	M	N/A	Mes.	Yes	Tondo
46	709	April 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Claudia de los Santos	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo

47	732	April 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Bernardina Vasquez	N/A	S	N/A	India	Yes	Tondo
48	738	April 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Toribia and Basilia Gatdula	N/A	S(2)	N/A	India (2)	(Both) Yes	(Both) Tondo
49	753	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Celedonia Santa Maria	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Tondo
50	756	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Maria Soriano	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Tondo
51	761	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Ygnacia Cuizon	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Tondo
52	771	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Ysabel Fajardo	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Esp. (2) & India	Yes	Tondo
53	773	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Policarpia Nolasco	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
54	776	May 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Juana Torres	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
55	791	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Rosa Soriano	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
56	802	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Canuta Santos	N/A	S	N/A	India	Yes	Tondo
57	807	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Jacinto	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
58	809	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Clemencia Felix	N/A	M	N/A	India	No	Tondo
59	819	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Ysidora de los Reyes	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo

60	835	May 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Juliana Soriano	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
61	872	June 1871	Authority to Collect Money	F	Ciriaca Chambloy	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
62	874	June 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Basilia and Baltazara de Pano	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(Both) No	(1) Hagonoy, Bulacan
63	875	June 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Estefania Soriano	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
64	880	June 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Techongco	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
65	891	June 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Tomasa Adriano	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
66	894	June 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Anastacia Gregorio	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
67	897	June 1871	Loan	F	Joaquina San Agustin	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Binondo
68	899	June 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Juana Torres	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
69	900	June 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Ciriaca Chambloy	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
70	905	June 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Buenaventura & Severina Garcia	N/A	N/A	N/A	India (2)	(Both) Yes	(Both) Tondo
71	914	July 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Filomena Agustines	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Polo, Bulacan
72	928	July 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Magdalena Valentino	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Paranque

					FRANCISCO SALANOVA						
					F#7915514						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Don a	Residence
73	12	July 1871	Attorney's Services	F	de la Cruz sisters	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
74	22	Aug 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Romana Nobleza	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
75	30	Aug 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Enrica Ronquillo	N/A	M	N/A	India	Yes	Malolos, Bulacan
76	34	Aug 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Andrea Tanuco	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	N/A	Tondo
77	37	Aug 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Cuzon sisters	N/A	M(4)	N/A	N/A	N/A	(All) Tondo
78	39	Aug 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Cecinanda Marco Espiros	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija
79	41	Aug 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Guadalupe Navarro	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
80	42	Aug 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Sabina Carlos	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
81	51	Aug 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Vicenta Sayos	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
82	67	Aug 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Nicolasa Jacinto	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo

83	91	Sep 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Catalino Tolentino & Marcia Pua Cangco	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
84	149	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Elena del Rosario	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
85	151	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Rufina Seateco	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
86	159	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	F & M	Saturnina Rodriguez & Miguel Mendoza	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) No	(F) Tondo
87	173	Oct 1871	Authority to Collect Money	F	Florentina de Amo	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz
88	176	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	M	Fr. Antonio Fermentino	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
89	179	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Martina Tuazon	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
90	189	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Lucas Limjuco & Tibrcia Estanislao	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(M) Tondo
91	193	Oct 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Jose Pascual & Jacinta Eugenio	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) No	(Both) Tondo
92	196	Oct 1871	Authority to Collect Money	F	Valentina de la Cruz	N/A	W	N/A	India	No	Pasig
93	201	Oct 1871	Certification of Ownership	F	Juana Manlapas	N/A	W	N/A	Mestiza	Yes	Tondo
94	203	Oct 1871	Real Property Rental	F	Andrea de los Reyes	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	No	Binondo
95	209	Nov 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Anastacia Hipolito	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	No	Tambobo

96	214	Nov 1871	Authority to Sell Property in Spain	F	Manuela Arcilla de Salarbus	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Fernando de Dilao
97	223	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Petrona Herrera	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
98	225	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Policarpia Pascual	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
99	229	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Gabriel	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
100	232	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Vicente Pablo & Fulgencia Dizon	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) No	(F) Tondo
101	241	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	M	Francisco Aguilar	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Fernando de Dilao
102	250	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Leonarda Torres	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
103	256	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Celadonia de la Cruz	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
104	259	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Celadonia de la Cruz	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Sang.	No	Tondo
105	264	Nov 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Ynes Miguel	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
106	270	Nov 1871	Loan with Collateral	M	Engracio Clemente	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
107	272	Dec 1871	Representative of Client	M	Benigno Lampaz	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

108	274	Dec 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Margarita Pascual	N/A	W	N/A	Espanol	Yes	N/A
109	277	Dec 1871	Purchase of Property	M & F	Domingo Cuizon & Petrona Simon	N/A	M(2)	N/A	Mes. Sang. (2)	(Both) Yes	(Both) Tondo
110	287	Dec 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Juana Manlapas	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	No	Tondo
111	310	Dec 1871	Purchase of Property	F	Eduviges Leocadio	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
					NARCISO AVILA F# 7916610						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Don a	Residence
73	12	July 1871	Attorney's Services	F	Sisters de la Cruz (4)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
6	29 of 940	1863	Legal Services	F & M	Engracia Dias & Ramon Yturralde	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(F) Sta. Cruz
7	85	1863	Letter of Payment	M & F	Nicolas Oler & Pioquinta Eustaquia	N/A	M(2)	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	(M) San Mateo
8	85	1863	Authorization	F & M	Matilda Galsay & Juan Santiago Bischoff	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
9	86	1863	Purchase of Property	M	Anacleto de Mesa	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

10	103	1863	Letter of Payment	M	Mariano Valenzuela	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Pedro de Makati
11	301	June 1863	Purchase of Property	M	Ramon Ygnacio	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Binondo
12	310 - 311	N/A	Cancellation of Debt	M	Jose Ferrer of Obras Pias	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
13	313 - 317	N/A	Purchase of Property	F	Maria del Rosario	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
14	319 - 320	N/A	Purchase of Property	F	Teresa Paz	N/A	S	N/A	India	Yes	Tondo
15	338 - 338	N/A	Attorney's Services	F & M	Maria Llompard and Luis Sarmiento	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A
16	350 - 353	N/A	Letter of Payment	F	Cornelia Laochengo	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	N/A
17	361 - 362	July 1863	Purchase of Property	F	Antonia Jose Gotengco	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	No	Binondo
18	367 - 369	July 1863	Purchase of Property	M	Jose Ferragut	N/A	N/A	Comercio	Esp. Pen.	Yes	Intramuros
19	371 - 373	July 1863	Purchase of Property	M	Manuel Arlante Salvador	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Sta. Ana
20	384 - 386	July 1863	Loan with Mortgage	I	Los Fondos de Recoletos	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
21	394	August	Loan Obligation	F	Maria de Jesus Roda	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Intramuros
22	394	August	Loan Obligation	F	Joaquina Garcia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

23	398	August	Attorney's Services	F & M	Vicenta Javier & Agustin Scarella	N/A	S	N/A	N/A	(F) Yes	(F) Intramuros
24	405	August	Attorney's Services	F & M	Severa Mauricio & Manuel Sanez	N/A	W	N/A	(F) Espanol	(Both) Yes	N/A
25	411 - 415	September	Purchase of Property	M	Ramon Cadorniga	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
???	???	???	(Difficult to understand)	F	Mariana Alvarez	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
26	458 - 460	???	Description of a property		Concepcion Calles y Elzinger	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
					AURELIO PELAEZ F# 007920772						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Don a	Residence
1	14 - 18	1890	Sale of Property	M	Jacinto Vicente	38	M	Industrial	N/A	Yes	N/A
2	28 - 33	1890	Authorization	F	Joaquina Acuesta	N/A	W	Propeitor	N/A	Yes	N/A
3	46 - 47	1898	Sale of Property	M	Jose Monroy	N/A	N/A	Blacksmith	N/A	Yes	N/A
4	60 - 66	1898	Special Authority	M	Faustino Lichauco	27	M	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	N/A
5	104 - 109	1898	Request for records	F	Catalina & Ramona Valenzuela	N/A	N/A	WAW	N/A	(Both) Yes	N/A

6	110 - 112	1898	Authorization	F	Jacoba Molina	N/A	M	WAW	N/A	Yes	Calle Paterias, Sta. Cruz
7	122 - 125	1898	Last Will and Testament	F	Juana Arevalo	N/A	W	Costurera	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
8	126 - 130	1898	Sale of Property	F	Maria Ignacio	70	W	Propeitor	N/A	Yes	Manila
9	164 - 167	1898	Authorization	M	Teodoro Gonzales	31	M	Dependent	N/A	Yes	Manila
10	200 - 202	1898	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Felizarda Ignacio	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
11	235 - 237	1898	Legal Services	F	Sixta Cruz	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Pasig
12	253 - 255	1898	Executorship	F	Silvestra Banson	49	W	Proprietor	N/A	Yes	Camiling, Tarlac
13	267- 277	1898	Marital Authorization	M	Albino Goyenchea	60	M	Comerciante	N/A	Yes	Manila
14	293 - 297	1898	Pacto de Retroventa	M	Dalmacio Mariano	35	M	Blacksmith	N/A	Yes	Manila
15	331	1898	Authorization	M	Manuel Sanchez	N/A	M	Acocuntant	N/A	Yes	Manila
					NUMERIANO ADRIANO F# 007918926						
Case	Image	Year	Transaction Type	Gender	Name	Age	C. Status	Occupation	Race	Don/Don a	Residence

1	42 - 45	1881	Received money from a company.	F	Concepcion Conti	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Binondo
				I	Chuidian, Buenaventura y Ca	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
2	46 - 47	1881	In regards to a loan.	F	Luisa Fernandez	N/A	W	N/A	Espanola	Yes	Ermita
				M	Severino Alverto	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Ermita
3	48 - 51	1881	Authorization (rent collection)	F	Saturnina del Rosario	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Sta. Cruz
				M	Timoteo del Rosario	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
4	52 - 58	1881	Received money from a company.	M	Juan Ruiz	N/A	M	N/A	Espanola	Yes	Laguna
				F	Valeriana Raymundo	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Laguna
				I	Chuidian, Buenaventura y Ca	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
5	79 - 80	1881	The sale of variety store assets	F	Juana de Vera Valentin	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Jose
				M	Jose Carballo	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
6	82 - 86	1881	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Aleja Siangco	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang	Yes	Sta. Cruz
7	92 - 94	1881	The Mortgage of a house.	M	Jose Hernandez	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
				F	Maria Asuncion	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

				F	Gabina de la Cruz	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
8	96 - 98	1881	Requesting an attorney's services.	F	Macaria Tuazon	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	N/A
9	98 - 99	1881	Cancellation of sale	M	(Procurador) Joaquin Sebastian	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
10	99 - 101	1881	Mortgage	M	Doroteo Cortes	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
11	101- 105	1881	Loan	F	Potenciana Gomez	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Fernando de Dilao
12	108 - 109	1881	Purchase of Property	M	Doroteo Jose	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
13	111 - 113	1881	Purchase of Property	M	Celestino de la Paz	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
				F	Luisa del Carmen	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
14	115 - 119	1881	Purchase of Property	F	Elena Pena	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
15	148 - 150	1881	Letter of Payment	M	Cirilo de Guzman	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mestizo	Yes	Sta. Cruz
16	156 - 160	1881	Purchase of Property	M	Cirilo de Guzman	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
				F	Rafaela Molina	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
17	161 - 162	1881	Request for attorney's services.	F	Dolores de Castro	N/A	W	N/A	Mestiza	Yes	Binondo

				M	Mateo de San Buenaventura	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
18	165 - 170	1881	N/A	F	Jacinta Miguel	N/A	M	N/A	India	Yes	Calamba
				I	Chuidian, Buenaventura y Ca	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
19	209 - 211	1881	Purchase of Property	F	Raymunda Chuidian	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
20	243 - 245	1881	Purchase of Property	M	Julio Dalliard	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	San Jose
21	252 - 256	1881	Case (loan non-payment)	M	Mariano Buenaventura (Comercio)	N/A	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Ermita
				M	Julio Daillard	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
				M	Georget Aurea Morell	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
23	302 - 303	1881	Mortgage	F	Prudencia Cuyugan	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
				M	Luis Baya	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Marianas
24	303 - 305	1881	Pacto de Retroventa	F	Ygnacia Herrera	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	N/A
25	309 - 310	1881	Requesting legal rep	F	Miguela Ablaza	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Barasoain
				M	Paulino Zamora	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	Tondo
26	311	1881	Letter of Payment	M	Antonio Puangseng	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz
				F	Petrona Chunchico	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz

				M	Juan de Ocampo	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz
				F	Maria Chunchico	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Sta. Cruz
27	316 - 323	1881	Sale of Ship	I	Senores Ynchausti y Ca	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	N/A
28	324 - 327	1881	Contract to manage three lands	F	Telesfora Felix	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Tondo
				M	Franisco Bengco	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Bacolor
29	328 - 332	1881	Request for legal services.	F	Angela Molina	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Esp.	Yes	Pasig
				M	Mariano Rodriguez	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Esp.	Yes	San Jose
30	333 - 335	1881	Purchase of Properties	M	Leon Limcuando	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
31	365 - 368	1881	Prop. mgt. agreement	F	Lucia Prospero	N/A	W	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
				F	Maria Casas	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
				M	Pedro Bautista	N/A	N/A	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
32	368 - 373	1881	Partition of inheritance	F	Canuta Mendiola	55	W	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
				F	Evarista Mendiola	54	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo

				F	Natalia Mendiola	36	S	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
				F	Juana Mendiola	29	M	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
				M	Enrique Mendiola	26	S	N/A	N/A	Yes	Quiapo
33	380 - 381	1881	Personal Loan	M	Doroteo Cortes	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
34	382 - 384	1881	General Authority	F	Gregoria de los Santos	N/A	W	N/A	India	Yes	N/A
				M	Lorenzo Duenas	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Esp.	Yes	N/A
				F	Maria Duenas	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Esp.	Yes	N/A
				M	Esteban Duenas	N/A	S	N/A	Mes. Esp.	Yes	N/A
35	384 - 386	1881	Personal Debt	M	Doroteo Cortes	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A
36	399 - 401	1881	Request for legal services.	F	Paula Jugo de Aguilar	N/A	M	N/A	Mes. Sang.	Yes	Binondo
37	406 - 407	1881	Guardianship and legal services	F	Antonia de la Cruz	N/A	M	N/A	Mes Sang.	Yes	Tondo
38	411 - 413	1881	Sale of a Casco	M	Antero Roldan	N/A	N/A	N/A	Indio	Yes	Tambobo
39	415 - 416	1881	Pacto de Retroventa Cancellation	F	Maria Ygnacio	N/A	W	N/A	Mestiza	Yes	Sta. Cruz
40	419 - 420	1881	Personal Loan	F	Ana de Venegas	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes	N/A

Appendix 17. Case File Details of “Public Women,” 1862-1898.
NAP, *Prostitucion*.

NO.	NAME	YEAR	AGE	STATUS	OCCUPATION	PROV. OF ORIGIN	RESIDENCE	SOURCE	FOLIO
1	leonarda de jesus	1862	10	s	x	manila	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	2-14b
2	maria de jesus	1862	25	s	costurera	manila	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	2-14b
3	francisca buensuceso	1862	40	w	x	bulacan	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	2-14b
4	potenciana rodriguez	1862	x	x	x	x	X	1862-79, BOOK 1	2-14b
5	candida punzalan	1870	x	s	x	x	X	1862-79, BOOK 1	84-96
6	eusebia miguel	1871	21	s	x	bulacan	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	98-99b
7	ponsia nunez	1871	x	s	lavandera/costurera	bataan	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	102b-108
8	telesfora de la rosa	1871	17	s	cigarrera	laguna	san jose	1862-79, BOOK 1	111-119b
9	victoriana de la rosa	1871	13	s	x	cavite	san jose	1862-79, BOOK 1	120-126b
10	fabiana ygnacio	1871	x	m	x	x	X	1862-79, BOOK 1	129-132
11	maria del rosario	1871	x	s	cigarrera/costurera?	x	san jose	1862-79, BOOK 1	139-148
12	petrona trinidad	1871	18	s	lavandera	pampanga	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	169-183
13	juana rodriguez	1871	19	s	costurera	nueva ecija	Tondo	1862-79, BOOK 1	169-183
14	tomasa vina	1871	x	x	x	x	X	1862-79, BOOK 1	169-183
15	fragedes bersola	1871	x	x	x	x	X	1862-79, BOOK 1	169-183
16	vicenta de la cruz	1872	19	s	costurera	manila	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 2	223-226
17	leoncia casimiro	1872	x	x	x		X	1862-79, BOOK 2	217

18	alejandria sarmiento	1872	30	s	costurera	nueva ecija	Intramuros	1862-79, BOOK 2	231-240b
19	graciana martilano	1872	19	s	cigarrera	manila	Ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	241-251b
20	antonia chenca graciana	1872	x	x	x		X	1862-79, BOOK 2	254-256
21	ysberta zamora	1872	x	sep	costurera	mindoro	Tondo	1862-79, BOOK 2	258-266b
22	juana del rosario	1872	25	s	costurera	manila	Tondo	1862-79, BOOK 2	269-276b; 292
23	rafaela mesa	1872	21	s	costurera	bulacan	san jose	1862-79, BOOK 2	278-287
24	dolores avila	1872	20	s	costurera	batangas	Quiapo	1862-79, BOOK 2	295-302b
25	aniceta chavas	1872	18	s	cigarrera	x	binondo & san miguel	1862-79, BOOK 2	307-315
26	victoriana javier	1872	25	s	costurera	cavite	binondo & san miguel	1862-79, BOOK 2	322-326
27	maria guinto	1872	30	s	lavandera	cavite	Ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	328-338
28	eulogia buson	1872	20	s	x	prov de manila	ermita & intramuros	1862-79, BOOK 2	339-346
29	maria castaneda	1872	30	s	costurera	ilocos sur	Ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	348-355
30	vicenta rosario	1872	25	s	lavandera	cavite	Ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	358-359b
31	dominga crisostomo	1872	21	s	tendera	bulacan	san miguel & ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	366-373
32	eugenia mamangan	1872	15	s	cigarrera	manila	Ermita	1862-79, BOOK 2	375-377b
33	emiteria borra	1872	20	s	lavandera	manila	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 2	187-199
34	tomasa diwa	1872	18	s	costurera	prov de mla	Binondo	1862-79, BOOK 2	201-211b
35	lorenza casimiro	1872	29	s	costurera	panay	ermita & intramuros	1862-79, BOOK 2	213-216
36	juana valensuela	1881	x	s	costurera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	297
37	feliciano pineda	1881	x	s	costurera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	298

38	lucia arauto	1881	x	x	x	x	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 1	296
39	maria ramona	1881	x	x	x	x	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 1	300
40	calistra de la cruz	1881	18	s	cigarrera	bulacan	Dilao	1881-86, BOOK 1	43-64
41	braulia esguerra	1881	17	s	cigarrera	manila	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	43-64
42	gertrudes herrera	1881	30	s	x	bulacan	Meycauayan	1881-86, BOOK 1	61
43	baldomera miranda	1881	x	x	x	x	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 1	55
44	maria romana	1881	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	55
45	trinidad cervantes	1881	18	s	cigarrera	x	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	69-80
46	feliciano gonzales	1882	23	sep	x	manila	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	69-80
47	alejandra reyes	1882	19	s	cigarrera	panay	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	94-120
48	gervacia lorenzo	1882	28	s	costurera	bulacan	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	94-120
49	maria de la torre	1882	25	s	cigarrera	bulacan	binondo & tambobong	1881-86, BOOK 1	124-133
50	alejandra reyes	1882	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	136-137
51	maria de la torre	1882	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	136-137
52	yrene gutierrez	1882	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	136-137
53	dorotea calabutan	1882	18	s	cigarrera	cavite	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	142-156
54	rafaela mambitan	1883	28	s	cigarrera	bulacan	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	162-164
55	fulgencia de la cruz	1884	17	s	domestica	nueva ecija	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	179-183
56	paula prim	1883	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	214-216
57	andrea austria	1883	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	214-216

58	serapia roncal	1883	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	214-216
59	paula de la cruz	1883	23	s	lavandera	manila	santa cruz	1881-86, BOOK 1	214-216
60	ysidra bertierra	1884	24	s	lavandera	batangas	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	214-216
61	magdalena gonzales	1884	21	s	costurera	bulacan	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	201-210
62	petrona'	1884	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	240-241
63	agapita francisco	1884	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	242-247
64	luisa guevarra	1884	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	242-247
65	adriana rosales	1884	35	w	costurera	bulacan	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 1	248-256
66	ciriaca domacal	1885	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 1	257-258
67	alfonia baldonado	1885	20	s	costurera	navotas	tondo & san Miguel	1881-86, BOOK 1	261-268
68	juana santiago de ocampo	1885	20	s	costurera	manila	san Miguel	1881-86, BOOK 1	272-285
69	juana santiago	1885	25	m	domestica	prov de manila	Marikina	1881-86, BOOK 1	272-285
70	soledad gonzales	1885	19	s	cigarrera	manila	san Miguel	1881-86, BOOK 1	272-285
71	anastacia sacay	1885	22	m	cigarrera	bulacan	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 1	291-302
72	NAME NOT CLEAR	1885	50	w	x	laguna	santa cruz	1881-86, BOOK 1	291-302
73	margarita san pedro	1885	25	s	cigarrera	bulacan	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	306-316
74	clara paragues	1885	36	s	lavandera	pangasinan	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	306-316
75	ysabel pico	1885	16	s	lavandera	laguna	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	319-327
76	agueda fajardo	1885	30	s	lavandera	manila	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	319-327
77	petronila de los santos	1885	20	s	lavandera	manila	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	329-340

78	petrona mendoza	1885	22	s	costurera	manila	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 2	329-340
79	margarita manuel	1885	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	345-361
80	josefa de los santos	1885	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	345-361
81	teodora beatez	1885	15	s	cigarrera	prov de mla	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	345-361
82	gertrudes matulada	1885	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	362-363
83	perfecta apostol	1885	25	s	cigarrera	cavite	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 2	366-368
84	policarpia de la cruz	1885	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	372-376
85	apolinaria santiago	1885	22	s	costurera	cavite	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	379-401
86	juliana dizon	1885	13	s	costurera	bataan	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	379-401
87	ysidora de los reyes	1885	x	x	x	bataan	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	403-405
88	fortunata decena	1885	18	s	costurera	leyte	san Miguel	1881-86, BOOK 2	408-414
89	juana ygnacio	1885	19	s	costurera	bulacan	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	417-430
90	potenciana parungao	1885	19	s	costurera	pampanga	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	417-430
91	damasa de los santos	1885	19	s	costurera	prov de mla	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 2	442-447
92	esperanza silvestre	1885	17	s	x	pampanga	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	448-464
93	felician de la cruz	1885	x	s	cigarrera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	448-464
94	juana martinez	1885	14	s	tindera	prov de mla	Navotas	1881-86, BOOK 2	448-464
95	vicenta navarro	1885	15	s	domestica	mindoro	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	467-474
96	ursula damasa	1886	18	s	cigarrera	camarines sur	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	477-492
97	epifania de la cruz	1886	18	s	cigarrera	cavite	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	477-492

98	ancelma de leon	1886	21	s	cigarrera	bataan	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	477-492
99	maria de la cruz	1886	17	s	x	prov de mla	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	493-499
100	maria pablo	1886	16	s	jornalera	prov de mla	Malabon	1881-86, BOOK 2	505
101	nicolasa de la cruz	1886	14	s	jornalera	bulacan	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	507
102	bernatea balagan	1886	18	s	x	prov de mla	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	516
103	jacinta de la cruz	1886	18	s	x	manila	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	516
104	cesaria ramirez	1886	16	s	costurera	bulacan	Dilao	1881-86, BOOK 2	526-527
105	enriqueta evangelista	1886	23	s	cigarrera	prov de mla	san jose	1881-86, BOOK 2	533
106	cecilia de los reyes	1886	17	s	x	tarlac	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	533
107	cecilia de los reyes	1886	x	s	tindera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	537-539
108	adriana bautista	1886	35	w	domestica	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	542-547
109	juana dizon	1886	34	w	costurera	manila	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	549-553
110	felipa calma	1886	29	s	costurera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	563-572
111	ydelberta tolentino cruz	1886	23	s	jornalera	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	574-580
112	juana san agustin	1886	19	s	cigarrera	manila	Tondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	582-589
113	nicolasa de la cruz	1886	x	s	lavandera	cebu	Dilao	1881-86, BOOK 2	582-589
114	lorenza pilapil	1886	x	x	x	bulacan	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	849-850
115	damasa de los santos	1886	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	849-850
116	vicenta de la cruz	1886	15	s	costurera	manila	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	852-854
117	bernardina de jesus	1886	21	s	costurera	manila	Binondo	1881-86, BOOK 2	714-719

118	rosa macapagal	1886	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	729-730
119	pascuala tenorio	1886	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	729-730
120	eusebia faustino	1886	x	x	x	x	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	729-730
121	catalina decaroz	1885	24	s	lavandera	bulacan	Malate	1881-86, BOOK 2	682-685
122	damasa de los santos	1886	20	s	costurera	manila	sta. cruz	1881-86, BOOK 2	837-842
123	felia cruz	1886	21	s	criada	manila	Pasig	1881-86, BOOK 2	614-621
124	juana valensuela	1881	40	s	costurera	pangasinan	Ermita	1881-86, BOOK 2	652-655
125	eusebia faustino	1886	26	w	costurera	bulacan	X	1881-86, BOOK 2	667-668
126	pascuala tenorio	1887	54	m	tendera	bulacan	X	1887-1897	669-670
127	raymunda abad	1887	30	v	criada	batangas	sta. cruz	1887-1897	3-9b
128	candelaria reyes	1887	18	s	tendera	bulacan	Tambobong	1887-1897	3-9b
129	prudencia d ela cruz	1887	13	s	criada	manila	Binondo	1887-1897	26-38
130	maria gallardo	1887	18	s	cigarrera	manila	Trozo	1887-1897	51
131	raymunda guillermo	1887	x	x	x	manila		1887-1897	54
132	ciriaca arenas	1887	23	s	costurera	cavite	Tondo	1887-1897	59-65
133	raymunda guillen	1887	x	x	x	manila	Manila	1887-1897	65
134	margarita san pedro	1887	x	x	x	bulacan	Tondo	1887-1897	66-70
135	maria san jose	1887	20	s	operaria	manila	Intramuros	1887-1897	76-84
136	josefa san jose	1887	17	s	costurera	manila	Intramuros	1887-1897	76-84;368- 371
137	filomena de la cruz	1887	28	m	costurera	manila	san Miguel	1887-1897	86-94; 106- 107
138	anaclea de guia	1887	16	s	cigarrera	manila	san Miguel	1887-1897	86-94; 106- 107
139	catalina torres	1887	22	s	bordadora	zambales	Binondo	1887-1897	109-117b
140	benigna raymundo	1887	x	x	x	manila	Pateros	1887-1897	124-130
141	juliana de la cruz	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	180
142	matea samson	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	180

143	rosa alejalde	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	180
144	dominga alverges	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	180
145	quiteria de la cruz	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	186-186b
146	guillerma cabcayo	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	186-186b
147	caludia de jesus	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	186-186b
148	maria de la rosa	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	195-195b
149	antonia rivera	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	195-195b
150	juliana rivera	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	195-195b
151	rosario pascual	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	197-199
152	feliciano rivera	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	197-199
153	antonia rivera	1892	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	197-199
154	honorata pulido	1892	x	x	x	cavite	sta. cruz de malabon	1887-1897	200-203b
155	valentina domingo	1891	x	x	x	x	san Miguel	1887-1897	216-231
156	maria tambad	1891	x	x	x	x	Tondo	1887-1897	232-235
157	florentina canlas	1892	16	x	x	pampanga	sta. cruz	1887-1897	236-237b
158	apolonia mojica	1891	14	s	x	bulacan	Binondo	1887-1897	249-258b
159	rufina bautista	1895	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	263-264b
160	maxima macapagal	1893	18	s	x	bulacan	Binondo	1887-1897	279-280
161	maria de la cruz	1891	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	330-332b
162	barbara canido	1887	24	x	x	cebu	X	1887-1897	340-340b
163	ysabel de leon	1887	23	v	costurera	bulacan	Binondo	1887-1897	372-377
164	gregoria faustino	1895	x	x	x	manila	X	1887-1897	379
165	ysabel salazar	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	380-; 389-93
166	visenta viga	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	380
167	yrene gutierrez	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	380
168	luisa trinidad	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	380
169	genoveba cervantes	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	380
170	eliza trinidad	1887	16	m	x	bulacan	sta. cruz	1887-1897	381-384
171	elena gutierrez	1887	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	385-386
172	remigia diocay	1890	30	v	costurera	albay	sta. cruz	1887-1897	444-446b

173	trinidad sanchez	1890	x	x	x	SPAIN	san Miguel	1887-1897	448
174	antonelle dussard	1890	x	x	x	USA	Sampaloc	1887-1897	448
175	lorenza yda	1890	x	x	x	ENGLAND	Quiapo	1887-1897	448
176	gregoria herrera	1890	x	x	x	x	sta. cruz	1887-1897	448
177	agustina reyes	1890	x	x	x	x	Binondo	1887-1897	448
178	servanda de los reyes	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
179	florencia gabriel	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
180	fleiciara miranda	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
181	paula figueroa	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
182	cristina jalandoni	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
183	Andrea pantoja	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
184	marcela cruz	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
185	macaria garcia	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
186	felipa palma	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
187	claudia casanova	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
188	monica beltran	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
189	remigia bruno	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
190	natalya yularde	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
191	feliza acosta	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
192	enriqueta evangelista	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
193	dorotea lagundan	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
194	lucia meguto	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	448
195	barcelisa estevan	1890	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	464-466
196	josefa andrade	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	470-471
197	romana tallada	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	473-473b
198	maria valencia	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	477-478b
199	macaria fernandez	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	477-478b
200	ricarda de la cruz	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	477-478b
201	roberta eusebia	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	477-478b
202	faustina bundoc	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	477-478b

203	marcelina treijoles	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	479
204	josefa pescanosa	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	481
205	juana sanvictores	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	482
206	marcelina preysler	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	487-487b
207	teodorica ronquillo cruz	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	487-487B
208	modesta navarro	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	506-507b
209	maria policarpio	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	506-510
210	juliana reyes	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	506-510
211	10 women	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	516-517b
212		1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	519-519b
213	raymunda hernandez	1898	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	526-533
214	maria gutierrez	1898	15	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	526-533
215	5 indias	1896	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	503-503b
216	petrona de los reyes	1895	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	512-512b
217	raymunda gutierrez	1898	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	512-512b
218	maria gutierrez	nd	x	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	512-512b
219	yrene atienza rosa	nd	15	x	x	x	X	1887-1897	512-512b

Appendix 18. List of Currencies that Circulated in Late Nineteenth Century Manila and their Equivalent Values in Mexican Dollars.

United States Bureau of the Census. Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, Volume 4.

CURRENCY	VALUE VIS-À-VIS ONE MEXICAN DOLLAR
SPANISH PESO	ONE MEXICAN DOLLAR
PESETA	0.20 MEXICAN DOLLAR
REAL	0.125 MEXICAN DOLLAR
CENTAVO	0.01 MEXICAN DOLLAR
CUARTO	0.00625 MEXICAN DOLLAR
OCTAVO	0.003125 MEXICAN DOLLAR

**Appendix 19. Land Measures used in Nineteenth Century Manila and their Equivalent in Square Meters.
United States Bureau of the Census. Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903, Volume 4.**

LAND MEASURE	EQUIVALENT IN SQUARE METERS
ARE	100 SQUARE METERS
CENTIARE	1 SQUARE METER
HECTARE	10,000 SQUARE METERS
BALITA	2,790 SQUARE METERS
BRAZA	2-5 SQUARE METERS
LOAN	279 SQUARE METERS
QUINON	27,949 SQUARE METERS
TOPON	44 SQUARE METERS
VARA	.70 SQUARE METER

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Adulterios, Film Number 007912974

Asuntos Criminales

CD Number 1, Folders 1, 3, and 4
 CD Number 2, Folders 3 and 4
 CD Number 3, Folders 1, 2, 4, and 5
 CD Number 4, Folders 1 and 5
 CD Number 5, Folders, 1 and 2
 CD Number 7, Folders 2-4
 CD Number 17, Folder 1
 CD Number 23, Folder 1
 CD Number 26, Folders 1-4
 CD Number 66, Folders 1-4
 CD Number 70, Folders 1-3
 CD Number 71, Folders 1-2

Calamidades Publicas

SDS-15085
 SDS-15096

Contribucion Industrial

SDS-15390-15392B
 SDS-15395-15397
 SDS-15399-15403

Fincas Urbana

SDS-9561
 SDS-9563-9565
 SDS-9579
 SDS-9593-9584

Juegos Prohibidos

SDS-12496
 SDS-12501
 SDS-12507
 SDS-12509
 SDS-12511-12512
 SDS-12519-12520
 SDS-12529

Memorias de Manila, 1892 (electronic folder)

Protocolos

Numeriano Adriano, Film Number 007918926
 Narciso Avila, Film Number 007916610
 Genaro Heredia, Film Number 007920930
 Narciso Mir, Film Number 007920775
 Aurelio Pelaez, Film Number 007920772
 Francisco Salanova, Film Numbers 007915218 and 007915514
 Vicente Santos, Film Number 007912297

Gaceta de Manila

Enero – Diciembre 1862
 Enero – Diciembre 1868
 Enero – Abril 1869
 Febrero – Diciembre 1871
 Marzo – Diciembre 1889
 Enero – Diciembre 1890
 Enero – Diciembre 1896

Prostitucion

1862-1879 Books 1 and 2
 1881-1886 Books 1 and 2
 1887-1897, SDS-12332

Servidumbres Domesticas

SDS-1707-1710
 SDS-1713

Vecindario

Binondo, 1887
 Dilao, 1881, 1886, 1892
 Ermita, 1884
 Malate, 1887
 Pandacan, 1887
 Quiapo, 1887
 Sampaloc, 1884-1885, 1887, 1892
 Tondo, 1887, 1889, and 1893

Tranvias de Manila, SDS-5281

2. National Library of the Philippines (Manila)

El Oriente, Octuvre 1875

El Ponichinela

Enero 1893

Diciembre 1895

El Temblor

Julio-Agosto 1886

Agosto 1889

La Ilustracion del Oriente

Octuvre 1877 - Enero 1878

La Ilustracion Filipina

Enero-Febrero 1892

Mayo – Junio 1892

Agosto - Noviembre 1892

Diciembre 1893

La Opinion

Mayo - Agosto 1888

Mayo – Julio 1888

Diciembre 1889

Manila Alegre

Agosto – Setiembre 1886

Noviembre 1886

Enero 1887

Marzo 1887

Manililla

Julio, Setiembre 1888

Enero – Junio 1889

Setiembre 1889

Noviembre 1889

Febrero – Marzo 1890

Mayo 1890

Agosto 1890

Octuvre 1890

Enero 1891

Avril – Junio 1891

Agosto – Setiembre 1891

Noviembre -Diciembre 1891

Marzo –Julio 1892

Palengoche

Avril 1892

Un Bello Sexo

Enero – Mayo 1891

Julio - Octuvre 1891

3. United States National Archives at College Park (Maryland, United States)

Bureau of Insular Affairs Record Group 350

Amusements and Athletics (1898-1914), No. 1887, Stack 150, Row 56 Compartment 9, Shelf 1, Box 229.

Divorce and Marriage (1898-1914), No. 1119 Stack 150, Row 56, Compartment 7, Shelf 6, Box 169.

Photographs Assorted, Record Group 350-GS

4. University of the Philippines-Diliman Main Library

Philippine Free Press

September 1910

November 1910

April 1911

July-August 1913

February – May 1917

July 1917

October 1917

May 1918

July 1918

September 1918

September 1920

March 1923

July 1923

December 1923

February 1925

The Cablenews American

August 1908

January 1909

February 1911

May 1909

September 1913

March 1914

February 1915

February – April 1918

May - July 1918

The Manila Times

August– October 1916

March 1917

February - March 1925

The Philippine Craftsman

November 1914 vol. 3, no. 2

September 1916 vol. 5, no. 3

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